# CURRENT HISTORY

## JANUARY, 1939

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## ARTICLES



## DEPARTMENTS





Current History, Volume XLIX, No. 5. January, 1939. Whole No. 290. Published monthly by Current History, Inc., 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. Advertising Offices at 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7, in the United States, possessions, Canada, Central and South America and Spain; elsewhere $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new addresses. Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Albany, New York. Entered in Canada as second-class matter. 

## THE ISSUE

● The spotlight has not slighted Secretary of State Cordell Hull (cover) these last few months. Shortly after completing the new trade treaties with Great Britain, Mr. Hull put his brief-case under his arm and set out for South America as head of the American delegation to the Lima Conference. The treaty phases of Mr. Hull's activity are explained and discussed by **Francis Bowes Sayre,** Assistant Secretary of State in *Trade by Treaties.* And for his efforts at giving new weight and meaning to the Monroe Doctrine at the Pan-American Conference, the reader is referred to *A Month's World History* and *John Bull in Latin America* by **Carleton Beals.** In addition to providing several sidelights on the Conference, Mr. Beals discusses the efforts of Great Britain's efforts to capture the South American market, pointing out that in all the talk of Fascist penetration among our good neighbors, we seem to have overlooked the presence of John Bull. Mr. Beals is a regular contributor to Current History.

● **John Strachey,** prominently British Leftist, writer and economist, upon whose views the United States immigration authorities have frowned, has been permitted to enter the United States. He has been given the freedom of the country with one particular exception—he cannot talk. Of course, he can speak to his friends, order a meal, ask the time of day, and the like. But he cannot talk before groups. Lecturing was the prime purpose of his visit, but Mr. Strachey is finding what satisfaction and consolation he can in the one avenue of expression left open to him—writing. He writes in Current History this month on *Communism in Great Britain.*

● **Robert Dell** has been the foreign correspondent's ideal of a foreign correspondent for as many years back as any one of them can remember. He has been reporting the European scene for almost half a century and is one of the keenest political observers and analysts on the Continent. Mr. Dell, European correspondent-at-large for the London *Manchester Guardian,* is also author of *My Second Country,* a book about France recognized as an outstanding work on that country. Mr. Dell's article is called *New Directions in France.*

● **Wilbur Burton,** Far Eastern and Latin-American specialist, writes this issue on *Japan at Manila?* He is a man of iron who likes his nicotine and caffein straight, and gets around from bull-ring to headsman's block. On his last visit to the Philippines, he had several conversations with Manuel Quezon; that, coupled with a number of other recent developments, lead him to doubt whether the islands are very anxious to obtain their independence, after all.

● **John L. Christian** spent eight years in faraway Burma as principal of a technical high school. He is also a political scientist and a radio speaker on oriental subjects. For two years he was educational adviser to the CCC. His article, *America's Peace Army,* tells of the work and progress of that organization.

● **Frank L. Palmer,** editor, publisher and author, has an interesting thesis in *We Vote As We Please:* elections aren't won by winning over voters from the other camp; they are won by discovering and winning over people who have never voted before. Sceptical? Mr. Palmer's facts are well organized; his article is certain to jar loose a number of standard, conventional ideas on the subject.

● **Louis Stark,** labor reporter of *The New York Times,* is perhaps the ablest journalist writing on labor affairs today. His dispatches are fair, honest and objective. He attended the recent convention of the Congress for Industrial Organization (nee Committee, etc.) and sums up the general picture of the labor front today in *Labor's Civil War.*

● **Roger Shaw,** staff member of Current History, writes on *Africa: Back on the Chopping Block.* Mr. Shaw, former foreign editor of *The Literary Digest,* is author of *175 Battles* and a forthcoming book on the German annexation of Austria.

● How can industry effect a closer bond between itself and the public? **Morris Markey** offers one suggestion in *The Family at the Factory.* Mr. Markey is intensely curious—a carry-over, no doubt, from his newspaper days. The results of this curiosity he shares with readers of many magazines.

NORMAN COUSINS

# The World Today in Books

*The annual selection of the ten important non-fiction books of the year will be published in February, instead of in January as formerly, in order to include books published up to the first of the year.*

*Members of* CURRENT HISTORY'S *Literary Advisory Board, which makes the selections, are Henry Seidel Canby, John Dewey, Amy Loveman, Burton Rascoe, Dorothy Thompson, M. E. Tracy and John W. Withers.*

IF, as Emerson said, history is nothing more than an accumulation of biography, then history has thickened around us to a considerable degree these last few months. For biography and autobiography seem to have dominated the non-fiction field this past fall. The new publishing season was hardly under way when two important works appeared, Carl van Doren's *Benjamin Franklin* and Winston S. Churchill's concluding book of his six-volume biography, *Marlborough: His Life and Times*, (CURRENT HISTORY, November, 1938). And now there are eight new works, some of which have already received wide attention. Headed by Philip C. Jessup's *Elihu Root*, the list includes *A Puritan in Babylon*, by William Allen White, *Chateaubriand*, by Andre Maurois, *Lafayette*, by W. E. Woodward, *Behind the Ballots*, by James A. Farley, *Leonardo Da Vinci*, by Antonina Vallentin, *Turbulent Years*, by Isaac Marcosson, and *The Education of an American*, by Mark Sullivan. And in the suburbs of biography are two works worthy of note, *The Captains and the Kings Depart: Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher*, edited by Oliver Viscount Esher, and *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, edited by Ella Winter and Granville Hicks.

Perhaps most significant of the entire group, if not of the entire year in biography, is Dr. Jessup's two-volume study of the statesman, treaty-maker, and lawyer whose public service spanned half a century. Elihu Root held some of the highest appointive positions in the country, yet with one exception he never consented to run for public office. He could have been President, many historians are now agreed, but he resisted attempts to draft him as candidate for the office.

Elihu Root would make an interesting case study for Bertrand Russell, who in *Power* observed and analyzed the power motive in man. The story of his career emphasizes one of Russell's main theses: the most capable men of a country seldom govern it largely because they are not dominated by the will to rule. Of all factors contributing to an individual's rise to power, Russell believes that the love of power has figured the largest. Dr. Jessup, in commenting upon Root's fitness for the Presidency and the fact that he never ran for that position, says that "in the system of American democracy such high abilities are often a bar to, rather than an assurance of, high office."

Root was never consumed with the desire to wield great power. If he had been, there is no telling how far he might have gone. His mind and body were strong and he knew how to direct the organization and affairs of large groups. For many years, he was publicly recognized as "the ablest living American." The reference originated in 1916 when a group of prominent New York citizens signed a statement calling upon Root to accept the Republican presidential nomination that year.

People, whether they liked him or not, sought and accepted his services and advice. He pulled chestnuts out of the fire for more Presidents than any other statesman in American history since Thomas Jefferson. Though not a soldier, he was asked by McKinley to become Secretary of War, in which position he effected a sweeping reorganization of the army and established a general staff to coordinate the various divisions of the army. He put down the Philippine Insurrection in 1899-1900 and was constituted as a one-man committee to draw up for a Philippine Commission a complete civil code, and a framework of government for the islands. He was also a one-man Constitutional Convention which drafted a government for Puerto Rico. And as head of the War Department, he directed the affairs of Cuba from the Spanish evacuation in 1898 until May, 1902.

Root resigned as Secretary of War in 1904 and resumed his private law practice as a "counsel" with great success. Large corporations paid him handsomely; he handled several notable cases, among them the Northern Securities Case for J. P. Morgan and James J. Hill. Trust-busting T.R. was out to break up the combine, and did, and Root was retained by the Morgan-Hill interests to defend them against

**Books Reviewed in This Issue**

| BOOK | AUTHOR | PUBLISHER | PRICE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Elihu Root* | Philip C. Jessup | Dodd, Mead | $7.50 |
| *A Puritan in Babylon* | William A. White | Macmillan | 3.50 |
| *Behind the Ballots* | James A. Farley | Harcourt, Brace | 3.00 |
| *Lafayette* | W. E. Woodward | Farrar and Rinehart | 3.50 |
| *Leonardo da Vinci* | Antonina Vallentin | Viking Press | 3.75 |
| *Turbulent Years* | Isaac F. Marcosson | Dodd, Mead | 3.50 |
| *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens* | Edited by Ella Winter and Granville Hicks | Harcourt, Brace | 10.00 |
| *The Captains and the Kings Depart* | Edited by Oliver Viscount Esher | Scribners | 7.50 |

the claims of former associates. The case took two days. Root won and pocketed a $75,000 fee.

As a corporation lawyer, Root was willing to defend the trusts. But as a citizen, he found much in T.R.'s trust-busting which he could approve. He defended Roosevelt before the rich Union Club and said, in effect, that Roosevelt's policies were constructive and would correct abuses before they became so flagrant that American institutions would be threatened: "Capital shall be fair . . . fair to the consumer, fair to the laborer, fair to the investor . . . it shall concede that the laws shall be executed."

Elihu Root became Secretary of State in Theodore Roosevelt's Cabinet upon the death of John Hay and was active in promoting good will between the United States and the Latin-American neighbors. He traveled widely throughout Central and South America, reinforcing the Monroe Doctrine. Later, he negotiated treaties with many nations—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan among them—providing for settlement of international disputes by arbitration. After his resignation from his Cabinet post in 1909 he was sent to the Senate by the New York Legislature.* He was elected President the same year of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and three years later was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Elihu Root's work following the World War, and, in fact, up to his death in 1937, was largely devoted to insuring the permanency of peace. He was the prime mover in arranging for American membership on the World Court; he represented the United States at disarmament conferences; he mediated between Japan and China; he drafted the Nine Power Treaty and until his death, was chairman of the Board of the Carnegie Peace Endowment. He lived to see the structure of peace, which he, perhaps more than any other man with the exception of Woodrow Wilson, had been instrumental in erecting, begin to crumble. When he died in February, 1937, one year before his 92nd birthday, the world had started again on the road to war—a destination it is rapidly approaching today.

Phillip C. Jessup's *Elihu Root* is not as concise nor as compact, perhaps, as William Allen White's biography of Coolidge, but Root's life was so active, so varied, so abundantly rich in ac-

* The Constitutional amendment providing for direct election of senators was not passed

complishment that an extensive and detailed treatment of this type is justified. Were not Carl Van Doren's *Benjamin Franklin* published the same year, one would feel safe in predicting a Pulitzer Prize in biography. There is much to be said for each book and the Pulitzer Committee would run into no storm of protest were it to decide upon a joint award.

Ike Hoover, most famous of all White House attendants, wrote in *Forty-two Years in the White House* that President Coolidge worked fewer hours and assumed fewer tasks than any other President he had ever known. With this, William Allen White agrees in *A Puritan in Babylon*, a biography of Calvin Coolidge. Mr. White says that Coolidge delegated his tasks and was not a hard worker. Yet there is perhaps another factor: Coolidge was President in an era when the country ran itself and did not require much government. Those were the days when by some strange miracle all the gears and levers of the national structure operated almost automatically, and, by a still stranger miracle, managed to keep moving without hitting and clashing together. Coolidge sat at the top of the heap, with enough flooring between him and the wildy-turning machinery to conceal it from view and deaden the sound so that the grinding and squeaking sounded like the purr of well-oiled parts. The President seldom went down into the plant because his function was largely that of an honorary night watchman; moreover, it wasn't really expected of him.

It was a strange, nervous, hustling, bubble-blowing age. In many ways, the picture Mr. White draws of the Coolidge era is every bit as important as his picture of the man himself. In fact, Mr. White has given as much emphasis to the times as to the man "because he and his day of glory were so intricately interlocked. . . . I was forced to write of him as a party of his times."

This is not Mr. White's first biography of Coolidge. He wrote a short one back in 1925 but it was mainly concerned with the late President as an individual and did not view Coolidge as an important prop on the twentieth century stage. The present volume presents the full and rounded view. Mr. White may not have lost his balance leaning over backwards in an attempt to be sympathetic, but he is at least slightly inclined. His last

(*Continued on page 58*)

Yours for Good Service
The people use the telephone—in this country nearly everybody.
The people operate the telephone—about 300,000 of them in the Bell System.
The people own the telephone business. There are about 750,000 owners of Bell System securities.
All of this works together to give you the best telephone service in the world at the lowest possible cost.
Bell Telephone System

# This Refugee Problem

LET us be frank, especially with ourselves. Just how far are we ready to go in helping to solve this refugee problem? Putting it even more bluntly, just how many Jews are we willing to admit? Are we prepared, for instance, to modify or liberalize immigration laws, and if so, to what extent? Are we prepared to join other countries—particularly European countries—in guaranteeing the integrity of a new Jewish homeland, if one can be found? Are we prepared to make an issue of it should the Nazis balk at allowing the Jews to leave Germany?

We are naturally horrified at the existing situation. Other minorities have been abused and kicked around by various governments at various times. In no case, however, has a minority been made to suffer such sweeping, savage restraint as that of the Jews in Germany. They have not only been deprived of citizenship, but of practically all those rights which the civilized world has come to look upon as natural and legitimate. They are prevented from earning a living in ordinary ways; they cannot walk on the principal streets of the city in which they dwell; they cannot dwell in its better sections; they cannot drive automobiles; they cannot enter college; they cannot even go out-of-doors unless permitted by the police.

Still—and making due allowance for all this—some of the schemes proposed for their relief do not offer much more hope than the ghetto toward which they are definitely being driven. One can only guess what they think about such schemes, about the general idea of being uprooted, transported, and then allowed to shift for themselves in some far-off, undeveloped region.

Many people are busying themselves with paper schemes for rescuing, relieving and rehabilitating German Jews. Most of these schemes, however, rest entirely on wishful thinking. Some of them are obviously impractical, some are so mixed with international politics that they could hardly be launched without a grand rumpus, much less carried out, and some are too fantastic for serious consideration.

Take British Guiana, for instance, which has been proposed as a happy haven: what has it to offer the average city-dwelling Jew? Can you imagine a multitude of former clerks, tradesmen, merchants, lawyers, professors, etc., tackling that hot, humid, unimproved region? One would have to look far for a set-up better calculated to result in tragedy. And this Tanganyika proposition: doesn't it look like mixing charity with politics? Tanganyika is one of the former German colonies which the Nazis would like to get back. By way of disillusioning them on this point, the British Premier suggests that it would make an excellent homeland for Jewish refugees.

Then there is Pitcairn Island. One can only marvel at the genius who suggested that speck of rock in the mid-Pacific—one thousand acres more or less—six hundred miles from the nearest land and twice proved incapable of supporting more than a hundred families.

It hardly strains the imagination to suspect that some of the 30-odd countries supposed to be cooperating in behalf of Jewish refugees are trying to sidestep direct responsibility. Otherwise, why all the talk about isolated regions, the establishment of new states, etc.?

German trade has not increased; German finances have not been strengthened; German relations with other countries—even those in Central Europe—have not improved. More disappointing than all else, the anti-Jewish campaign has failed to strike fire among the Germans themselves. Propaganda Minister Goebbels has found himself hard put to it to whip up the proper degree of enthusiasm and has had to work his publicity machine overtime. Millions of Germans are cold toward this useless, unreasoned visitation of hardships on a helpless minority. They cannot do much about it because they, too, must bow to the dictates of an armed tyranny. They can, however, withhold positive approval and that is what they are doing. It is not logical to believe that the withholding of such approval will be without effect.

The Nazi regime has gone too far for its own good. It has seriously weakened its position not only abroad but at home. It must let up or face the consequence of an aroused conscience on the part of its own people. There is bound to be a turn of the tide within Germany. How long this turn will be in making itself felt no one can guess, but it is as inevitable as the day of doom. All one has to do is recall the Jewish captivity in Babylon, the persecution of Christians at Rome, the Spanish Inquisition, and the witchcraft delusion to realize where such a course leads.

McTracy

*Staking His Claim*

Packer in The New York Daily Mirr[illegible]

CURRENT
HISTORY

VOL. XLIX NO. 5 JANUARY, 1939

# A Month's History in the Making

WE Americans are a garrulous folk. We like to talk and write about anything that comes to mind. We are particularly interested in pointing out flaws, exposing defects—even to the extent of "picking lint." We have been trained to argument and criticism. We believe in it. Perhaps we carry it to unnecessary extremes, particularly where other people are concerned. A controversy cannot arise anywhere without our taking sides, generally both sides, sometimes more. We fight every European war at the debating table, and if there is no war we fight rumors.

We do not take all this too seriously, however, except as a source of education and enlightenment, a good way to keep abreast of the times, a stimulant to thought.

Two months ago we held an election—a very bitter election. Some extravagant things were said and published. Names were called, epithets applied, dire predictions made. Those who live in countries where such practices are not allowed, and where people have not been trained to disagree without getting mad, find it difficult to understand how we can pass through such upheavals without getting into trouble. The ability to do so is the essence of democracy. Democratic government presupposes that people can "take it," can go at each other hammer and tongs in a political campaign, and then shake hands the moment it is over.

Protagonists of dictatorship and totalitarianism say that such methods represent a waste of time; that they involve periods of chaos if not disorder; that they interfere with routine efficiency, etc. We admit that some of this is true, but we claim that in the long run the gain is too apparent to be questioned—the gain in energy, alertness and ingenuity. We claim that democracy teaches people to think, to be wide awake, above all else, to be charitable and tolerant toward those who hold divergent views or who may need sympathy. More than that, we claim that during more than 150 years of steady growth and development the United States has proved the case for democracy beyond doubt. We claim that our amazing progress is due largely to the simple fact that we have permitted all people to use their heads and their hearts in every reasonable way, and that their contributions to the common good contrast more than favorably with the results achieved through regimentation and discipline.

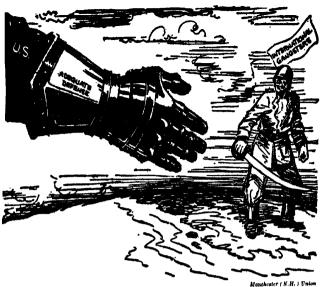
*Louisville Times*

***Peace At Any Price***

Propagandists of dictatorship and totalitarianism are fond of calling us a crime-ridden, gangster-ridden nation; of telling their own suppressed peoples how we have suffered from depression, disorder and unemployment. But here is one simple fact that they ought to be honest enough to concede. Though he possesses the power, and though he might have found plenty of excuses for doing so were he an exponent of the philosophy they preach, President Roosevelt has not found it necessary to utilize the armed force of the United States during his six years in office. Is there a dictator who can say the same thing? Neither has President Roosevelt found it necessary to save his party by a blood purge, or "improve" conditions by suppressing or persecuting any group within the United States. Is there a dictator who can claim as much? Is there a nation under dictatorship where fewer people have died from starvation, suffered from distress, or been exposed to abuse?

It seems appropriate to ask such questions because our system of government has been openly derided, openly ridiculed, and openly challenged. The time has come to defend it—not only for our own satisfaction, but because of what we believe its preservation means to the future of humanity. This we can do by proving to the world that it is workable under all possible stresses and all possible strains.

CHANGED conditions throughout the world have given an added impetus to the manufacture of armaments. This has been true of all countries, and the vicious circle has come to the Americas. Mr. Roosevelt has been speeding up air and naval building programs regardless of cost, and most normally patriotic Americans support him in this. But not a few believe the recovery phantom, as well as the verdict of the American electorate, has contributed to the call for arms-manufacture. It has been said that, all morals aside, arming helps business. It is well known that this has been true in England and Germany, where the Forge of Vulcan has resulted in bogus prosperity booms and has become a veritable opiate for the people.

Manchester (N.H.) Union

*Hand Across the Sea*

The Administration at Washington is not ignorant of the Anglo-German success with munitions, economically speaking, and there are those who believe this aspect plays a part in Mr. Roosevelt's plans. Meanwhile, arming in Europe leads to counter-arming here, and vice versa, which is a blessing to big business and unemployed, but a curse to the middle class taxpayer.

DURING the month of November the American people found it necessary to readjust themselves to marked changes here and abroad. There were, for example, the Munich Pact arranged by Germany, Italy, France, and England, which served to shift the balance of power in Europe; the Paris-Berlin "no-war" accord signed early in December; the frantic drive for trade in the Latin Americas, especially between Germany and the United States, with England, Italy, and Japan not far behind; and the national elections which turned out better for G.O.P. than the Republicans themselves had expected. Even Democratic Chairman Farley confessed himself disappointed.

As in all elections everywhere—that is, everywhere that they still exist in their pristine form—each person interpreted the American balloting to suit himself or herself. Business has considered the result favorable, since it hopes from now on for less governmental interference in its activities. The New Dealers were disappointed, but said, nevertheless, that the returns vindicated their reformist policies. They pointed out that most of the newly elected Republicans were progressive in tendency, but conceded that some changes of means and objectives were in line.

The President himself stressed the fact that there was a decided upturn in business, but not in employment. The Wage-Hour Bill cost some 30,000 to 50,000 workers their jobs, as beleagured business tightened up its efficiency, for necessity is ever the mother of invention. Governmental pressure on the lords of trade stimulates methods and machinery, and business men turn to new devices to offset rising costs. By decreasing acreage, farm prices go up, but many farmers intensify their efforts and raise more per acre. Thus, less acreage ofttimes results in bigger crops, just as better social conditions lead to increased unemployment.

MANY Americans think that Uncle Sam should tighten up the Monroe Doctrine, but divide responsibility among all the 21 nations of the New World, not compelling the United States to shoulder alone the whole Doctrinal burden. The Lima Conference, with its 74 propositions, indicates a sort of New World League of Nations, with the Old World shut out.

In an academic sense the United States faces a challenge to democracy at the hands of the super-states abroad. This ideological threat is not purely imaginery, for it originates in the irreconcilable philosophies of our Ben Franklin and their Friedrich Nietzsche. The super-states criticize the American form of government and its alleged plutocracy. They describe us in their newspapers and magazines as a nation of criminals and gangsters, with anarchist ideals, wracked by recurrent spasms of brutal disorder; kidnapings, lynchings, exhibitionism, racketeering, Hollywood standards.

The Yankees are inefficient, these foreign critics say; and foreign critics include English and French men and women as well as Germans, Italians, and Japanese. The Yankees are confused, they continue, and of this they convince their own peoples, and even gain converts on this side of the not-so-wide Atlantic. Americans agree that this sort of propaganda is a challenge to be met. Some of them want to save democracy everywhere, forgetting that the quickest way to sacrifice American democracy is to go to war to save someone else's democracy.

Will a stronger army, navy, and air-force show the world, or will this attitude—as some Americans believe—be regarded abroad merely as an extra-arrogant piece of Yankee bluff? Perhaps it is best for us to go on patiently, demonstrating how human beings—130 million of them—can prosper under democratic government. Thereby, we stick to a successful 150-year-old policy toward ourselves and toward the outside world.

How far should we go if we disapprove of foreign governments or their expressed actions? This is a poser

Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic and Gazette

*Whee-e-e*

especially difficult to answer when we come to the Jews in Germany. It is always risky to rush to the relief of oppressed peoples against the will of their tyrants. Sometimes it makes the lot of the victims even harder, as when we aided and abetted the Hungarians in 1848 or the Cubans in the 1890's. Retaliatory measures against tyrants may bring good or evil in their train—which of the two is a moot point.

In Central Europe a curious realignment has taken place. A few months ago Czechoslovakia faced Germany, Hungary, and Poland in much the manner that Poland herself faced Prussia, Austria, and Russia late in the eighteenth century, and with a similar outcome: partition. Czechoslovakia has lost the Sudeten area to Germany, Teschen to the Poles, and a southern strip of Slovakia and Ruthenia to Hungary.

Now the lineup is changed. Germans and Czechs stand shoulder to shoulder against Poland and Hungary. The reason for this is the Ruthenian eastern tip of Czechoslovakia. Bordering on Rumania, it offers Germany a direct corridor to the Rumanian oil fields and the Black Sea. Hungary has asked for Ruthenia, which would give her a common frontier with her good Polish friends, and which would shut off Germany from Rumania. Germany has backed the Czechs in their determination to keep Ruthenia (now called Carpatho-Ukrainia). Meanwhile, Poland's badly treated Ukrainian minority of five million has showed signs of unrest, for they are blood-kin to the Czechoslovak Ruthenians. So are Russia's 30 million Ukranians. Poles and Russians

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
*Double Billing*

fear that little Carpatho-Ukrainia, under German domination, might form the nucleus for a vast Ukrainian state in Central Europe.

This factor has driven Poland from the German camp toward that of Russia. Poles and Russians—generally on the worst of terms—now have a common anti-German fear. The Rumanians, too, are alarmed. King Carol has gone to London and then to see Hitler at Berchtesgaden, while Rumanian jail guards slaughtered Corneliu Codreanu, imprisoned leader of Rumania's Nazis, attempting "to escape." With Codreanu perished sixteen of his very tough henchmen—themselves long addicted to assassination. The Rumanian Nazis, called the Iron Guard, countered by threats to murder King Carol, who has a Jewish mistress, Wolff-Lupescu.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
*Props of Dictatorship*

Meanwhile, Czechoslovakia reorganized into Czecho-Slovakia, to stress the regional equality of her Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians. Each of these three states became completely autonomous, and strongly pro-German cabinets took office. These Czechoslovak pro-Germans had been in opposition to the pro-French Benes ever since the war, and now their turn had come. They were conservatives, whereas Benes had been a liberal.

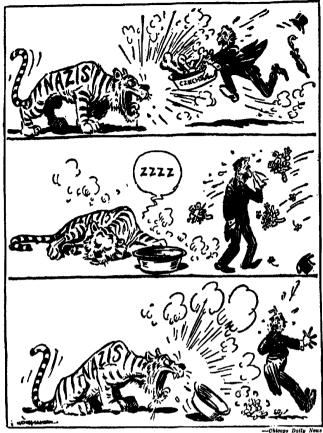
Dr. Emil Hacha of the Supreme Court became Benes' successor as President. He was elected by a national assembly of parliamentarians. Rudolph Beran assumed the Czech premiership, while Dr. Joseph Tiso (a priest) remained Premier of self-governing Slovakia. One-eyed General Jan Syrovy, Acting Premier since the autumn crisis, became Minister of Defense. Beran had long been a personal foe of Benes, and of Czechoslovakia's trade unions, Socialists, and

Washington Star
*Santa Claus Succession*

Communists. He is a semi-Fascist, and the candidate of Czech big business.

French big business scored a triumph, too. In France Premier Daladier crushed an attempted 24-hour general strike with the help of troops, state police, and the forced labor of mobilized army reservists. Leon Jouhaux, head of the French Confederation of Labor, had called out five million unionists to demonstrate *against* "Daladier's" Munich Pact and *for* the 40-hour week, which Daladier had suspended in an effort to speed up arms production. The five million union men, with their dependents, represent half the population of France, and had they all walked out, some 50 per cent of the nation would have been on strike. Actually, less than a million men quit work.

Daladier has revenged himself in somewhat savage style. In February, 1934, he was forced out of the French premiership by Royalist and Fascist riots in Paris, and was accused of cowardice. This time he decided to assert himself—some said against a man of straw. Many thousands of the strikers were locked out or discharged without mercy, ringleaders were jailed, and Communists were threatened as aliens were deported. In many cases, non-striking workmen were punished along with the "mutineers." The French labor movement was shaken to its foundations, and some observers recalled that Mussolini came into power (in 1922) as an emergency strike-breaker and red-scare man. Daladier, however, was not loved any too well by the millionaires of France. He had coined the phrase "200 Families"—whose coun-

—Chicago Daily News

*The Trouble Is, He Gets Hungry Again*

terpart in America has become the term, "60 Families." A Daladier dictatorship—if any—was expected to take the form of a middle-ground drill-mastership like that of Bonaparte, who socked and cajoled Bourbons and Jacobins alike. As War Minister, Daladier—like Bonaparte—has a strong hold on the army.

But general strikes aren't Daladier's only headaches. France has sent a new ambassador to Italy, the highly experienced André Francois-Poncet, who had worked tirelessly as ambassador to Germany under Stresemann and Hitler alike. The friendly Poncet had no prejudice against Fascism, was inclined to be pro-German, and did not shudder at the mention of Mussolini.

But his reception at Rome was extraordinary, to say the least. As he sat in Italian Chamber of Deputies, the delegates staged a more or less spontaneous demonstration against La Belle France. Even cabinet ministers participated. They paraded, shouted, and clamored for France's Tunisia, Corsica, Nice, and Savoy, all with predominantly Italian populations, all for a long time under French rule. These wild Italian demands were timed to coincide with—and abet—Hitler's stand for the return of Germany's colonial empire, lost in the World War.

France bought Corsica from the Genoese republic back in the eighteenth century. The great Corsican war for independence, under the patriot Paoli, did much to inspire the contemporary American revolution. France received Nice and Savoy as the price for partially freeing North Italy from the Austrians in 1859. Nice was the great Garibaldi's home town, and the Italian royal family is the House of Savoy. France deviously acquired Tunisia in 1881, enraging the new young Italy by her action at the time. It drove Italy into the arms of Bismarck. Today there are more Italian immigrants than French in this French colony, which is just northwest of Italian Tripoli, or Libya. Despite all this history, however, Daladier did not relish the Italian demands nor the threats of war that followed them. He could not fight the French Left and the Italian Right at the same time. And it was admitted that the 100,000 Italians in Tunisia have, for the most part, Fascist sympathies despite the proximity of the efficient French Foreign Legion.

To add to the general chaos in Europe, Belgium has suffered a diplomatic break with the Spanish Loyalist government. The Belgians' decision to send a commercial agent to rebel Spain so offended Barcelona politicos that their ambassador departed, with his staff, from Brussels for home. Belgium is an important industrial country, and the Spanish rebels—short on manufactured consumption goods—would doubtless prove a profitable market. Belgian Catholics approved the rupture with Loyalist Spain, while Belgian Socialists viewed with alarm.

Meanwhile, the South African Union's War Minister, Mynheer Oswald Pirow, arrived at Brussels for a good talk on colonies, of which Belgium has nearly a million square miles in the vast African Congo region. If some of these Belgian miles should go to Germany, Pirow would not be disappointed. He has a "Confederate" view of Negroes, as do most of the South African Union's scant two million whites, who live among seven million natives. They fear the vast millions of African blacks, and favor a white man's Dark Continent.

French colonizers, they believe, are much too equalitarian towards black men, while London officials are inclined to pet and pamper. But Germany, with its militant Aryan racial theories, would be a valuable neighbor in keeping natives in their place, and in making Africa safe for the predominantly Dutch South African Union—*Zuidafrika*, as they call it.

If one thinks of the South African Union in terms of South Carolina or Mississippi, one can understand the Pirow viewpoint.

RACIAL mixtures lead directly to Pan-America, where the eighth modern New World convention took place at Lima, a city of 300,000, in Peru. Previous Pan-American get-togethers had

taken place at Washington, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Havana, and Montevideo. Hoover toured South America back in 1928, and Roosevelt followed his example eight years later, preaching the Good Neighbor policy, which made an astonishing hit with Latins to the south of us. This was on the occasion of the last Pan-American meeting, the 1936 Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held at dazzling Buenos Aires, with its two-score Catholic churches, its outstanding opera, its presidential Pink House, half-Italian, half-Hispanic population.

The United States in November, 1938 sent trade-minded Secretary Hull, eleven delegates including Alf Landon, the daughter of John L. Lewis, and seven expert advisers to Lima. Peru's President Oscar Benavides, a dictatorial figure, welcomed the delegates. All twenty-one of the Pan-American states were there in the Congress Building on the gay and colorful Inquisition Square. "We are no longer two vast islands, but a part of an integrated civilization," declared Assistant Secretary of State Berle. "We are prepared to defend this position on any line which may seem necessary."

Of the various Latin American states assembled (with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy on their minds) very few are democratic themselves. The liberal list might include Costa Rica, Columbia, Panama, Chile by a narrow margin, perhaps the Argentine, while Mexico and Uruguay are at least social-democracies. Our best friend, Brazil, big as the United States, with 40 million people, our source of coffee, is allegedly home-Fascist under her new constitution. Brazil is one-third Italian, with a militant little Germanic minority in her ranching south, populated by Japs, Negroes, Indians, weird dwarfs, all manner of hybrids, Yankee lobbyists, and Portuguese and Spanish immigrants.

New York Times

*Kaiser: "I laughed at that in 1914, too."*

Our American democracy was cross-represented at Lima by a Catholic college chief, a collegiate international lawyer of Protestant leanings, A.F. of L. and C.I.O. delegates, a pair of diplomats with Latin American experience, Mr. Hull's assistant and his legal adviser, a Republican presidential candidate, a female Democratic immigration authority, and the Hispanic Chief Justice of United States' Puerto Rico.

Colombia sent a child psychologist, pro-German Salvador sent a noted engineer, and Guatemala sent a 30-year veteran of the Hague Court in Holland. The Mexican envoy was a famous doctor, and the Bolivian delegate was a well-known author in Latin American literary circles. The American delegation, strongly anti-Fascist, did what it could to combat "alien" influences by pressing our army, navy, and air missions on other Pan-American states, meeting with success in friendly Brazil, "British" Argentina, Peru, giver of the party, progressive Columbia, black Haiti, and tawny Guatemala. Secretary Hull's personal popularity was a great asset, and personal contacts amiable in nature probably outweighed any concrete achievements of the Conference.

Argentina and Uruguay are white; Costa Rica is nearly so; Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia are Indian; Brazil is red, white, black, and yellow; Cuba is black and white, with some Chinese; Haiti is Negro, with the Dominican republic Negroid; Colombia and Venezuela, and most of Central America, red and black with a little white. Chile is Spanish, Anglo-Teutonic, and aristocratic Araucanian Indian. Uruguay, Colombia, and Mexico have separated church and state, and Montevideo is the South American Reno to which, for example, wealthy Brazilians jaunt for domestic relief.

Some 102 years before, Simon Bolivar, the Latin American George Washington, called an unsuccessful Pan-American Conference at Panama. One of the Yankee delegates died en route, and the other one arrived too late. From this to Lima in December, 1938, was a vast coordinating step in collective security.

New York Sun

*The Poor Relation*

The New World nations assembled at Lima were thinking mostly in terms of Europe, but they were far from oblivious of the rising sun of Japanese imperialism. For the Japanese are men of action and have inaugurated a foreign policy fairly bristling with unpleasant possibilities.

Japan's Chinese war, for example, has turned already into a campaign of major conquest over the vast expanse between Siberia and Indo-China. Nanking, Peiping, Shanghai, and Canton are *de facto* Japanese cities, and the Nipponese dynamo has by no means stopped generating electric shocks. It proclaims, in effect, a sort of Monroe Doctrine for the Far East which bodes no good to British India, Soviet Siberia, French Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, and Manuel Quezon's Philippines. China may bitterly resent Japanese invasion and Japanese atrocities, but at least the Mikado is cleaning out "white exploiters."

The Open Door—a cardinal principle of American foreign policy—virtually has ceased to exist as Japanese economic monopoly in China expands by leaps and bounds. Japan builds up her navy and merchant marine for Pacific duty, and there may yet be friction with the western Americas. Japanese trade, at cut rates, permeates everywhere and many Japanese immigrants penetrate South America. The Tokyo government has sought mercantile, if not naval, bases in a competitive spirit, and only the highly effective service of certain United States diplomats has countered with checkmates. In short, there is as much chance of trouble from the knightly Mongol-Malay-Ainus across the Pacific as from the neo-Aryans of the Berlin-Rome axis.

# Trade by Treaties

## The Assistant Secretary of State reviews the record of his department in promoting world trade and peace

By FRANCIS BOWES SAYRE

On the afternoon of November 17, in the East Room of the White House, were signed in the presence of a distinguished company, two documents which promise to be of historic importance—a trade agreement between the United States and Great Britain and a second agreement between the United States and Canada. The agreement with the United Kingdom covers trade not only with that country, but also with Newfoundland and a large and important group of British colonies. The trade of the areas which are included in these two agreements, with each other and with the rest of the world, accounts for over a third of the world's total international trade. The agreements mark an important and impressive advance in the program of our government to meet both international and domestic problems through the liberalization of international trade.

Because of the uneven geographical distribution of natural resources throughout the world, because of wide variations among all countries in climates, in racial aptitudes, in trade conditions, certain nations excel in the production of some commodities, others in different ones. This has brought about the development of international trade. Trade has always been an enriching as well as a civilizing influence.

With the building up of modern industry, this movement has grown to gigantic proportions. An industrialized nation, buying additional foodstuffs from abroad in exchange for its industrial exports, is capable of supporting a far larger population than if it had remained on an agricultural basis. In 1800 Europe's population, mainly agricultural, totaled 180 million; today its population, largely industrial, totals over 450 million.

Once the population of an industrialized state thus grows beyond the numbers which its agriculture can support, a cessation of its foreign trade must mean catastrophe for its economic and social life. It means forcing down the nation's standard of living to a disastrous level—even actual starvation by slow processes for many of its people.

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With how many nations has the United States signed trade treaties?

What percentage of our foreign trade do these countries account for?

Who is our largest foreign customer? Our second largest customer?

When was the Trade Agreements Act passed?

Is it true that because of our trade agreements American exports have been increased during a period of domestic business recession?

*These questions are answered in Mr. Sayre's article.*

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No great industrial nation today is, or can possibly be economically independent and remain great. To achieve economic self-sufficiency would be to set the clock back more than a hundred years, to eliminate through suffering and slow starvation a substantial part of the people of the world.

Even the United States, probably more nearly self-sufficient than any other great nation, could not by any possibility maintain its present standard of living on the basis of self-sufficiency. The United States must normally sell abroad about three-fifths of its cotton crop, a fifth of its wheat, two-fifths of its leaf tobacco, a third of its lard, a third of its rice, almost half of its dried fruits, as well as enormous quantities of automobiles, agricultural and other machinery, typewriters, radios, and the like.

One need not dwell upon the significance of these figures. Our national economy has been geared to support millions of workers in occupations which have come to be vitally dependent upon foreign markets. Strip those industries of their foreign markets and you drive millions of Americans out of the only forms of employment by which many of them can live. You seriously affect the prosperity of millions of other Americans through the curtailment of domestic markets.

Loss of foreign markets means American surpluses unsalable, production stopped or reduced, prices depressed, not only for the surplus products, but for the entire output, through the flooding of domestic markets with surpluses unsalable abroad.

Following the economic crash of 1929, in the face of dropping commodity prices, fluctuating currencies, and stimulated efforts on the part of many to dump their goods onto world markets for whatever they would bring, the nations of the world proceeded to barricade themselves through import restrictions of every variety against imports from other nations. As a result of these mounting barriers, international trade by 1932 had dropped to a third of its former value. Between 1929 and 1933 the value of American exports fell from $5,157,000,000 to $1,647,000,000. The resulting repercussions throughout our domestic economy threatened disaster. American exports of cotton decreased in value by 48 per cent, those of meat and meat products by 67 per cent, and those of wheat and flour by 90 per cent.

Figures such as these bring home the problem. American domestic prosperity is dependent upon the wheels of production, particularly in certain of our strongest and most rewarding producing areas, continuing to turn with unlessened activity; and this, in turn, is dependent upon finding some practical way to dispose of such surplus production as cannot be profitably sold within the United States.

Take, for example, the problem of crop surpluses. With foreign markets rapidly falling off because of impassable barriers blocking international trade and the consequent growth of eco-

nomic nationalism, how practically can American farmers, producing great surpluses beyond our present national needs, get paid for these surpluses? In other words, how can farmers engaged in producing surplus crops secure an adequate living wage?

It is manifest that the mere impounding of the surpluses by the government, while justifiable in some instances in order to meet temporary emergencies, is no real solution. If any proof of this were needed, the experience of the old Federal Farm Board is amply sufficient. In what direction then must a solution be sought?

THE problem may be attacked from either side—through curtailment of production, or through the building up of increased markets at home and abroad; or again the attack may be made from both sides simultaneously.

When surpluses are pressing upon shrunken market outlets at home and abroad, production curtailment may be temporarily necessary in order to execute what has been described as a strategic retreat from an adverse market situation. But the ultimate goal requires that we advance rather than retreat. That means that a way must be found for utilizing the productive effort of our people to the full and in the most effective channels.

How can this be done? Some have suggested as the most effective method a sweeping reduction in the American tariff. By enabling American farmers to buy the things they need at lower prices and by enabling foreign nations to increase their sales to American buyers and thus obtain sufficient dollar exchange to buy more American products, we could at once enlarge and strengthen our world markets. Such a program has the advantage of simplicity and directness.

But we live in a very practical world. Who can believe that it would be possible today for the Congress to enact legislation making sweeping reductions in our tariff? Political forces with sectional ends in view wage incessant war in season and out of season for ever higher tariff rates—not lower ones. To throw open the tariff at this time to sweeping Congressional revision would be to give full play to narrow sectional interests rather than to great national ones.

Furthermore, as a result of the economic armament which has been built up in foreign countries, particularly since 1929, our own tariff walls are not the only obstructions to the flow of international trade. Many foreign countries today are bristling with excessive tariffs, import restrictions, quota limitations, exchange controls, and the like. Unless we can secure the elimination or reduction of excessive trade barriers on *both* sides of the ocean, international trade will not increase significantly and foreign markets cannot be made secure.

Another method currently proposed for the winning of foreign markets is the payment of export subsidies. This means that we attempt to sell our surpluses abroad for whatever prices will move them, the difference between the higher domestic and the low world prices being paid out of the government treasury to exporters. The removal of the surplus would be expected to produce high domestic prices, and these high domestic prices would be protected by excluding imports of the product in question.

But practical experience in numerous countries which have adopted export subsidies has shown that, as a general rule, this method in fact creates more problems than it solves. Export subsidies are powerless to move exports in the face of foreign quota restrictions, import licenses, exchange controls, and anti-dumping laws; unless accompanied by severe and rigid crop-restriction measures, they tend to stimulate production artificially and thus intensify the problem; and they constitute an uneconomic giving away of our substance to foreign nations for less than cost. From an economic viewpoint, export subsidies offer no real solution. Practically, they result in economic conflict, retaliation and mounting trade barriers on the part of other nations.

To embark in a wholesale way on such a course would lead us astray and bog us down in a hopeless quagmire of difficulties both at home and abroad.

Surely the soundest and most effective way to reach out toward increased markets at home and abroad is to remove or reduce the excessive and economically unjustifiable trade barriers which since 1929 have been disastrously blocking the trade highways of the world. Under present-day conditions the most practical way to achieve this is by a series of agreements with individual countries to bargain down excessive trade barriers and reciprocally to guarantee each other's trade against discrimination. This is the method adopted by Congress in the Trade Agreements Act of 1934. This is the heart of the American trade agreements program.

*The reciprocal trade agreements between the United States and Great Britain and Canada are signed in the historic East Room of the White House. Left to right in front are: A. E. Overton, second permanent secretary of the British Board of Trade; Sir Ronald Lindsay, British Ambassador to the United States; President Roosevelt; Prime Minister MacKenzie King of Canada; Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Standing: Francis B. Sayre, Assistant Secretary of State; Dr. O. D. Skelton, Canada's Undersecretary of State; Charles Barnes of the U. S. State Department and Sir Herbert Marler, Canadian Minister.*

THE object of the program is emphatically not to build up our export production by the sacrifice of our non-exporting producers. Were that the result, trade agreements would work positive injury. The real objective of the program is to benefit all producers alike by restoring prosperity through

increased trade. Increased domestic markets constitute our objective quite as much as increased foreign markets.

If, for instance, we can sell abroad more automobiles, automobile factory workers in the United States can and will buy more shoes, more meat, more butter than they otherwise could. Moreover, automobile factories will be buying iron and other raw materials from every section of the country; and this in turn will mean increased payrolls and increased purchasing power in every place from which they buy. Workmen in these places will in turn buy goods coming from still other sections of the country. Each sale of surplus products abroad creates a chain of economic transactions within the country, the total effect of which is to increase purchasing power beyond the volume represented by the original sale; and increased purchasing power is what makes prosperity. Trade increases employment, creates profits, and raises the general level of well-being.

If the domestic consumption of some commodity thus increases by, say, 100,000 units, we can well afford an increased importation of, say, 10,000 units, for our domestic producers will be selling 90,000 more units than before.

In our 19 trade agreements to date we have successfully stimulated exports in those commodities in which we can obtain the greatest return and employ large numbers of American workmen. The carefully considered duty reductions which we have made in exchange for these advantages have given American interests no real cause for complaint.

OFTEN in administering our trade agreements program, we are brought face to face with narrow sectional attitudes on the part of those serving selfish interests or acting for particular sections of the country. But the menace of economic breakdown on a world scale is too real today for us to tolerate selfish sectional measures. The day for that is past. We are face to face now with nationwide and worldwide problems, grim and menacing. If we are successfully to meet and cope with them, it can be only through a program fashioned for the welfare of the nation as a whole.

How far has the trade agreements program proved practical? Has anything of great significance yet been achieved? I believe it fair to say that it has.

During the four and a half years since the Trade Agreements Act was passed, agreements have been concluded with 19 countries, accounting for about 60 per cent of our total foreign trade.

Since inauguration of the program, American exports have approximately doubled. Manifestly it would not do to ascribe this increase to trade agreements alone. But that they substantially stimulated foreign trade is

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
***Hercules Hull's Project***

indicated by the fact that during the two-year period of 1936–1937, in comparison with the preceding two-year period (1934–1935), the increase in United States exports to all trade agreement countries was 41.9 per cent, whereas during the same period the increase of our exports to non-trade agreement countries was but 25.9 per cent.

It is impossible accurately to measure by trade statistics the actual effects of trade agreements, for the flow of trade is affected by so many factors. For instance, until recently the effect of trade agreements upon farm exports and imports has been obscured by the farm shortages and high prices prevailing in this country as a result of the unprecedented droughts of 1934 and 1936. Nevertheless, the trade figures are significant.

Cuban imports from the United States rose from $23,000,000 in 1933 to $56,000,000 in 1935, a gain of 140 per cent compared with an increase of but 100 per cent in Cuban imports from all other countries. In 1936 and 1937 Cuban imports from the United States, continuing to rise, reached $66,000,000 and $89,000,000 respectively, representing gains of 190 and 290 per cent over 1933.

The first Canadian trade agreement came into force on January 1, 1936. Canadian imports from the United States increased from $312,000,000 in 1935 to $369,000,000 in 1936, a gain of 18 per cent. In 1937 they rose to $491,000,000, a gain of 33 per cent over 1936.

NETHERLANDS imports from the U. S. increased in 1937 over 1935, the year before the trade agreement was made, by 72 per cent, as compared with an increase of only 35 per cent in her total imports from all countries.

Similarly, Belgian imports from the United States increased in 1937 over 1934, the pre-agreement year, by over 70 per cent, as compared with an increase of only 44 per cent in her total imports from all countries. The corresponding figures with respect to Switzerland were a 28 per cent increase in imports from the United States and only one per cent in total imports from all countries.

In the complex field of foreign trade it is difficult to isolate the effects of any single factor by statistical evidence. What needs no proof, however, is the patent fact that the lowering of excessive and unjustifiable trade barriers must tend towards an increased flow of foreign trade.

The facts speak for themselves. By means of the trade agreements program, important foreign markets have been secured for American products and American exports have been protected from foreign discrimination. American exports have increased even during a period of domestic business recession. Not a few American producers just now must feel extremely thankful for their satisfactory export trade.

We in America have not in the past been foreign-trade-minded. As a people we have been inclined to underestimate its importance, and as a consequence we allowed our foreign trade policies to become the private preserve of interests seeking tariff subsidies through political pressure. I believe that a fundamental change in our attitude is at present taking place.

The recent British and Canadian trade agreements, which go into effect on January 1, 1939, far surpass in importance all other trade agreements previously concluded. About a third of the entire foreign trade of the United States is carried on with the areas covered by these two agreements.

The United Kingdom is our largest customer. She buys more goods from

(Continued on page 45)

# New Directions in France

## Failure of the French general strike did not run counter to similar attempts in history

By ROBERT DELL

THE failure of the recent French general strike was no surprise. A general strike is a political and revolutionary method which should never be resorted to except for political purposes. So far as I know, the only general strikes that have succeeded were the Russian strike in 1905 and that against the Kapp putsch in Germany in 1920. In each case the issue was purely political. The aim of the German general strike was negative: to paralyze an insurgent Government and force it out. This aim was achieved, thanks to the universality of the strike. Even the Government servants took part, including employees of the post and telegraph offices.

England's famous general strike. in 1926, in support of the miners, was a complete failure. The trade-union leaders never really wanted it: they were pushed into it by Prime Minister Baldwin, who called their bluff. It was an absurdity from beginning to end. and it would have been much better to use the funds of the trade unions to give financial help to the miners on strike.

This recent general strike in France was perhaps even more unwise. To resort to a general strike for twenty-four hours, merely to protest and to exhibit strength, is about as reasonable as to use a sledge-hammer to crack a nut. It is not surprising that workmen faced with the risk of losing their jobs—even in some cases, as with railway workers, of being punished for refusing to obey a mobilization order—should hesitate to take such a risk merely for the purpose of making a demonstration. Had it been intended to continue the strike until the Government was overthrown, the workmen very likely would have been more disposed to stand firm.

Aristide Briand crushed the general strike of 1910 by mobilizing the railway workers. The best legal opinion then was that his action was illegal, but the conditions of a partial mobilization are no longer the same as they were in 1910 and I am unable to say whether Daladiers' action was legal or not. French trade unionists, socialists and communists hold that it was not.

Quite possibly. Daladier, like Baldwin before him, deliberately provoked the strike for the purpose of crushing it. In any case, although he pretended to be acting in the interests of the French people as a whole, he undoubtedly made himself the instrument of the extreme Right. His policy was the climax of social reaction going on in France for more than a year—reaction against the social measures of the Popular Front, for which Daladier himself was responsible as a member of the Blum cabinet formed in June 1936. Daladier may therefore rightly be described as a renegade.

*Premier Edouard Daladier, who broke the recent French general strike.*

Daladier was probably right when he said that, although the avowed aim of the general strike was to protest against the decrees of Finance Minister Paul Reynaud, there was a political element in it. The mass of French workers are exasperated by the foreign policy pursued by successive French governments during the last three years, which culminated in the humiliating capitulations to Hitler at Munich. Ever since the first Popular Front government formed by Leon Blum came into office there has been a close connection between foreign and internal policy. which have reacted on each other.

Daladier, however, certainly was wrong when he put the blame for the general strike on the communists, who nowadays are convenient scapegoats. Ever since 1936 the French Communist party has been a moderating influence in the trade union organization. The advocates of revolutionary methods at all costs have been those whom the communists label "Troskyists," who have continued the tradition of revolutionary syndicalism which was the doctrine of the French trade union organization before the war. The revolutionary syndicalists were and are opposed to parliamentary action, and favor only what is called "direct action." The communists have since the formation of the Popular Front insistently advocated parliamentary action and opposed the policy of "direct action." Communists no doubt supported the recent general strike, but they were far from being the only authors of it.

Leon Jauhaux, secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, who is not a communist and was before the war a revolutionary syndicalist, was the man most responsible for the general strike. The French Government has shown its consciousness of that fact by removing him from his position on the board of directors of the Bank of France and on the Contract Fund board.

To appreciate the present situation in France it is necessary to recall the history of the last three years. In the first half of 1936 Albert Sarraut was Prime Minister of a cabinet in which Pierre Etienne Flandin was Foreign Minister. This cabinet was in office in March, 1936, when Hitler violated the Treaty of Locarno and sent German troops into the demilitarized zone.

Sarraut and several other members of the cabinet, including Paul Boncour, were in favor of mobilizing at once. We now know that if that had been done Hitler would have withdrawn his troops. Flandin, under British influence, prevented French mobilization, and the result was complete capitulation to Hitler. France was let down by the British Government.

Hitler had alleged as an excuse for his action that the Franco-Soviet pact was inconsistent with the Treaty of Locarno, although that pact was already signed when in May 1935 he publicly and solemnly declared his intention of observing the provisions of the Treaty of Locarno.

During the session of the Council of the League of Nations held in London in April, 1935, to deal with the situation created by Hitler's action, Flandin, on behalf of the French Government, proposed to refer the question whether the Franco-Soviet pact was inconsistent with the Treaty of Locarno to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, and undertook to accept its decision. Ribbentrop, on behalf of the German Government, refused because he knew that there was no such inconsistency.

The British Government did not back the French proposal and evaded all its responsibilities under the Treaty of Locarno. Several months later an official of the British Foreign Office said: "What fools the French were to consult us! If they had acted, we should have been obliged to follow." Of course they would. This was the beginning of the subordination of French foreign policy to British influence, which has continued ever since and which led to the Munich capitulation.

I was in Paris in June, 1936, when the Blum cabinet took office. I had been in Paris for some time during the previous winter when the mood of the French people was one of despondency and defeatism, and they were terrified by the German danger. The change in the summer, after the victory of the Popular Front at the general election, was amazing. The French had recovered their self-confidence. They were no longer afraid of Germany, and there was a wave of enthusiasm from one end of the country to the other. Léon Blum's position was stronger than that of any other Prime Minister in Europe. He could have done almost anything.

Unhappily, Blum did not use his strength. On the contrary, he put France more completely under the domination of the reactionary British Government than it had been before. The stay-in strikes in France, immediately after the Blum cabinet came into office, were a spontaneous movement from below, neither organized nor instigated by any leaders or agitators, and were but the expression of the enthusiasm of the masses. They were not revolutionary in their aims, though they were a sort of dress-rehearsal of revolutionary methods.

Never shall I forget the sight of the big department stores in Paris during those stay-in strikes. They were decorated with red flags and tricolors and the salesgirls were sitting in the show windows knitting or sewing. In the Printemps, musicians among the staff had collected instruments from the stock and a large number of the employees were dancing in the great hall. Never have I seen such happy and good-natured strikes. Nowhere was there the slightest violence or disorder.

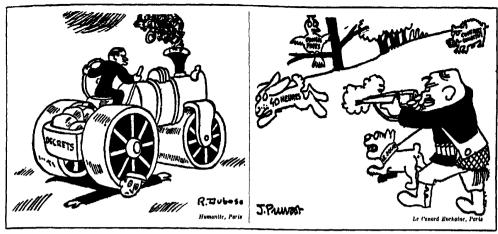
Instead of profiting by the enthusiasm of the French masses to adopt a firm foreign policy, Blum damped down the enthusiasm and made himself a mere instrument of the British reactionaries who hated the Popular Front and whose maneuvers have been an active factor in its destruction.

The present situation in France is the logical consequence of Blum's fatal capitulation to the British Government on August 8, 1936, when he put the embargo on the supply of arms and munitions to Spain. When Blum went to London in July of that year, with his Foreign Minister, Yvon Delbos, the British Government suggested a policy of "non-intervention" in Spain and an embargo on the supply of arms to either side in the civil war. Blum was opposed to the proposal, but Delbos was inclined to favor it. On August 2 the French Government, under British pressure, proposed to various other governments a policy of non-intervention in Spain. There was no intention of taking any action until replies had been received from the other governments and all had agreed to the proposal.

This was not enough for the British Government and a few days later Sir George Clerk, then British ambassador to Paris, called on Delbos and told him that if the French Government got into difficulties with Germany over Spain it must not count on any support from England. It is alleged in the British Foreign Office that the ambassador went beyond his instructions. In any case, the leading Radical ministers—Delbos, Chautemps and Daladier—threatened to resign unless an immediate embargo was put on the supply of arms and munitions to Spain. Blum at first thought of resigning, but on August 8 he agreed to put on the embargo.

Blum is far too intelligent not to have known that the British Government was bluffing. There was no danger of war with Germany, or with anybody else, if France had continued to allow the sale of arms to the Spanish Republic. There was no question of actual French intervention but merely of continuing the normal course. The embargo was a violation of international law and also of the French commercial treaty with Spain. Blum yielded not because he was afraid of Sir George Clerk's threats but because he was afraid to take the risk of breaking up the Popular Front. He was almost certainly mistaken. Had he stood firm he would probably have divided the Radical party and obtained a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Even if he had not, he would have been in office again in two or three months.

Weakness of character, of which this was the most conspicuous example, was the cause of Blum's complete failure as Prime Minister and of the ultimate disruption of the Popular Front. The seeds of that disruption were sown on August 8, 1936. Communists shared with Radicals and Socialists the responsibility for the embargo. They were opposed to it, but they acquiesced for the same reason as Blum. They then consistently attacked the Spanish policy of the Government in their newspapers and in public meetings, but continued to vote for the Government in Parliament—not only the Blum government but the governments that succeeded it, until after the Munich Agreement. This inconsistent attitude naturally discredited the Communist party.

The embargo of August 8, 1936, was resented by the overwhelming majority of the supporters of the Popular Front Government, with the result that Blum was obliged to throw sops to the workmen to allay their resentment. The social measures of the Popular Front—particularly the 40-hour week—were applied much too hastily, without proper preparation, and sometimes by unpractical methods. The employers of labor were allowed to sabotage. Then came the financial crisis, provoked by the Bank of England and the City of London, both of which

What About Paid Holidays, Etc.?"

"The Forty-Hour Week Is First Victim.

maneuvered against the French franc for the purpose of bringing down the Popular Front. There was only one way to counteract the maneuvers—by control of the exchange. This the Blum cabinet and the cabinets that succeeded it were afraid to adopt, because the British Government forebade it.

Thus it is the subjection of French policy to British domination which has put France where she is and destroyed the Popular Front. Blum's weakness ultimately led to what he feared in August, 1936.

Hence the social reaction which has culminated in Daladier's attempt to crush organized labor. Daladier's internal policy is closely related to his foreign policy of capitulating to Germany. The latter policy is consistent with his past history. In 1933 he drove Poland into the arms of Germany by refusing Pilsudski's twice repeated proposal to take joint action to stop German rearmament, and in the autumn of that year he started secret negotiations with Hitler, in which a certain Fernand de Brinon was the intermediary. Brinon has continued to be used both by Daladier and by Chautemps in the same capacity and he has become so popular in Germany that on one occasion he was received on his arrival at the railway station in Berlin by a guard of honor of the Nazi storm troops.

Daladier's attack on French organized labor was a result of Munich and an application in internal affairs of the Munich policy of "appeasing" Nazi Germany. The worthless agreement signed with Germany was another application of the same policy. The two things went together.

It may be that a revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary period is beginning in France. The great French trade union organization will hardly surrender to dictatorial methods without a struggle and if dictatorial methods are continued they may plunge France into civil war. It is impossible to prophesy. Daladier is not really a strong man, and if there is a quasi-Fascist dictatorship in France it is unlikely that he will be the dictator. It is more likely that he would be discarded by those who have up to now found him a useful instrument.

In any case, it is clear that the strangle-hold of England and Germany on France is growing more and more complete. Munich was the culmination of the British policy of separating France from her Eastern allies and friends and interning her in Western Europe. There is too much reason to fear that it has reduced France to the position of a second-rate power.

# French-German Pact

*A translation of the text of the Franco-German declaration signed at Paris on Dec. 6 follows. The text was framed and signed in both the French and German languages.*

M. GEORGES BONNET, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic,

And M. JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the German Reich,

Acting in the name and on behalf of their governments have agreed as follows during their meeting in Paris Dec. 6, 1938:

I. The French Government and the German Government share fully the conviction that pacific and good neighborly relations between France and Germany constitute one of the essential elements in the consolidation of the situation in Europe and the maintenance of general peace. The two governments will in consequence use their best endeavor to assure the development of relations between their two countries in this direction.

II. The two governments take note that between their countries no question of a territorial order remains in suspense and they solemnly recognize as definitive the frontier between their two countries as it is at present established.

III. The two governments are resolved, under the reservation of their special relations with third party powers, to remain in contact on all questions interesting their two countries and to consult together mutually in the event that any ulterior evolution of these questions might risk leading to international difficulties.

In faith whereof the representatives of the two governments have signed the present declaration, which enters into effect immediately.

# Africa: Back on the Chopping Block

## Germany's demands for colonies and the refugee plight may mean a new carving of the continent

### By ROGER SHAW

"When Hitler told Chamberlain at Berchtesgaden that the colonial question remained a problem, he officially opened negotiations," said General Franz Xavier, Baron von Epp, grizzled Deputy for Colonial Affairs of the Reich, late last October at the opening of a training school for colonial study near Berlin. "Our claim is to all our former colonies. Whether we show restraint is for the future to decide."

Scarcely ten days later the Fuehrer himself, speaking at the fifteenth anniversary of the Nazi beer-hall putsch, reiterated the German demand for colonies. "We are very grateful if there are statesmen in France and Great Britain who wish to live in good understanding with the German people. It only remains for us to agree over colonies which were taken away from us on pretexts contrary to justice."

The campaign has thus been officially launched in Germany for return of a million square miles of colonies lost as a result of the World War. For although Germany was late in joining the African land-grabbing game, by 1914 she had managed to salt away, largely as a result of private business initiative, nearly a tenth of the continent. And, according to British authorities on colonization, she had done a fairly good job of it.

The very obvious implications of Hitler's and Von Epp's talks have hardly been lost upon the European "haves," particularly Great Britain and France. Public and governmental opinions have clashed; horse-trading on paper has become the new order of the day, and moves have been started in both countries to satisfy Hitler by offering him African territories—none of which belonged to either nation. A complicating factor, and one which, incidentally, lent added strength to the opposition, was the November anti-Jewish riots. These raised the question, more dramatically than ever before, of a haven for persecuted German minorities. There was a lot of talk in the British Parliament about moving Nazi victims out of Germany and settling them in former German colonies. One British spokesman, pointing out that Hitler wanted colonies for Germans, said he was perfectly willing to grant the request, provided that the territory be limited to persecuted Germans—and provided that the territory still remained under the British flag.

The entire affair has served to focus attention on Africa as a continent owned and operated by Europeans. The picture becomes clearer when we examine Africa's history as the proving ground of imperialism.

Little more than sixty years ago, Africa had only a small scattering of European colonies, dotted here and there along its vast coastline. Algeria was French, as were tiny Senegambia and the Ivory Coast. Cape Colony, at the southern tip of the continent, was British. So was little Sierra Leone up the west coast. His Majesty held small spots on the Gold Coast, at Lagos and Nigeria. Portugal—oldest of modern colonizers—possessed bits of Guinea, the Angola strip, and Mozambique. Unhappy Spain stood heir to Rio de Oro ("river of gold"), and a spot of Guinea.

The independent territories consisted of Transvaal and the Orange Free State (Dutch Boer republics), Liberia, Ethiopia, Zanzibar, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, and savage Zululand. The African interior on the map was labelled "Sahara great desert" to the north, and "unknown" to the south. In Mohammedan Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt the Turkish Caliph's influence was strong. Ethiopia was largely Early Christian, and the hard-headed Boers ("boors") were predestined Calvinists. Only 10 per cent of all Africa was Europe-owned.

Today, out of Africa's 11½ million square miles, only 42,000 square miles—an area about the size of Virginia—is still independent of Europe. This is the west-coast republic of Liberia, itself dominated by the American rubber-making Firestones and by a few thousand "Americo-Liberians"—Methodist and Baptist descendants of Dixie slaves, repatriated more than a century ago. Egypt, too, is nominally a sovereign state, but actually functions as a British protectorate with His Majesty's garrisons in occupation.

A great portion of Africa nowadays is British, but in many varying forms. In addition to the strategically located, theoretically independent Egyptian monarchy under Mohammedan Fuad, there is the great South African Union, a dominion of the same free status as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Its whites are Dutch Boers and British immigrants, and there is bitter rivalry between the two groups. The South African Union, land of gold and diamonds, is officially bilingual. It may yet become trilingual, for it holds as a World War mandate the former German colony of Southwest Africa, now the ex-colony of an ex-colony, with perhaps 10,000 German ranchers.

Southern Rhodesia—named for the famous imperialist, Cecil Rhodes—lies north of the South African Union, and enjoys a separate sort of semi-dominion status. The white population is preponderantly British, though there are a few Dutch. This semi-dominion was under the sway of the British South African Company until 1923, and Negroes here are better treated than in the South African Union. There are three large South African native reservations or protectorates: Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, enclaves with close to a million happy blacks. Northern Rhodesia is a crown colony.

British East Africa consists of the Kenya crown colony, a fashionable resort for British Younger Sons, who enjoy its big game and healthy "California" climate. West of Kenya (pronounced Keen-ya) lies the Uganda protectorate. The Nyasaland protectorate is unimportant.

| | NATIVE | WHITE |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 20 000 | 800 |
| 2 | 6 000 000 | 250 000 |
| 3 | 495 | ——— |
| 4 | 5 000 000 | 1000 000 |
| 5 | 2 000 000 | 200 000 |
| 6 | 700 000 | 20 000 |
| 7 | 16 000 000 | 250 000 |
| 8 | 200 000 | 200 |
| 9 | 350 000 | 500 |
| 10 | 1 750 000 | 200 |
| 11 | 2 000 000 | NONE |
| 12 | 3 000 000 | 500 |
| 13 | 14 500 000 | 20 000 |
| 14 | 20 000 000 | 2 000 |
| 15 | 2 500 000 | 2 000 |
| 16 | 3 000 000 | 3 000 |
| 17 | 6 000 000 | 70 000 |
| 18 | 600 000 | 4 000 |
| 19 | 7 500 000 | 150 000 |
| 20 | 50 000 | 1 500 |
| 21 | 350 000 | 2 000 |
| 22 | 140 000 | 200 |
| 23 | 10 000 000 | 25 000 |
| 24 | 3 000 000 | 2 000 |
| 25 | 1 000 000 | 2 000 |
| 26 | 3 000 000 | 20 000 |
| 27 | 5 000 000 | 8 000 |
| 28 | 3 000 000 | 40 000 |
| 29 | 1 500 000 | 10 000 |
| 30 | 1.500 000 | 2 000 |
| 31 | 4 000 000 | 35 000 |
| 32 | 200 000 | 30 000 |
| 33 | 150 000 | 2 000 |
| 34 | 1 250 000 | 50 000 |
| 35 | 7 500 000 | 2 000 000 |
| 36 | 3 750 000 | 30 000 |

British West Africa contains Nigeria, with a hinterland stretching 600 miles back from the coast. It is the World's sixth largest tin producer. Because of the mines it is "hitched up" by 2500 miles of railway, a high figure for Africa. Sierra Leone sits next to free Liberia on the west coast, and has been British since the middle of the eighteenth century, an old aristocrat among the parvenu imperialisms of Africa.

British small fry in Africa include the six-mile-wide, 200-mile-long strip of Gambia, first acquired in 1618; the east-coast island of Zanzibar, a sultanate; island Mauritius in the Indian Ocean; the 101 Seychelles islands near Mauritius; Somaliland, next to Italian Ethiopia, all Mohammedan; St. Helena of Napoleonic fame, a naval coaling station 1200 miles off the west coast; Ascension island, with plentiful sea-turtles; Tristan de Cunha, half way between South Africa and South America, with 130 castaway citizens who live on potatoes. The celebrated Gold Coast runs 334 miles along the Gulf of Guinea.

These, then, exclusive of "temporary" mandates, are the British possessions in Africa. Out of the Empire's 13,300,000 square miles, between four and five million miles are African, stretching up majestically from Cape to Cairo.

WHENEVER France has been defeated in Europe, she has concentrated on Africa. After Waterloo France turned to Algeria, and after the 1870 defeat by Bismarck she pushed on and around the Dark Continent. Today French African troops constitute an important third of the "French" regular army. The troop-transport route across the Mediterranean, from North Africa up to Toulon in southern France, may be described as the life-line of French imperialism. In all of Africa the French hold four million square miles, with a population of nearly 40 million people, about the population of France itself. More than a third of Africa is French.

Algeria, to the north, has Oran for its second capital, headquarters of the ballyhooed Foreign Legion consisting mostly of German recruits. The ancient slave-center of Algiers is official first city of the land. Nearly a million whites, mostly French, reside in Algeria, along with the Nineteenth Corps of the French army. This century-old colony has delegates in the Chamber of Deputies and Senate at Paris. The Atlas Mountains divide Algeria from the vast Sahara Desert.

Tunisia, just east of Algeria, is coveted by Italy. It has a polyglot lot of whites, half of them Italian immigrants mostly with Fascist sympathies. In the capital city of Tunis there are considerably more Italians than Frenchmen. Tunisia was acquired by the Third Republic half a century after Algeria, which is in a sense the big sister. Mussolini would like very much to add Tunisia to his Tripoli.

French West Africa, north of British West Africa, all-includes Senegal (where the most savage of black French soldiers come from), Mauritania, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the French Sudan, and Niger. To the north are Algeria and French Morocco.

This sultanate of Morocco, like Egypt, has some pretensions to independence, but they are illusory. A French resident-general-and-commander-in-chief "wears the pants" and guides millions of Mohammedans. Morocco had an anti-French George Washington named Abd-el-Krim, who fought the Third Republic with great success after the World War, and was finally exiled in 1926. This dog-fighting did not end till 1933.

French Equatorial Africa is south and southeast of French West Africa, and dates from 1841. French Somaliland is just north of British Somaliland on the east coast. It contains Italian Ethiopia's outlet to the sea at Jibuti, whence puffs the 500-mile railway line that runs up to Addis Ababa, Ethiopian capital. For this reason, Italy casts covetous eyes at this little "Parisian" outpost on the Red Sea. The famous island of Madagascar is nearly a thousand miles long, off the African east coast. It is close to the size of our state of Texas. Here the French exiled old Abd-el-Krim, a tiny Napoleon on a mammoth St. Helena.

As a matter of historic interest, Reunion island, 48 miles long, is now *the* original French colony, dating back to 1643. It sits in the Indian Ocean, 420 miles east of Madagascar. Here is the gushing fountain-head of French colonial sentiment. French colonies have much conscription, little social service, and are intended to pay.

The lordly British colonizers do not militarize their natives except voluntarily and in small numbers. They feel they have a civilizing mission, and are more humane than the French, though not so much as the modern Dutch. But the jolly French will celebrate with natives on a democratic basis, while the color-conscious British hold themselves aloof. In many cases the perverse natives prefer to be beaten, and then dined with *a la francaise*.

Little Belgium may have only 12,000 square miles in Europe, but it has almost a million square miles in Africa. This is the copper-mining Belgian Congo, guilty of the most ungodly atrocities before the World War. The so-called Congo Free State was a personal business enterprise of King Leopold, dating back before 1880. Leopold was a merciless money-maker and his international cartel became a fake-independent monarchy, with the old cash-register as absolute despot. Belgium reluctantly took over this slavish Free State in 1907, and Leopold died in 1909.

PORTUGAL holds a population of only 7 million, but it has a far-flung, million-mile colonial empire, mostly in Africa. Its Big Two are Angola and Mozambique. Angola, with a thousand-mile coastline, is Portuguese West Africa, in the possession of Lisbon since 1575. The capital, New Lisbon, is a mile above sea-level. Mozambique constitutes Portuguese East Africa, east of the South African Union. Eventually, Mozambique will perhaps join the Union; the old Yankee doctrine of Manifest Destiny.

Tiny Portuguese Guinea is on the west coast. The islands of St. Thomas and Principe lie 125 miles off the west coast in the Gulf of Guinea. The fourteen Portuguese Cape Verde islands total 1500 square miles in the North Atlantic.

The Spanish corpse, too, has African colonies; west-coastal Rio de Oro and also tiny Ifni, Spanish Guinea, Fernando Po, Spanish Morocco. Abd-el-Krim inflicted terrible defeats on the Spanish army in this "protectorate" after the World War, and today strategic Spanish Ceuta, just across the straits from British Gibraltar, is said to have been heavily fortified by Rebel-paid German engineers. France has the right of pre-emption in case Spain decides to sell any of its African bricabrac. What this legality means, in anti-legal 1939, remains to be seen.

Newest of all the existing African empires is the Italian, for Italy herself only dates from 1861. Tripoli, which some call Libya, the Italians acquired in a war with Turkey in 1912. It speaks Arabic, and is Mohammedan. The countryside is barren, although

there are various kinds of orchards. Here Mussolini has posed as the arch-defender of Islam, in a great gesture to win Moslem support for himself and against the French and British imperialists.

Malarial Eritrea, north of Ethiopia, was the jumping-off place for the Ethiopian campaign of 1935. It is a coastal ranching land with a bad climate, on the Red Sea. Hereabouts, 80,000 Ethiopians wiped out 12,000 Italians at the battle of Adowa in 1896. Italian Somaliland is mostly coastline, like Eritrea. From Italian Somaliland comes half the world's supply of incense.

The unprofitable ex-empire of Ethiopia has been Italian since its conquest in 1936. It has a dusky, dusty capital about the size of Yonkers. There is an interior Ethiopian plateau fit for white colonization. Italy exploits differences between the local Early Christians and Mohammedans, favoring the latter, and not without reason: "divide and rule!" Italy's Unknown King is now Ethiopian Emperor, succeeding the departed little Haile Selassie. Since 1936 Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland have been lumped into a totalitarian Italian East Africa.

The German war machine collapsed in the Balkans in September, 1918. It collapsed in North Italy in October. It collapsed in France in November. But it never collapsed in East Africa. The German army there did not surrender until *after* the signing of the Armistice.

In 1914 the British and French conquered German Togoland from 200 white defenders. British, French, and Belgians overwhelmed German Cameroons, with its 1800 white troopers, by 1915. British and Boers bowled over German Southwest Africa and its 1600 white front-fighters by the middle of 1915. It took 24,000 Allied invaders to turn the trick. But German East Africa —or Tanganyika—was different.

Here the Germans had 300 white troops and 11,000 natives. They had, moreover, a military genius named Lettow-Vorbeck. They invaded British East Africa, defeated the British at Tanga overwhelmingly, and kept His Majesty's bushwhackers on the defensive till 1916. Then the famous Smuts, South African Union leader, took command of British, Belgians, Hindus, Boers, and natives. After '16, things began to go against the Germans, but not decisively. They still held on in the northeast and southwest. Finally, cut off from home for four years, undismayed, the Fatherland itself having surrendered, German East Africa turned its swords into plowshares under a British League of Nations mandate.

The German colonial empire in Africa lasted from 1884 to 1918. It totalled more than a million square miles: Togoland, Cameroons, German Southwest Africa, and German East Africa. In these colonies there were

*Baron Franz von Epp, Deputy for Colonial Affairs, for a nation without colonies.*

18,000 German whites and 12½ million natives when the great war broke out. An American colonial expert at Versailles reported:

"The public buildings in the chief ports were of an exceptionally solid and imposing character. The German African cities were distinguished by order and cleanliness and, insofar as mere outward appearance was concerned, they generally compared more than favorably with similar ports in the British and French colonies."

The victorious Allies at Versailles did not annex the German colonies outright. They were farmed out, as it were, to be liberally governed by trustee nations on a non-exploitation basis. This, at least, was the generous Wilsonian theory, approved by Sir Robert Cecil, Jan Christian Smuts, and the other idealists of 1919.

The British Empire received German East Africa, a quarter of Togoland, a smaller slice of Cameroons, and the unquestioned hegemony of Egypt, replacing the defunct Turkish influence there. Imperialist France took over most of Togoland and the greater part of Cameroons, while Belgium and Portugal got strips of German East Africa, and the South African Union received German Southwest Africa. Italy, promised much, was given nothing: the seed of the subsequent Ethiopian war and plenty of future trouble. The 140,000,000 native inhabitants of the African continent had very little to say about anything.

At first the post-war Germans resigned themselves more or less to the loss of their African colonies. By the Versailles settlement, they had lost no less than a seventh of their territory in Europe, their war reparations appeared astronomical, and their road to the Balkans had become a dead-end. There were too many things at home to worry about.

Like Bismarck before him, Hitler by nature was no colonial enthusiast. The Iron Chancellor had declared: "For Germany to acquire colonies would be like a poverty-stricken Polish nobleman providing himself with silks and sables when he needed shirts"—and in *Mein Kampf* the Fuehrer stressed an easterly European orientation rather than re-expansion overseas. But Bismarck subsequently changed his mind, and Hitler has performed the same turnabout.

For Hitler and Bismarck felt pressure from the selfsame economic and patriotic lobbyist groups: the merchant princes and shipowners of ocean-minded Hamburg and Bremen, the ardent schools for colonial training, the powerful German Colonial Society with its D.A.R. viewpoint, and Big Business leaders of the Dr. Schacht type. The two colonial prep schools teach dairying, native languages, native customs, medicine, chemistry, soil, meteorology, and similar practical subjects, and in Schleswig there is even a colonial seminary for girls, "to prepare any future housewife for work in an unfriendly land." The boys' school in Hesse dates back to the nineteenth century, is Lutheran, and today has nearly 200 pupils.

With Czecho-Slovakia out of the way, and the path to Rumania and the Black Sea free and clear, Hitler had time to begin to think of Africa. As in the Austrian and Czecho-Slovakia episodes, the German press launched a preparatory barrage of considerable violence, which showed that behind the scenes the Nazi triumvirate—especially Goering—had become Africa-minded, as well as "Balkanic" and "Ukrainian." The déclassé Junkers, too, began to

show interest. They had been lukewarm against Schuschnigg and Benes, against King Carol and Czar Stalin, but when it came to the "lost" colonies, their flagging Tory enthusiasm revived.

Aristocratic, bull-faced old General Baron Epp, himself a seasoned African campaigner, now Hitler's viceroy for Bavaria, became leader of the post-war, back-to-Africa movement. In the World War he had been a famous commander in the skiing, back-woods Alpine Corps which fought at Verdun, Caporetto, Bucharest—on half a dozen fronts. After the war he led the Epp Free Corps against reds, pinks, and Poles. Baron Franz and Airmaster Goering are the two "gentlemen" of the Nazi movement. German ranchers in faraway Southwest regard Epp as a sort of Savior-Xavier.

Epp's greatest handicap early in 1939 was the Jewish terror in Germany. This turned Allied opinion against the Reich, and slowed all efforts for colonial readjustment and redistribution of African spoils. It was indicated that the British might turn over German East Africa—Tanganyika—to some of the many Jewish exiles: Tanganyika the Unconquered. This colony has 350,000 square miles, 5 million natives, 15,000 whites (3000 German), and a 500-mile coastline. Seventy-five distinct Negro tribes inhabit the area, some of them warlike.

Sisal hemp, cotton, and coffee are Tanganyika's chief resources, not to mention big game. British Kenya also was mentioned for the exiles, north of Tanganyika, as was Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia to the southwest. This latter crown colony abounds in the tsetse fly, and sleeping sickness. In the New World the British Empire indicated 10,000 square miles of British Guiana, east of Brazil in upper South America. Coffee, sugar, and rice hereabouts are the standard products. There are strange Arawak and Carib Indians, Hindus, and Negroes awaiting the exiles in Guiana.

Compared to Guiana, wild Tanganyika resembles New York's smiling Central Park. But Germany is especially insistent on the restoration of this mandate, and wild with rage over its use as a sanctuary for refugees. Nor do the town-bred exiles show any particular enthusiasm for South America or East Africa. Meanwhile Epp makes speeches, daily the statesmen change their minds, and Africa—as ever—continues ripe for the imperialist carvings of Europe.

# Marginal Notes on the Plight of the Jew in Germany

***The following quotations, based on recent Nazi actions against German Jews, represent a cross-section of world opinion, including that in Germany:***

*From a Paris wireless to the New York Times, Nov. 7:*

Seeking to avenge his "fellow-Jewish sufferers from Nazi persecution and oppression," 17-year-old Herschel Grynszpan, a German-born Polish emigre of Jewish extraction, today shot and seriously wounded Ernst vom Rath, third secretary of the German embassy in Paris. After a two-hour operation in which two bullets were extracted from his chest and groin, Vom Rath's condition was declared to be serious.

*Vom Rath died Nov. 9 and Germany rioted against the Jews. From the German News Bureau:*

Official organs feel it to be their task to convince the aroused population of the necessity of comporting itself with discipline, despite monstrous provocations such as that recently made from Jewish quarters in Paris.

*Grynszpan, tearfully, in a Paris jail:*

Being a Jew is not a crime. I am not a dog. I have a right to live, and the Jewish people have a right to exist on this earth. Wherever I have been, I have been chased like an animal.

*Otto D. Tolischus, Berlin Times correspondent, Nov. 10:*

A wave of destruction, looting, and incendiarism unparalleled in Germany since the Thirty Years War swept over the Reich today as National Socialist cohorts took vengeance on Jewish shops, offices, and synagogues. Beginning systematically in the early morning hours in almost every town and city in the country, the wrecking, looting, and burning continued all day. Huge but silent crowds looked on, and the police confined themselves to regulating traffic and making wholesale arrests of Jews "for their own protection." In Breslau Jews were hunted out even in the homes of non-Jews where they might have been hiding. By nightfall there was scarcely a Jewish shop, cafe, office, or synagogue in the country that was not either wrecked, burned severely, or damaged.

*The Berlin Angriff, Dr. Paul Goebbels' newspaper:*

For every suffering, every crime, and every injury that the Jewish community inflicts on a German anywhere, every individual Jew will be held responsible. All Judah wants is war with us, and it can have this war according to its own moral law: an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

*One of the first legal measures was an order by Heinrich Himmler, commander of all German police, forbidding Jews to possess any weapons whatever and imposing a penalty of twenty years' confinement in a concentration camp upon every Jew found in possession of a weapon hereafter.*

*Dr. Goebbels, in a statement to the foreign press, Nov. 11:*

If I had organized the demonstrations, there would have been in the streets not a mere few thousands, but 400,000 to 700,000 people, and the results would have been quite different and more radical. Scarcely any Jews were hurt. We did not go down when the entire foreign press was against us. We will not go down now when only part of that press is against us. If I were a Jew, I would remain silent. There is only one thing the Jews can do—shut up!

*Copenhagen Nationaltidende, Danish newspaper:*

What happened in Germany was not work of anti-German propagandists. A gulf in culture and outlook now hinders any European understanding.

*Montreal Gazette, Canadian newspaper:*

The nation whose leaders boast of discipline has exhibited an almost unparalleled mob violence.

*Omaha World-Herald, American newspaper:*

Nazi rule is not mob rule only because the victims are in bad standing with the Nazi government.

*Geneva Journal, Swiss newspaper:*

Indiscriminate pillaging and sacking cause the human conscience to revolt and utter a cry of indignation.

*Yorkshire Post, English newspaper:*

Force, ruthlessness, and terrorism remain the characteristics of Nazi policy at home and abroad.

*Germany, as the price for Vom Rath, fines the German Jews a billion marks, Nov. 12. She orders them to repair all damaged property, confiscates their insurance, bars them from amusement places, closes business to them.*

*Herschel Grynszpan, to his jailers:*

Is this the price for the act of one desperate, foolish man like me?

*Mr. Tolischus:*

These decrees can no longer be measured by standards of Western bourgeois civilization, but only by the methods by which the Bolshevist government liquidated the aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and kulaks in Russia.

*Dr. Robert Ley, German Labor Minister, himself thought to be Jewish:*

Our defensive fight may appear rough, but it leads to success.

*The U. S. State Department orders Ambassador Hugh R. Wilson home from Germany for "report and consultation," Nov. 14. Washington report:*

Technically it was not a recall; actually it carried just that implication.

*Bernhard Rust, German Education Minister:*

Jews are barred from all high schools and universities, effective immediately. This regulation does not provide exemption for foreign Jews. German children can no longer be expected to work with Jews.

*Private Banking Organization of Berlin:*

No further orders for security-selling from Jews, foreign Jews included.

*National Socialist Motor Corps:*

The Jewish Automobile Club is dissolved.

*President Roosevelt's statement of Nov. 15 on the German anti-Semitic outbreak:*

The news of the past few days from Germany has deeply shocked public opinion in the United States. Such news from any part of the world would inevitably produce a similar profound reaction among American people in every part of the nation.

I myself could scarcely believe that such things could occur in a twentieth-century civilization.

With a view to gaining a first-hand picture of the situation in Germany I asked the Secretary of State to order our ambassador in Berlin to return at once for report and consultation.

*Herbert Hoover, by radio*

The terrible outbreak of Jewish persecution in Germany represents brutal intolerance which has no parallel in modern history. The shock comes to us in America because of the high appreciation of German standards of civilization which the American people have always held.

*Alf. M. Landon, by radio:*

We are properly agonizing for the Jews of Central Europe. Let us agonize for the Gentiles of the world, who will be in the end destroyed by their own violence. The German people, if they were free to voice their real sentiments, would not be so intolerant and cruel.

*Alfred E. Smith, by radio:*

We all know that the German officials can stop this cruel assault on their own people, and on civilization at large, at any time that they want to do it. Our President spoke for the whole nation.

*Ernst vom Rath is buried in state at Duesseldorf, Nov. 17. Ernst Bohle, Nazi subleader:*

Vom Rath is the eighth victim of murderous Jewish-Bolshevist cunning abroad. Together with our murdered Swiss chieftain and the party comrades murdered in red Spain, he is a silent but passionate accuser of all those elements abroad that have chosen political murder as a manifestation of their hate for the great German Reich. Germans abroad are today the target of hatred, persecution, and slander—Germans abroad are fair game.

N. Y. World Telegram

***Blood Bath***

*Rhineland newspaper:*

Some 60 per cent of Berlin's real estate is in Jewish hands, but 8000 Jewish homes there have now become free for German racial comrades.

*Reinhard Heydrich, German Chief of Security Police, Nov. 30:*

Jews are prohibited from sojourning in certain public areas and from appearing in public at certain designated hours.

*Guido Enderis, Berlin Times correspondent:*

This ordinance is the first concrete indication that official policy is definitely veering toward the proclamation of a "ghetto" status for all Jews.

*Julius Streicher, No. 1 German Jew-baiter:*

The United States is a land of lynch justice, kidnapping, false prophets, and strip-dancers. While America mixes in the most violent manner in the inner affairs of Germany and laments over the Jews without helping them, it forgets completely to tend to its own affairs. They are dirty enough.

*Count Wolf von Helldorf, Berlin Police President, Dec. 3:*

Jews living in or near the main show streets of the capital must reckon with the fact that in the near future a ban, either limited or unlimited, may be declared on the streets inhabited by them. It is therefore advisable that Jews look for other living quarters, and perhaps exchange homes with German racial comrades now living there.

*Mr. Tolischus:*

The streets to which Jews are advised to move are typical slum districts, some of which figure prominently in Berlin's criminal annals.

*Associated Press report:*

Avenues and boulevards already forbidden intersect the city of Berlin so completely that the Jews' only possibility of getting from the part of Berlin north of Unter den Linden to the southern district will be to take the subway under Friedrichstrasse.

But since Friedrichstrasse will be in the banned area, Jews must first travel to some subway station in the extreme northern part of the city where the subway swerves off Friedrichstrasse, and choose some exit not leading to Friedrichstrasse, providing travelling under a banned street is not declared a punishable offense.

*Ralph W. Barnes, Herald Tribune correspondent in Berlin, Dec. 5:*

Carrying to its final stages the ruthless program of confiscating all but a mere pittance of Jewish wealth in the Reich, the Nazi government announced a decree under which the great bulk of the property remaining to German Jews will be taken into "trusteeship" through specified agencies.

The measure, which bears the signature of Dr. Walter Funk, Minister of Economics, also bars German Jews forever from buying real estate or mortgages in the Reich. Apart from real estate and mortgage-purchase features, the decree deprives Jews of the right to dispose of their property, and paves the way for a system under which they will be proletarianized and forced to live at the existence level of what might be described as a dole drawn from their erstwhile property.

*Substantial German burgher, to an Englishman:*

I don't like all this . . . I don't like it.

ing and that, therefore, a peace with real concessions is unnecessary. The argument runs like this:

"The International Ladies Garment Workers Union is no longer in the C.I.O. There is dissension in the Auto Union and several others. The depression weakened the C.I.O. Dues have not been coming in regularly and the organization is due to collapse."

This is a fairly general opinion among top A.F. of L. leaders, but it is by no means universally shared. Others believe that the C.I.O. is here to stay and represents a very important threat to the A.F. of L.

Aware of the views held by the "die-hard" A.F. of L. group, the C.I.O. leaders find themselves compelled to concentrate all their efforts on building a more powerful organization.

"The A.F. of L. will not grant us peace at present because they think we are weak," says the C.I.O. "Whether they are correct or not is unimportant, for so long as they believe we have no strength they will make no concessions. The only thing to do is to build such a strong organization that we will compel the A.F. of L. to concede us an honorable peace."

The second major obstacle to peace, probably the crux of the whole dispute and the most difficult to surmount, is to be found in "power politics," a phrase that covers a vast territory. The phrase means "control"—but it means more than that.

As to control, who is to direct the destiny of a possible unified labor movement?

It must not be forgotten that control, "power politics," was at the bottom of the suspension of the eight C.I.O. unions by the Executive Council in September, 1936, just a short time before the annual convention. At the 1935 convention the industrial union leaders had polled one third of the convention votes. This was the first time that a roll call vote on the industrial-unions issue was ever taken at an A.F. of L. convention. To the industrial unionists the vote was very gratifying, but there was considerable apprehension by their opponents lest this vote be a majority in another year or two. This, then, was the fundamental reason why the C.I.O. affiliates—with something close to 1,000,000 votes—were suspended. Then, at the Tampa convention in 1936, with one-third of the membership unrepresented, the convention duly approved what the Executive Council had done, adopted rules further centralizing powers in that body of seventeen, and reiterated its denunciation of the C.I.O. as a "dual" union.

The problem of power and control still remains. Whenever each side sits down with pencil and paper, it mentally does a sum in arithmetic. That sum deals with votes in a possibly reunited labor organization. Since neither side trusts the other, each one would like the "edge" in the votes, the present rulers of the A.F. of L. to continue to guide the organization and the industrial union chiefs, on their side, hoping to control those destinies.

This is the *Realpolitik* of the peace problem which disturbs the peacemakers. It is further complicated by an intense hostility on the part of some A.F. of L. leaders against the Roosevelt Administration. Some of this hostility is normal Republican opposition; some is inspired by other reasons. Some A.F. of L. leaders insist that the administration is on the side of Mr. Lewis and his associates. Therefore olive branches in the hands of administration agents are viewed, to mix a metaphor, like a Trojan horse, concealing something dreadful. To make peace under such circumstances means working under handicaps. Nevertheless, the ground is being plowed and, in the end, it is likely that both sides may find themselves in the oval room at the White House facing a determined President.

It must be stressed that, at bottom, peace—when, as, and if it is made—will be the outcome of important preparatory ground-work by middle-of-the-road elements in both organizations. Without this aid, the Administration's efforts would go for naught.

The main weapon in the A.F. of L.'s armory against the Administration is its alleged treatment at the hands of

*Leaders of one side of labor's civil war: John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. In November the Committee for Industrial Organization reorganized on a permanent basis under the name "Congress for Industrial Organization." Lewis was elected president.*

the National Labor Relations Board. This board is charged with being sympathetic and partial to the C.I.O. for various reasons, principally because it does not always carve out craft units from industrial unions when requested, and because it has voided some contracts made by A.F. of L. units with employers. The C.I.O., on the other hand, maintains that if the board persists in its policy of carving craft units out of industrial unions, the principle of industrial unionism will be destroyed. Both the board and the C.I.O. assert that contracts between the A.F. of L. and employers have been voided only where collusion has been proven; where employers, or agents of employers, have illegally favored the contracting union.

In order to gain its point, the A.F.

of L. is seeking to amend the Wagner Act so that any craft group may obtain an election when a majority in that group ask for one. As it is, the board has the power to determine the unit of collective bargaining, whether it shall be by employer, craft, plant or any subdivision thereof.

Whenever the N.L.R.B. favors a craft which is imbedded in an industrial organization, the C.I.O. protests. And when it favors an industrial unit and excludes the craft unit, the A.F. of L. protests. What the A.F. of L. seeks is an election on a craft basis every time it asks for one. This, according to the C.I.O., would mean possibly twenty unions in a steel plant, or thirty in an auto plant, and would put an end to industrial unions as such.

Some A.F. of L. leaders have been favoring an amendment to prevent the NLRB from voiding contracts made by employers with independent unions. William Green, A.F. of L. president, hails the Consolidated Edison case decision just handed down by the Supreme Court as in line with his view that the board cannot invalidate agreements made with independent unions. The court expressly stated that ". . . the Act gives no express authority to the Board to invalidate contracts with independent labor organizations."

But the court also ruled that the unions which are parties to the contract were not put upon notice that the contract was to be questioned and that the unions were to be parties to the board's action. On this ground the board held that the question was determined by the court "on an extremely narrow ground . . . one of procedure and does not affect the board's right to act on such contract."

THE attitude of industry toward the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. struggle is important because it has a bearing on the future of both labor units, and also on the possible amending of the Wagner Act.

In many cases employers prefer to deal with the A.F. of L. They are hostile to the C.I.O. because of its militancy, its sit-down strikes and the charges of violence and communism levelled against it. But, under the Act, an employer is not supposed to express a preference between two warring unions or take part in disputes among his employees. That is the law but somehow, overtly or covertly, employers, through subordinates, supervisors or foremen, find a way to let their employees know which union they should join. In cases where the unions are at odds, the employer, confronted by the apparent inevitable unionization of his plant, chooses the A.F. of L. as "the lesser of two evils." He believes the Federation is an old-line, conservative organization, and prefers to deal with it if he has to deal with any union.

*N.E.A.*

*No Chance To Pick Up Any Crumbs There.*

"Why did you sign up with the A.F. of L.?" a friend asked an employer who had both A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions struggling for a contract in his plant.

"Which do you prefer, diphtheria or a sore throat?" asked the employer in reply.

Now the attitude of industry is important for another reason; it is seeking to amend the Wagner Act by having it ban "coercion from any source," as against coercion by employers alone. That is, if unionists coerce workers who do not wish to join, they are to be punished under a section which "takes the curse of one-sidedness" off the law.

Those who object to this definition of "one-sidedness" say that the correlative to "coercion by employers" against employees in forming a union is "coercion by employees" against employers in forming their own association.

The employers also complain that the Labor Board is complainant, judge, jury and executioner rolled into one, and would like to separate its administrative from its judicial function. This is an argument also used by the A.F. of L., but it is unlikely that the Federation will at this time ask for separation of the administrative and judicial functions of the board. If such an amendment is proposed, it will probably come from the employers' side.

The law makes the N.L.R.B. a sole judge of the facts in a case. The courts accept the facts and consider whether the board has followed the proper legal paths in making decisions.

Employers would like to have the courts judge the facts as well as the law. This, too, has won some approval in A.F. of L. circles, but the Federation is not expected to sanction an amendment to that effect if the employers propose one.

The Labor Board and the courts are now months behind in dealing with labor cases. To grant the courts power to review the facts as well as the law would pile so much work on them that labor cases would linger in the courts for years unless, overnight, it was possible to create a host of additional courts. Even then the problem would not be solved.

These arguments, however, go to the root of an important problem dealing with administrative justice. So complex has our economic life become in the last fifty years that Congress has had to turn over more and more of its lawmaking powers to administrative agencies like the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission and other bodies. And hand in hand with the growth of administrative legislation, there has gone the development of administrative justice. The courts have found it impossible to handle the complex economic data bearing on the growth of administrative justice. If the tens of thousands of cases handled in a year by the I.C.C. and similar bodies were dumped into the laps of the courts, they would be swamped.

UNDER the fifty-year old system of administrative justice, the boards and agencies are entrusted with the task of investigating and judging complaints which, if upheld, are passed on for judicial review. These agencies have the exclusive fact finding power.

The N.L.R.B., for example, receives complaints of labor unions or individuals, alleging anti-union discrimination by employers. These complaints go through a slow legal mill with many steps, and between the filing of the complaint and the final adjudication a year or more may elapse. This is hardly drum-head justice.

(*Continued on page 42*)

# Communism in Great Britain

## The strength of the party is derived from the organized effort of a relatively small number

By JOHN STRACHEY

How many active members has the Communist Party in Great Britain?

How many members has the British trade union movement?

What American book merchandizing scheme has been adopted by British Leftists?

Why do the British Communists, traditional foes of imperialism, now defend the Empire?

What has been the British Labor Party's attitude toward the Communists' offers of cooperation?

*These questions are answered in Mr. Strachey's article.*

THE Communist Party in Great Britain today has about 15,000 adult members, plus 4,000 or 5,000 members in the Young Communist League,—a little less than 20,000 in all. This membership is far too small to enable the Communist Party to play the part in British public life which it would like to play. But the party does play a much larger role than would at first seem possible for a group numerically so small.

Persons unfamiliar with the nature and structure of Communist parties ofter misunderstand the significance of the size of their memberships. I have often heard people in Great Britain declare, for example, that because the Communist Party has but 20,000 members, there are only 20,000 supporters of Communism in Great Britain.

The fact is, however, that the membership of the Communist Party represents not the number of persons who support Communism as an idea or the Communist Party as an organization, but the number of persons who engage in active and, in many cases, in full time work for the cause. Ever since 1902, when Lenin founded what became the first Communist Party, this has been the distinguishing feature of these organizations. They have never attempted to attract a membership of millions of persons who would be willing to vote for the Communist program, but to do no more.

It is impossible to say with any approach to accuracy just how many *supporters* of Communism there are in Great Britain at present. The last general election, held in 1935, offers some clues to the question. The Communist Party put only two candidates in the field at that election; in every other constituency it supported the Labor candidates. In each of the two constituencies in which Communists ran, the party polled some 13,000 votes; and one of their candidates was elected.

Now there are just over 600 constituencies in Great Britain. Hence, if Communist candidates had been placed in the field in each of the 600 constituencies, and if they had done as well as the two candidates who actually ran, the Communist Party would have polled a national vote of 7,800,000. But this is far too high a figure, of course; naturally the Communist Party chose to run its two candidates in constituencies where their chances were especially good. Figure it any way you like, it remains clear that the number of persons in Great Britain prepared to support the Communist program must be numbered in millions rather than in thousands.

All these estimates are, in one respect, somewhat unreal, however. For the Communist Party in Great Britain does not consider itself to be an isolated political organization working in opposition to all the other political organizations of the country. Rather, the leaders of the British Communist Party are convinced that the fortunes of their organization are irrevocably tied up with the fortunes of the entire British labor movement. If the British labor movement goes forward in its long and heavy struggle, then the British Communist Party cannot fail to participate in its successes.

The British labor movement is today the most interesting social phenomenon open to the study of Americans. For the American labor movement appears to be emerging from an embryonic stage and to enter a period of rapid development and struggle analogous to the period through which the British labor movement has been passing during the past forty years.

Three distinct types of working class organizations have characterized all European labor movements, including the British. Each was built up by the working masses themselves, in instinctive response to the pressure exercised upon wage-earners by organized society. These three types of organization are: the trade-union movement, the cooperative movement and the working-class political parties. In Britain, each of these three great divisions are highly developed. The trade union movement numbers about five million wage-earners. The cooperative movement has about eight million members. At a general election the British Labor Party usually manages to poll eight or nine million votes.

THE British Communist Party is attempting to imbue this vast but loosely jointed movement with a sense of coherence and direction. It is attempting to do this by seeking to make the millions of British trade unionists, cooperators and Labor Party members see the situation in the same basic terms. It is attempting to make them see politics as the expression of the struggle of themselves and their fellow workers for tolerable conditions of life, to see politics as a struggle which workers are compelled to wage in any case, but which they can wage effectively only if they become conscious of its nature and its implications.

Many individuals, especially among the leadership of the Labor Party, bitterly resent any attempt that is made to help the working masses become

conscious of their own activities as part of a great world-wide struggle. Hence the efforts of the Communist Party are bitterly resented and rigorously fought by many important members of the Labor Party. The Communist Party's repeated applications for affiliation with the Labor Party have never been accepted. Individual members of the Communist Party are even prevented from becoming members of the local Labor Parties.

But Communist Party members cannot be prevented from belonging to trade unions. Indeed, Communists take a very active part in the work of many unions. A distinguished member of the Communist Party, Arthur Horner, for example, is the leader of the South Wales Miners Union at present.

The picture which I have drawn of the extent and solidity of the British Labor Movement may be misleading. The movement is large and solid, but it is not in a healthy condition. It is making little or no gain in its voting strength. Some, though by no means all, of its Labor Parties are in a state of disorganization and decay. There is both faction and apathy among certain sections of its members.

The Communist Party of Great Britain preaches that these distressing symptoms have come about because the leaders of the Labor movement have not been guided by any consistent policy in recent years. The policy of the Labor Party, and particularly of the great trade unions which finance and thus control it, has been one of tacit and concealed cooperation with the National Government. True, the Labor Party has occasionally criticized and voted against the National Government in Parliament. But the movement has not taken any steps which would help defeat the world policy of the National Government under the leadership of MacDonald, Baldwin and Chamberlain.

DURING the comparatively long period of economic recovery which Britain has been enjoying since 1932, the trade unions have exerted only gentle pressure to obtain wage increases for their members. Prices, as usual, have risen during the upward surge of the business cycle, and wages have also moved up somewhat. But there has been notably little real push behind the efforts of even the most powerful trade unions to obtain substantial benefits for their members.

The political leaders of British labor—Major Clement R. Atlee, Herbert Morrison, Dr. Hugh Dalton and their colleagues—have steadfastly and even violently opposed the one course of action which could have endangered the position of the National Government. That course would have been for the Labor Party to join the Liberal Party, the Communist Party and many other groups such as the League of Nations Union, the International Peace Campaign, the Council of Action (an organization led by Lloyd George and strong among the Free Church Non-Conformist elements) for powerful and concerted opposition to the National Government, particularly in its last phase under Chamberlain. The British Communist Party has, for its part, strongly urged the Labor Party leaders to join the Liberals and every other political organization which was willing to oppose the pro-Fascist policy of Chamberlain.

Thus the Communist Party, which is supposed to be too radical for British labor leaders to have anything to do with, has urged a policy of collaboration with liberals and other middle-of-the road elements—a policy which these same Labor leaders profess to disdain as too cautious and conservative!

HOW much influence has the Communist Party and so-called Marxist ideas in Great Britain today? Until the outbreak of the world economic crisis in 1929, Britain—save for America—was the nation least affected by Marxist ideas. By the third decade of the twentieth century Marxist thought had become, though often in a most adulterated and distorted form, a part of the mental life of continental Europe. But Britain escaped. So far as the universities were concerned, Marx and Engels might never have written a line.

About 1916, however, a very small group of men and women, many of whom had been active in the pre-war effervescence of the British working-class movement, began to awaken to the importance of the ideas of Marx, Engels and, above all, of Lenin. This group of whom Palme Dutt, Emil Burns and Page Arnot are representative, did not have more than a dozen members. Today the members of this group are responsible for much of the thinking which determines the policies of the British Communist Party; but for ten years they remained completely isolated from the culture of the rest of the English intelligensia.

With the coming of the 1929 crisis, however, the picture changed very sharply. The significance of Marx' analysis of the operation of a capitalist economy suddenly became apparent to a wide section of the British intellectual world. In the universities a considerable number of undergraduates began to demand that they should hear something about this doctrine, which seemed to explain the facts of the economic crisis which surrounded them.

THERE was a good deal of immaturity and even absurdity in this sudden conversion to the Marxist point of view of relatively large numbers of people, many of them very young. Yet, as the years have passed, a solid corps of writers, artists, medical men, teachers, lawyers, and above all, scientists have mastered the Marxist system of ideas. Two distinguished young scientists, Professors Bernal and J. B. S. Haldane, have made themselves into first-rate exponents of the philosophy of scientific socialism.

It was freely prophesied that the "craze" for Marxism among university undergraduates during the 1931-33 period would disappear as soon as the acute phase of the economic crisis had been overcome; these young men, it was suggested, would "regain their sanity." Nothing of the sort has happened. Solid groups of young men, who have made it their business to give serious study to Marxism, as well as to their own academic work, have continued to exist in the British universities, especially Oxford and Cambridge. Today their influence is probably stronger than it ever was.

The most striking development in the field of political education is afforded by the establishment and growth of an organization called the Left Book Club. I must warn the reader that I am closely connected with this organization, being one of the three persons who select the books. Hence he must discount some of my enthusiasm for it.

In its technical details, the Left Book Club is similar to American book clubs, such as the Book of the Month Club and the Literary Guild. We of the Left Book triumvirate select each month one book which is sent in a specially printed edition to all members of the Club. They obtain this book for half a crown, or about sixty cents. The book is always full-length and is published simultaneously

through ordinary publishing channels at a price the equivalent of two to four dollars.

The Left Book Club has been in existence for only two and a half years, but it already has a membership of more than 50,000. Moreover, there have grown up quite spontaneously, and by the desire of the members themselves, no less than a thousand groups which meet regularly in almost every town and in many villages throughout Britain to discuss the book published by the Club that month, or some cognate subject. These 50,000 members of the Left Book Club are for the most part persons who are active in one or another phase of the labor movement. They are members of local labor parties, of trade unions, or of cooperative societies. Hence the Book Club cannot in the end fail to be of great significance, if these key members of the labor movement become imbued with a unifying and illuminating political philosophy.

I—and I believe most of the Englishmen of the Left, whether we call ourselves Liberals, Labor men, Socialists or Communists — find ourselves opposing the present National Government of Chamberlain principally because it is hostile to the Soviet Union and to the popular forces on which the Spanish Government is based, and because it is extremely friendly to the Fascist regimes.

A most paradoxical political situation has thus arisen. The traditional guardians of the British Empire—the Conservative Party and the great British capitalists—have worked themselves up into such an hysteric fear of popular forces throughout the world, and have developed such a doting admiration for Fascism, that they seem perfectly willing to run the risk of leaving themselves and their empire at the mercy of Hitler. We of the Left, on the other hand, who are traditionally the opponents of British imperialism and all its works, find ourselves constrained to warn our rulers of what they are doing, to urge them to refrain from putting themselves wholly in the hands of Hitler, and to do as he likes.

I myself am convinced that in the end Marxist ideas and principles must become dominant, simply because they are true. Right now self-deception, half truths and downright lies seem to rule the world more completely than ever before. Yet the lie cannot conquer because the lie is, in the ultimate analysis, contradictory. Communities such as Fascist Germany, which are completely under the domination of false ideas, and communities such as Great Britain, which are less completely but yet predominantly under the influence of ideas only less false, must fail.

But the comfort of this thought is, to my mind, somewhat colder than is usually admitted. Truth is mighty and will prevail in the long run. But as John Maynard Keynes once remarked: "In the long run we shall all be dead." The lie will destroy itself by its self-contradictions; but it may also destroy us and civilization as we know it. To make the maximum number of people understand what is happening in the world remains the one job worth doing in our time and generation.

*Viscount Halifax and Prime Minister Chamberlain have a bumpy time on a Channel crossing during a recent trip to France.*

## CURRENT HISTORY QUIZ

Answers on page 53

1. What French territories were demanded for Italy in recent demonstrations?
2. Is it true that Mexico has not yet reached an agreement with the United States over the seizure of land?
3. To whom were the Nobel Prizes in literature and physics recently awarded?
4. Who is Kathryn Lewis?
5. What nation recognized the Franco government during November?
6. With how many nations has the United States signed trade treaties?
7. What fine did the German government levy on the Jews for the murder, by a Polish Jew, of its embassy official?
8. What high Latin American government recently official visited the United States?
9. What country changed the form of its name during November?
10. In the pay of what nation were the three spies recently convicted in N. Y. C.?
11. In what country did the Labor Confederation recently call a 24-hour general strike? Did the strike succeed?
12. What is the new and permanent name for the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)?
13. Jews are forbidden to enter certain areas in the center of what city?
14. Did the conservative or the liberal wings of the Republican party dominate the recent national committee election?
15. How much will Great Britain spend during the next year on her air force?
16. Which cabinet member may soon retire?
17. Who is Bela Imredy?
18. Has the National Grange gone on record for or against the present Farm Act?
19. Is Great Britain going ahead with its present plan to partition Palestine?
20. What government inquiry held the spotlight in December?
21. Who is Dr. Emil Hacha?
22. What large labor union seceded from the CIO during November?
23. In what country were four Fascists killed by government officers?
24. Why was the American ambassador to Germany recently called home?
25. Who is General Ismet Inonu?

# Japan at Manila?

## A bomb's throw from Japan, the Philippines are not very sanguine about independence

### By WILBUR BURTON

ALL the wishful thinking in the world will not change the fact that our American-owned Philippines are so close to Japan that on a clear day you can stand on the uppermost tip of the islands and see Japanese Taiwan (Formosa). For despite anything that you or I can do about it, the Philippines are located in the Orient and are regarded by many Japanese as a sort of Sudetenland which must some day be brought under their control.

It is impossible to over-emphasize the importance of this proximity and it is a point we must bear in mind whenever we speak about defending the Philippines, which regard Uncle Sam as their sworn protector, in event of war or when we speculate upon the fate of the islands after they receive their complete independence in 1946.

In addition to possessing strategically-located Taiwan, the Japanese are now in full control of Canton, on the South China coast. From a military standpoint, therefore, Nippon can now view Manila as the southerly point of a triangle which can be reached from either Taiwan or Canton, both of which are less than 750 miles away. Manila, it should be known, has virtually no anti-aircraft defense, and is clearly eligible as a target for bombers: the effective cruising radius of a modern bomber, carrying two tons of high explosives, or gas, is 1500 miles. Corregidor of the Philippines, however, maintains adequate defenses against attack from air or sea.

Thus the two chief islands of the Philippines are within a bomb's throw of Japanese bases, while it is more than three times as far for the United States to defend them. Further, American ships going westward would have to sail through a maze of Japanese islands extending from Yokohama to the equator with tiny Yap and Guam overwhelmed among them.

Guam is even more important in American trans-Pacific airlanes than in naval lanes. It is an essential stop between Wake and Manila on the Pan-American clipper route, without which there would be a 3000-mile non-stop leg from Wake to Manila, possible but not practical. Also, Wake itself is within 500 miles of the Marshall Islands—another bomb's throw from a Japanese base.

It has long been known that the Japanese have been extensively fortifying the Marianne, Caroline and Marshall Islands in contravention of her mandate from the League of Nations, although this has been officially denied in Tokyo. Now, however, we have it officially from Japan's ally, Germany, that not only are the Japanese reinforcing their present naval bases, but are pushing new ones "as far as possible into mandated regions in the southeast."

This appeared in *Nauticus*, yearbook of the German naval command, published in Berlin in November. *Nauticus* also revealed for the first time that Japan was now "probably" building the largest warships in the world. It was further revealed for the first time that Japan is developing two new bases, Keelung and Takao, in Formosa, and expanding Maku in the Pescadore Islands—which, as *Nauticus* comments, "is the point farthest advanced toward Hongkong." *Nauticus* also "assumed" that Japan is building fuel bases for her air force and submarines throughout the mandated islands.

The accompanying map helps explain the defense problem of the Philippines. It clearly shows why, from a purely military standpoint, the islands have long been regarded as more of a liability than an asset to the United States. They mean maintenance of lines of communication half way around the world—and without any benefit to either the mainland of the United States or to our paramount extra-national interests in Latin America.

Hawaii, too, is far from the mainland, 2100 miles, but it serves as a bulwark for our West Coast and for the Panama Canal. Defense of the Philippines, on the other hand, would be for them alone; and very conceivably it would hamper the defense of the United States proper, or such vital outposts as Panama and Hawaii, since any concentration of men or war machinery in the Philippines would weaken our forces elsewhere.

THUS it has been the opinion of many military experts that in a United States-Japanese war the Philippines could not be held against a determined onslaught, and it would be good strategy to surrender them without too much struggle in order to concentrate against the enemy elsewhere. Their eventual fate would depend on the ultimate victory.

But in one of the most ironic developments in the history of imperialism, there is now a new and perhaps decisive aspect of defense of the Philippines. Having offered them complete independence, as unexpected as it was unwanted, the Filipinos themselves are preparing to fight to their not insignificant utmost to keep the American flag flying over their lovely isles! That is the situation in a nutshell—and the reason why Vice President Sergio Osmeña, accompanied by a small Filipino mission, came to Washington in November to prepare the ground for congressional acceptance of the Joint Preparatory Committee's recommendations for revision of Philippine-American relations under the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act, which established the present Philippine Commonwealth under President Manuel L. Quezon as a prelude to complete independence in 1946, grew out of a strange combination of circumstances. On the one hand was a belligerent campaign of the Filipino intelligentsia, led by Don Manuel himself, for complete independence, but actually only designed to compromise on a dominion status under the American flag whereby Filipino politicians (such as Don Manuel) would have plenty of face and jobs, but all the tangible benefits of American rule would be maintained. On the other hand, powerful American interests—including a certain Wall Street bank heavily involved in Cuban sugar, the Hawaiian sugar magnificos, and southern cottonseed factors—wanted to get the Philippines outside American tariff walls so as to

Current History Map

prevent the free importation of Philippine sugar, and coconut oil which competes with cottonseed oil.

Wherefore the Philippine Commonwealth was inaugurated on November 15, 1935, while the Japs were establishing bases in North and Southeastern China to press ever southward in the direction of not only the Philippines but of all of fabulously wealthy Malaysia. And in the year following, when I traveled through the islands, I found on all hands a sudden surge of intense loyalty to the Stars and Stripes—at least as against the Rising Sun.

"The ultimate destiny of the Philippines," I was told from Manila to Jolo, "is *not* between independence and American sovereignty, but between Japanese and American sovereignty." There was not a single "banzai" for Dai Nippon. Indeed, the manifest loyalty of our "little brown brothers" to the American *raj*—as against Japan—was as touching as it was sincere.

Only the shrewd, bluffing Don Man-

THE Filipinos can be spoken of as racially a people in the making. With every generation a further step is taken toward a more complete fusion. A typical Filipino people is emerging somewhere between the early Negritos and the Indonesians and half-breeds of Manila.

The proportions of different racial strains now represented in the Filipinos are about as follows: Negrito and proto-Malay, 10 per cent; Indonesian, 30 per cent; Malayan, 40 per cent; Chinese, 10 per cent; Hindu, 5 per cent; European and American, 3 per cent; and Arab, 2 per cent. The Japanese and Mexican strains comprise small fractions.

Is this intermixture bringing into being a vigorous people? The population statistics would certainly indicate so. When the Spaniards arrived in 1521, they reported that there were about a half to three-quarters of a million people in the Philippine Islands. Today there are some thirteen million Filipinos, and they are continuing to increase rapidly.

—*The Philippines, A Nation in the Making*,
by Felix M. Keesing

uel, one of the master politicians of modern times, still insisted that complete independence was desired. Two years ago in the Malacañan I asked both him and Osmeña the same question: "Do you believe that the Philippines within ten years will be able to stand alone and independent in the present Far Eastern world?

Don Manuel answered in categorical affirmative. Osmeña replied, "I am not too sure."

And it is Osmeña who was named to head the mission to the United States to discuss American-Philippine relations—after 1946.

Japan's designs on the islands have long been manifest both in imperialistic logic and actuality. The Philippines are almost as large as Japan proper, and 60 per cent of their terrain is arable compared to only 20 per cent of Japan. Thus the Philippines, with only 18,000,000 inhabitants now, could support a larger population than Japan's present 70,000,000 on the same standard of living. China, on the other hand, is both already overpopulated and a poorhouse in natural resources excepting for coal, tungsten and antimony.

There is more gold and iron in the Philippines than in all China, Japan and Manchuria together. The Philippines have the largest known chromium deposits. They are capable of supplying every variety of tropical agricultural product. After China they are first in Japan's course of imperial expansion, more of a "life-line" for the warlords of Tokyo than Manchuria ever was.

Further, Japan in recent years has been penetrating into the Philippines in every way possible. There are about 30,000 Japanese in the islands and 1000 more coming in every year, obviously selected and supported by their government for definite economic purposes. For all practical purposes, Davao on the southern coast of Mindanao is now a Japanese overseas colony of some 15,000, all the males of whom are Japanese army reservists. Through various legal and extra-legal devices they have acquired about half the land in this area, with about half the hemp production of the entire Philippines already in their hands. Here the Japanese flag is more apparent by far than the Philippine Commonwealth or American flag. There is regular organized connection with Japan's Pelew Islands 500 miles away. Mindanao is sparsely populated, and Japanese Davao—which mordant Filipinos call "Japan's Davao-kuo," a play on both "Manchukuo" and a possessive tagalog form meaning "my Davao"—is extremely isolated from the rest of the Philippines.

First and most pronounced among measures adopted by the Philippine Commonwealth was a militarization program under an American general staff officer, Major-General Douglas MacArthur.

With both haste and efficiency, Field Marshal MacArthur started conscription and training of the entire physically fit male population of the islands, at the rate of 20,000 a year. This means today a Filipino army of 60,000 that will rapidly become not less than a half million.

At the time this huge militarization program was started, Field Marshal MacArthur issued a manifesto of polished phrases and copious historical citations from Leonidas at Thermopylae, that his plan would make the islands so impregnable their conquest would not be profitable. Other military experts, without batons from Don Manuel, were skeptical—except in so far as the Filipino army was tied up with a continuation of American naval defense of the islands. Nor did any one, over a bar and not for quotation, doubt for a moment that militarization of the Filipinos was *not* tied up with a program for an American protectorate of the islands after 1946.

For—and here we get down to fundamentals—the one loophole in the Tydings-McDuffie Act, even assuming there is no change in it, is a conference not later than 1947 to extend indefinitely American naval bases in the Philippines. Even Don Manuel took down his hair sufficiently to tell me (for quotation) that continuation of an American naval base after "independence" would be appreciated.

IT now appears that Don Manuel has clearly although not definitely or obviously boarded the bandwagon for a frank American dominion status of the Philippines rather than their complete independence. This, indeed, was behind his sending of Vice President Osmeña to the United States in the capacity of his personal representative; "to examine" [as a *New York Times* dispatch of October 17 from Manila put it] and probe official and unofficial American sentiment toward a possible Filipino proposal for indefinitely continued political relations with the United States."

This was followed in late November by President Roosevelt's announcement and approval of the recommendation made by the American-Philippines Joint Preparatory Committee for a virtual American protectorate over the finances, trade and economic readjustment of the islands after the independence date of July 4, 1946. Whether officially admitted or not, such a setup could only mean continued political relations until 1961.

With the newly developed Filipino army, in combination with the American navy, the islands are much better protected than ever in the past, when there were never more than a few American regiments and one Filipino regiment to back up Corregidor. Northern Luzon and southern Mindanao alike may remain virtually unprotected by the United States navy, but in a time of crisis any attempted landing party, or a few thousand reservists already in the islands through settlement, would be met by a native army that was fiercely determined to keep the Stars and Stripes from being struck by the hordes of the Rising Sun.

# We Vote as We Please

## An analysis of America's voting habits throws an amazing new light on Presidential elections

By FRANK L PALMER

STURDILY through the years, we, the people, have trudged behind politicians' bandwagons, carried their torches or gathered 'round our radios to listen to their speeches, on the solemn assurance that under their leadership we were saving the country.

We were winning the wavering millions and capturing the independent vote, they told us, as we trudged long miles in their parades, cheered their mouth-filling phrases and listened as eagerly as we could to their long, long speeches. We read of smoke-filled rooms where mighty men decided the fate of a nation and we listened in awe to their learned talk of the swings back and forth of masses of voters, of trends, of gains and losses when their fellow table-thumpers seemingly carried great groups of voters from one political camp to the other.

Comes a horrid thought. Could it be that the politicians have always been wrong, that their world-shaking issues, platforms, conventions and campaigns haven't changed the opinions of enough voters to affect the result of an election in forty years? Could it be that the folks made up their own minds well before the noise began, voted as they had always voted and completely ignored the orators' mightiest magic? The results of the last eleven presidential elections seem to confirm our worst suspicions.

A survey of the popular vote shows that the two major political parties enlist followers who vote in lockstep year after year, whatever the candidates, issues, business or political conditions. They cast much the same total of ballots regardless of bitter campaigns, war, peace, "progressive" or "conservative" candidates. When the party splits, the same army of voters marches to the polls to follow their respective halves of the torn flag.

Stranger still, they cast much the same total within a given period, affected as little by vital statistics as by politicians. Voters die and others come of age, population soars, the

*Alfred E. Smith and Herbert Hoover, foes in the 1928 Presidential election, at a recent social event.*

death rate wanes, but the popular votes of the great parties go on their unbelievably even way.

Once a party enlists a large group of voters they never desert. The only exception came when five million joined one party for one election to fight over religion. Never before or since have a million voters cast their ballots even once for a major party and then left it.

Shifts of power between the parties have not resulted from winning the phantom independent vote or luring supporters from a rival party. These shifts have always come either (1) from a split within the major party; or (2) by the enlistment of new voters who had never cast ballots before.

For forty years the electorate has been weaving a pattern, followed with amazing exactitude in election after election, which shows graphically what the Republican party must do to win in 1940. For forty years the pattern of what the electorate will do, and what it will not do, has been woven so clearly that he who runs may read.

Look first at the Republican votes for the eleven elections between 1896 and 1936. There we see two patterns, one before war and woman suffrage raised the totals and one after; the first included the elections of 1896 through 1912 and the latter those from 1920 through 1936.

In the first five elections there were 7,000,000 Republicans who four times marched to the polls in perfect step to support the ticket loyally and once fought a civil war strictly within the party's ranks. Between 1896 and 1904 the totals edged up 6 per cent. Then for three elections there was no change. The 7,600,000 were ready and willing to vote for Theodore Roosevelt, the trust-buster, or for William Howard Taft, the ponderous protector-of-things-as-they-were, or to split the vote between them in a bitter fight, without a difference of 1 per cent in the three totals.

AFTER that there came the eight years under Democratic leadership during which we fought the World War and adopted woman suffrage. Through war and suffrage the totals soared, of course. Beginning again with the 1920 campaign, 16,000,000 Republicans fell in step once more and for five elections through sweeping victories and heartbreaking defeats they deposited those ballots with disciplined regularity. With one exception, in 1928, they did not vary 2 per cent from their new par of 16,000,000 until Alfred Landon's fight in 1936 swelled the total to slightly more than 4 per cent above that figure.

### TOTAL POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1896-1936

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Grand Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1896** | | | |
| McKinley | 7,035,000 | | |
| Bryan | | 6,467,000 | 13,813,000 |
| **1900** | | | |
| McKinley | 7,219,000 | | |
| Bryan | | 6,358,000 | 13,964,000 |
| **1904** | | | |
| Roosevelt | 7,628,000 | | |
| Parker | | 5,084,000 | 13,523,000 |
| **1908** | | | |
| Taft | 7,679,000 | | |
| Bryan | | 6,409,000 | 14,887,000 |
| **1912** | | | |
| Taft | 3,483,000 | | |
| Roosevelt | 4,126,000 | | |
| | (7,609,000) | | |
| Wilson | | 6,286,000 | 15,031,000 |
| **1916** | | | |
| Hughes | 8,538,000 | | |
| Wilson | | 9,129,000 | 18,528,000 |
| **1920** | | | |
| Harding | 16,152,000 | | |
| Cox | | 9,147,000 | 26,705,000 |
| **1924** | | | |
| Coolidge | 15,725,000 | | |
| Davis | | 8,385,000 | |
| LaFollette | | 4,822,000 | 29,022,000 |
| **1928** | | | |
| Hoover | 21,392,000 | | |
| Smith | | 15,016,000 | 36,879,000 |
| **1932** | | | |
| Hoover | 15,761,000 | | |
| Roosevelt | | 22,821,000 | 39,816,000 |
| **1936** | | | |
| Landon | 16,679,000 | | |
| Roosevelt | | 27,476,000 | 45,646,000 |

**Note the patterns:** In the first five elections Republican totals were never as low as 7,000,000 nor as high as 7,700,000 (combining the Taft and Roosevelt vote). In the last five elections (since the war and woman suffrage) with one exception they were not as low as 15,700,000 nor as high as 16,700,000. The Democratic totals varied more than 200,000 once in the first five elections, 800,000 in the next three—then something happened. The grand totals, including minority parties, increased each election except one. But look at those last four totals!

In 1920 Harding led us back to normalcy in what was hailed as a sweeping victory, but he rallied only 1 per cent above the new par. In 1924 the slogan was "Coolidge or chaos" and we chose Coolidge in another Republican landslide, but his total fell 1½ per cent below par. We skip 1928 for the moment as the exceptional year. In 1932 Herbert Hoover led his party into a crushing defeat, but he received more votes than Calvin Coolidge had in his great victory and fell but 1 per cent below par.

Nor is the impression correct that in 1936 Alfred Landon was handicapped by some campaign weakness either in candidate or party organization which prevented him from receiving the full normal Republican vote. Landon led the greatest army of Republicans ever to march to the polls, and they cast a vote exceeded only once in the party's history (when the interlopers of 1928 voted with them). True, he carried only Maine and Vermont; true, he had the smallest electoral college vote in a two-way fight in recent history; true, he was beaten by the largest popular plurality ever registered in any campaign. All this is no reflection on Landon or his party; the normal 16,000,000 votes were marshalled plus a 4 per cent margin.

An army under the strictest military discipline might vary as much in number of effectives because of an outbreak of measles, as has the Republican party through these campaigns.

The record in the Democratic party is amazingly like that of the Republicans. Using the same five-campaign pattern from 1896 through 1912, there were 6,400,000 Democrats who bore the banner of defeat as loyally as the Republicans the colors of victory. Again, in three of five campaigns, the vote varied but 1 per cent. Only once (when the Rough Riders' Colonel seemingly frightened a million into staying home) was there a variation of more than 2 per cent.

Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt by 1912 had broken with his protege, President William Howard Taft. An acrimonious primary fight ended with Roosevelt Progressives bolting the Republican party and nominating the Colonel and Senator Hiram Johnson for President and Vice-President. There was civil war within Republican ranks. Everywhere the fight assumed the extreme bitterness characteristic of family feuds. In many states the Progressives attempted to seize control of the Republican party label, succeeding temporarily in several, and actually running under the name in California and South Dakota.

Bitterness and invective reached a climax the night of October 14. As Roosevelt came out of his hotel on the way to the hall to speak, a man stepped from the crowd, pulled a revolver and shot him pointblank in the breast. A secretary bore the would-be assassin to the ground. Cries of "lynch him" were stilled by the appeal of the wounded candidate.

Despite urgent pleadings by friends, Roosevelt would not go to a hospital for an examination and insisted upon speaking. As he was introduced, the Colonel stepped to the rostrum and took his prepared speech from his breast pocket. Two bullet holes in the manuscript immediately became visible to all, shocking his audience with the realization of his recent escape from death. The manuscript had deflected the bullet, which remained in his body as he spoke. At the end of the address he collapsed.

The effect on the nation was sensational. Roosevelt was no longer the candidate of a faction but the soldier hero of the people. Wilson cancelled speaking engagements lest he seem to be fighting a wounded foe; his managers were dismayed. "Wise politicians [in Washington] take the view that the shooting of the Colonel is going to throw him an enormous vote," the New York *Globe* reported.

As a movie script is would have been terrific, but as a force to change votes the whole campaign was a dud. The "great drift of Republicans to Wilson" left him with 123,000 fewer votes than Bryan had been given in his third campaign four years earlier. The fight between Taft and Roosevelt which had seemed to arouse the na-

tion had actually brought their combined totals to precisely 18,892 votes fewer than the Colonel had garnered eight years before and 69,064 fewer than Taft had won four years earlier. Perchance it rained in Kansas or there was a blizzard in the Dakotas. All the tremendous dither of the politicians went for nought.

The 1920 totals, roughly 16,000,000 for the Republicans and 9,000,000 for the Democrats, showed that the Republicans had come out of the war-and-woman suffrage shakeup definitely the gainers. The pre-war pattern had given them a margin of 1,000,000; they now had 7,000,000. But every bit of that plurality had been gained from new voters who had never before voted for any party. They were to remain loyal to their new faith from that time forth.

Since there had been no shift of as many as 1,000,000 voters from one party to another in decades, or a loss of that many once they were enlisted, the prospects for continuance of Republican success were bright indeed. This was confirmed by the fact that the pre-suffrage standard of 15,000,000 votes had been increased to 26,000,000. The gains to be expected from suffrage seemed achieved.

A NEW factor was brought into the 1924 campaign, however, which was destined ultimately to change the trend of government and politics. Senator Robert M. LaFollette made a four-month fight for the presidency as candidate of a third party, cutting across our political traditions by becoming frankly a class candidate. He appealed to workers and farmers, as such, strictly on economic issues. He promised to use the police power and the taxing power of the government to put money in their pockets.

With that appeal he introduced a new technique into American politics, the technique of offering specific advantages to specific classes, so effectively that large numbers of these classes who have never before voted will register and go to the polls. This compares with the older technique of presenting political issues to the electorate as a whole in the hope of winning the independent vote and persuading some members of the rival party to desert that party.

Calvin Coolidge in 1924 drew the normal Republican 16,000,000, less 1½ per cent. Davis got the Democratic vote of the previous two elections, less 8 per cent. LaFollette had carried his own state and taken an insignificant number from the major parties. Yet he had made one tremendously significant change—the making of specific promises to specific groups, promises so attractive that large numbers from those groups would break the habit of a lifetime and vote.

LaFollette, in a brief campaign which lacked money, organization and a press, did not win; but he added nearly twice as many new voters to the rolls in four months as the two major parties combined had added in five campaigns before suffrage. Those 2,300,000 new voters were left without a party home when his movement died and they have been absorbed in the major parties. Once a group gets the taste of deciding the fate of the nation at the polls it never stops voting; the totals never grow less.

Let this X mark the spot where another myth is murdered: Al Smith was defeated in 1928 because he was a Democrat, not because he was a Catholic. Of the 12,298,000 votes gained by both parties over their 1924 totals, Smith won 6,631,000 and Hoover 5,667,000. On this issue Smith led by nearly 1,000,000, but he had the Democrats' customary handicap of 7,000,000 and this defeated him.

The 5,000,000 interlopers who voted for Hoover in 1928 made this election unique for another reason: They make up the only group as large as a million who ever voted for a major party and then deserted it. The totals do not show a single instance where there has been a decrease of 1,000,000 votes except this occasion when these 5,000,000 voted on a non-recurring issue, had never voted with the Republican party before and never voted for it again. This is the only group which deserted after voting for a party once; no group has after voting twice.

The New Deal began its first campaign in the midst of a depression which was naturally blamed on the party in power. The first New Deal appeal was vague and the second precise. It will probably be conceded by all that the New Deal campaigners offered specific promises to three specific groups: the unemployed, the industrial worker (and especially the organized worker) and the farmer. These promises did not sound like older political platforms. There was little talk of constitution, liberty and American traditions; there was much talk of relief for the unemployed, wage increases and shortened hours of labor, money for wheat and corn—plowed under. Men and women who had never been reached by the traditional appeals now registered and voted.

**Total Vote of Five Key States, 1920 and 1936**

| | Republican | | Democratic | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1920 | 1936 | 1920 | 1936 |
| California | 624,992 | 836,431 | 229,191 | 1,766,836 |
| Illinois | 1,420,480 | 1,570,393 | 534,395 | 2,282,999 |
| New York | 1,671,167 | 2,180,670 | 731,238 | 3,018,298 |
| Ohio | 1,182,022 | 1,127,709 | 780,037 | 1,747,122 |
| Pennsylvania | 1,218,215 | 1,690,300 | 503,202 | 2,353,788 |
| | 6,316,876 | 7,405,503 | 2,778,063 | 11,169,043 |

Total U. S. population increased from 106,543,031 to 128,429,000 or 21 per cent.
Republican vote in these states increased 17 per cent.
Democratic vote in these states increased 300 per cent.

Nor was the effort limited to the Democratic organization. Allies of the New Deal went to work on carefully planned drives to recruit followers. There has been much comment on the fact that John L. Lewis presented the Democratic National Committee with $500,000 from the treasury of the United Mine Workers; there has been very little comment on a much more significant job done by Labor's Non-Partisan League.

UNDER the direction of Eli Oliver, the realist who is the active manager of the League, there was little emphasis in 1936 on the typical political ballyhoo. Oliver recognized that millions of industrial workers, who had joined the unions under New Deal impetus, had been unused to voting. He made little effort to persuade them they ought to support Roosevelt, but he turned his energy and enthusiasm to one task—registering new converts by the hundreds of thousands in each of the great industrial states—New York, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania, for example. No one could say labor

(*Continued on page 53*)

# John Bull in Latin America

## Great Britain, with much at stake, has watched closely the Pan-American Conference at Lima

### By CARLETON BEALS

THE twenty-one American delegations, which in December gathered in Lima, Peru, had their collective eyes cocked on the European cyclone cloud. Most of them were simply being on their guard; but some of them, I am afraid, had the notion that the cyclone was rather a fruitful wind that could bring someone some good. Despite the reams of ballyhoo publicity in behalf of the Pan-American Union, more than a few remained unconvinced that the Union is quite the safest storm-cellar, that it does not have some trap doors. They feared that its northern side, from which some of the worst storms have come, is completely exposed.

As a matter of fact, Peru itself was a pretty gusty place where it was necessary to keep the sacred coat-collars of democracy turned up against the draughts of totalitarianism all the time. Nowhere in Latin America could a better place have been selected for a cross-section of the world's political and economic conflicts. Europe was there every minute. Nowhere else could have been witnessed a better example of the sodden semi-colonial dictatorship and of the manifold scramble for empire, —a scramble in which the United States, of course, wears only shining armor, and goes about crying purely, "Grail, Grail, who's got the Holy Grail?"

Peru at present possesses a President who flouted the national vote, seized power, and rules without a Congress (though a rump body was hurriedly clawed out of the discard to celebrate the Pan-American Congress). Peru is without a national university, without a free press, without political parties (unless a few petty government-subsidized bureaucratic cliques can be called that). Peru is a sweet place where citizens who dare to talk about democracy or criticize the totalitarian powers get put in jail.

The Pan-American delegates did not see the jungle camps of Benavides, full of rotting political prisoners enamored

*Chicago Daily News*

***Get to Work, Uncle***

of democracy, nor were they able to talk with all those notable sons of Peru now in jail or in exile. They could, however, had they been so minded, observe the activities of the great powers of the world, especially those of the totalitarian states: the President's own guard, run by Italian officers; the police and the civil guard run by Italian officers. The air fleet that greeted them was made up of Italian planes, and managed by an Italian air-mission. Perhaps the delegates visited the Italian airplane factory and airdome which is under construction, or the Italian propaganda offices, which are the headquarters for half a dozen countries to our south. When they went shopping they had to trade for the most part in Japanese and German stores; but probably none of them visited the Japanese port of Chimbote or the Japanese town of Huaral, or looked into the activities of that highly favored nation. Quite possibly some of them met members of the German economic mission, which advises Peru what to do about tariffs, budgets, taxes and other important financial matters, though the latter are in good part carried on through the Italian bank. Quite possibly some of them arrived in Lima on the new German airplane service, also opened up to celebrate the Pan-American Congress, which connects with a ramified German system throughout all South America except Venezuela.

More likely the delegates took note of the fine vessels provided by the American Grace line, or got their funds through its bank, or flew over the Panagra line. Perhaps they visited the large Grace sugar estates, or stopped off at Talara to look at the American oil wells, or journeyed over the highest railroad in the world, to the copper mine at Cerro de Pasco, partly owned by William Randolph Hearst.

The British, too, have their finger in the Peruvian pie. For fifty years the great British Peruvian Corporation, formed to translate Peruvian debts into railroads, mines and plantations, has long been a great pillar of Peruvian economic life. But today the great column is somewhat yellow around the lower flanges. Although American and Italian banks now exercise predominant political and economic influence, British banks probably remain wealthier. According to the *South American Journal*, in 1936 the British had over $150,000,000 invested in enterprises quoted on the London Stock Exchange alone. According to our Department of Commerce, American investments once quoted at over $300,000,000 have shrunk to $125,000,000, a figure now closely approximated by Italian investments.

THE British colony in Lima is large and influential. Its Phoenix Club faces the central Plaza de Armas, opposite the Palace of Government. They have a large cricket field, the use of which was donated to them by the Leguía government, and they have taught a few natives to play the game. They provide the bulk of employees both for their own and American companies. But in spite of all this, their trade picture is not so bright. They have been surpassed on exports to Peru by both the United States and Germany, and in cotton textiles by Japan. Some years ago, England, in celebrating a new

treaty with Peru, asked for only one concession: restrictions on Japanese textile imports. This was granted, but the Peruvians at once found means of evading the clauses.

In recent years the British have been losing ground heavily everywhere in Latin America, in trade, investment and influence, a tendency which is of serious consequence to the Empire. The proceedings of the Pan-American Congress are also of grave import to England, and the shadow of the Empire, a little paler now, lay over the deliberations of that august assemblage. Those on the inside of international affairs could have detected the fine hand of England working through the Argentine delegation in devious ways. Argentina is at present England's last card, a card so badly crumpled on the edges, that it can be seen by all the players.

England was far from happy over Roosevelt's efforts at the last special Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires to put into effect blanket neutrality treaties for the whole Western Hemisphere. Chimerical as was the project, it came closer to being successful than England had for a moment supposed. Southern statesmen will confess, in non-quotable moments, that England bent every effort to spike Roosevelt's proposal—though it might never have been adopted anyway. British statesmen knew that the United States neutrality proposals would have enabled Uncle Sam to corner most of the Latin American trade. Moreover, and perhaps ever more important, England felt that unless she could be assured of the unstinted cooperation of the United States in time of war, as well as the free flow of goods from Latin America, her battle would be half lost before even begun.

ENGLAND, her control of the Mediterranean in doubt, harassed by the Arabs, pricked by the totalitarian powers, German trade and financial penetration into Turkey, has no assurance that she can depend, as she could in the past, upon Rumanian and Russian wheat and oil. A wedge has been driven between her and the coveted raw materials of Europe and Asia. Part of her empire life-line now is the oil of Venezuela, Colombia and Mexico; the meat and wheat of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. The importance of this to her, quite apart from her great investments and trade, is revealed by the little news item that recently she ordered all merchantmen engaged in the Argentine trade to be revamped with emplacements for guns.

The British Empire had long been the most serious competitor of the United States in the countries to the South. Her trade and investments and influence long dominated there. What headway we made was against England. We have probably had more serious disputes with her over the Monroe Doctrine, trade and influence than with any other European country. She wanted the Canal rights, and we finally swapped certain Canal privileges for her right to seize Belize in direct violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

N. E. A.

*"Gee! I Must Be Getting Glamor or Something!"*

In her day England also knew the trick of empire smashing. She used the same tactics to break up Spain's New World empire that Germany is today using against the British Empire. Hispanic American revolutionists were feted in London, given arms and cash, even transported to their revolutionary rendevous on British gunboats. British military technicians were constantly at their elbows. Thus England gained the affection of the freed Latin American countries, and collected in interest on loans, trade and investment privileges —a supremacy she largely held for a century. Today British investments in Latin America probably still equal, perhaps surpass our own.

Our own gains to the South were made by twisting the British lion's tail. During the World War, armed with loans and investments, we stepped into her shoes in many places. We took away her near monopoly of cable service; we transferred the news capital of Hispanic America from London to New York; we made New York the loan capital of the southern lands. Even when we were busy saving the world for democracy, in sessions in London at which British statesmen would have had to throw up the sponge if the United States had not been able to supply them with shipping and more shipping and supply it fast, our delegates made sure that this did not mask an effort by England to keep her merchantmen in service to Latin America and in control of trade there.

SOME years after the World War, England, in a desperate battle to win back South American markets from the United States, temporarily joined hands with defeated Germany, with Italy, and France, in a sort of united front against us. Should Chamberlain's dream of tying up with Italy and Germany come true, then that old trade drive against us might likely be resumed. England cannot afford to lose her trade and influence to the South, even to us. Although she has largely acquiesced in the Monroe Doctrine, in our undisputed political overlordship (except in the far south of South America), in all the southern countries she is definitely our competitor. She is our friend only to the extent that she has to be.

But she has lost out badly. She has lost out to us, especially in Argentina, and she has lost out to the totalitarian powers, who have gained far more at her expense than at ours. Today England exports less to all of the countries in South America, except Argentina, than does Germany. In Brazil, though British investments still so greatly exceed ours, Germany has forged into first place from 1935-38, (superseded by the United States slightly in 1937); but England has dropped to fourth place, behind Argentina. In Argentina, due to war-purchases and the heavy goods industry development, the United States has recently wrenched first place away from England.

Many of England's difficulties in South America stem from her loans and colonies. In order to pay interest on Britain's heavy loans, the southern countries are unable to buy as much British merchandise. The Empire itself is also an obstacle. In order to save the Empire from German and Japanese trade inroads, England has had to revive a closed economic system, with preferential tariffs for the colonies, something akin to the earlier trade acts which so aroused the ire of the Thirteen Colonies. This preference to British colonies places the raw-material countries of South America at a disadvantage in the British market.

Colombia recently denounced a trade treaty with England that had survived more than seventy years, in order to demand equality of treatment with the British colonies, and at the same time placed severe restrictions on British textile and other imports.

GERMANY, Italy and Japan mostly must seek their raw products in the uncontrolled areas of the world. This fact explains the serious trade drive in the Balkans, the scramble for China, the spectacular drive of the have-not nations in Latin America. They can buy freely because they do not have to think of the welfare of colonies. They do not have to exact interest on loans they have not made. In the topsy-turvy economics of the day, they expand trade by buying heavily and getting into debt, rather than the reverse. By flooding a country with Aski marks, they build up a German indebtedness, which can be collected only by taking German goods in ever larger quantities. In other words, England has been living mostly off her fat in Latin America, but the totalitarian powers have jumped in lean-muscled.

England has not been entirely quiescent. In 1931, trying to turn the tide of depression and recapture her share of the market, she staged one of her greatest acts of commercial showmanship—the Empire Trade Exhibition in Buenos Aires. The Duke of Windsor was sent over as British salesman No. 1. This and similar efforts which still continue attest to Britain's concern. But despite all, she slipped back in her last great stronghold—Argentina.

Argentina, friendly in her foreign policies to Italy and England, but of late somewhat more cordial to the United States, has seen with some disillusionment that England has left her in the lurch in favor of her own colonies; that England wishes her merely for a great war reserve. But Argentina's great export problems center upon wheat and meat, and the bulk of those two products are still consumed by England. Argentina exports three-fourths of the world's corn exports, and those, too, must find a market largely across the Atlantic.

But in spite of all of England's efforts, her position in Latin America is less rosy than at any time since the southern countries became independent. The swank German and Italian lines have cut into her steamship and carrying trade. The Japanese have taken slices. England has seen quite a number of lines go into bankruptcy or forced to merge with larger concerns. The latest change has been the absorption of the big West Coast Pacific Steam Navigation Company by the Royal Mail Lines.

England is still scrambling for the Latin American armament trade. This key activity has the merit of being largely self-perpetuating. New parts must be bought continuously in England. Experts are required and they bring in their train direct political and military influence. Vickers supplied both Paraguay and Bolivia heavily during the Chaco War. English munition merchants have been behind various war scares on the southern continent, particularly those between Chile and Argentina. Britain recently attempted to get a big order from Chile to bring her fleet on a par with Argentina's rapid expansion.

But here again, England has been mostly outplayed. She has no influence at all in the air field, the most modern arm of aggression. German and American planes share the field in Argentina; German planes are used on the government-owned civilian lines in Chile and the war Force is divided mostly between Italian and German planes. Air missions of both countries have been active there. Peruvian planes are mostly of Italian make, and Italian air instructors and officers are busy. Salvador has turned to Italy for planes. Germany and France have transatlantic air service, a field soon to be entered by Italy; and the great air network of South America is, of course, German.

But the English still have considerable influence in naval matters. They have built most of Argentina's navy, although recently, it is said, orders have been placed in the United States. She, along with Italy and the United States, have supplied vessels to Brazil. But she has lost the market in Peru to the United States, and in Venezuela to Italy. Britain's influence with the land forces of South America is almost nil, though she supplies considerable munitions. The great gains have been made by Italy and Germany, especially in Central America, and Italian army missions are found in Bolivia and Ecuador.

And so, nowhere in the world does England more clearly see the handwriting on the wall than in Latin America, where her trade, influence and investments are waning. The question of her political influence in Latin America remains a very important one to Britain, for she needs to keep the sea-lanes open and sources of supply accessible in case she might become involved in war.

England has still one other card up her sleeve, which she may use should American neutrality policies eventually endanger her New World life-line. In all previous Pan-Americanism and talk of the solidarity of the continent, Canada has been left out of the picture. And yet Canada has enormous interests to the South. Canadian capital reaches out to control shipping, banana companies, sugar plantations, mines, streetcars, railways and other public utilities. She has a big network of banks. It is, in fact, odd that Canadian pride has not provoked her ere this, on her own initiative, to demand a say in determining the policies of the continent. Such a demand on her part is logical, but it would arouse many headaches in the purlieus of our State Department.

The world is getting cluttered up with closed-in trade areas, where investment, commerce, and political influence are to a great extent monopolized, or heavily weighted by one or the other powers: the British Empire, the vast area of the Soviet Union, China, now the Balkans and the Near East. Latin America is about the only great open door trading area left on earth. For that reason it is now the scene of epochal struggles, struggles to control resources and trade, to determine the course of war should it arise.

THE British fleet still stands majestic as a bar to totalitarian military ambitions in that direction. So does the American fleet. But the new inroads of the totalitarian powers may use other techniques. They are, in fact, aping today the very techniques used by England earlier to overthrow the Spanish empire—techniques modernized and partly demonstrated in Spain and Czechoslovakia. And the Franco cause, of course, is a spearhead of ambitious Italian and German designs in the New World. That new technique is not to take colonies by force, which is mostly an alarmist idea. Rather, it is to gain key footholds in industry and military establishments, possibly use local wars and revolutions as instruments to cut off needed supplies to England. Germany used much sabotage in Latin America during the last war. She and other countries now have expanded and greatly improved their techniques along such lines. Allies are sometimes gained—possibly even in the New World—by creating quarrels between nations. Britain's prospects in Latin America are far from bright.

# The Family at the Factory

## An "Open House" has enabled one organization to increase employee and community good will

### By MORRIS MARKEY

THE human passion for watching somebody else at work is probably as old as work itself. I have no doubt that the craftsman of the caves, whittling away at a particularly knobby and murderous warclub, had at least an audience of appreciative small boys—the originals of those lads who, in our tame days, sit enthralled while the paper-hanger or the carpenter or the farrier plies his strokes. The crowds which surround a new construction job, staring contentedly at the steam-shovels and the cranes, are almost too familiar for remark.

It is small wonder that the manufacturing companies of these times should recognize such a trait in man, and bend it amiably to their own uses. They do, all right. There is hardly a factory worth the name which does not provide organized tours for visitors. The Open House, when guests are particularly invited and shown around the works, and even served with a cup of tea and a biscuit, has become commonplace in the larger establishments. The people come trooping to see how their favorite cars and candies and breakfast foods are made. They are almost invariably enchanted by the unearthly cunning and efficiency which goes into the contriving of every-day articles of trade, and likewise by the warm, smiling hospitality of the factory folks. And the result is that increment which, to the manufacturer, is beyond all price —Good Will.

Last year, about 80,000 people were led through the Ford plants. Hundreds go through the packing houses of Chicago every day (with, curiously enough, about 80 per cent of the women and only 15 per cent of the men insisting upon a look at the slaughter pens). Flour mills and steel mills, power plants and coal mines—they all welcome company.

This fall, however, I had the opportunity of seeing something a little new in the way of an Open House—something that was, at the least, altogether interesting, and that may turn out to have a subtle importance of its own.

The Western Electric Company is unlike the motor companies and packing houses and such that I have mentioned. It is different because its product is not sold to the public, and therefore the good will of the populace at large is hardly more than an academic affair from a sales standpoint. The company makes telephone equipment and it has, for all practical purposes, only one customer—the Bell System. Therefore, no particular attention has been paid to the few people who came around wanting to see how telephones or telephone cables were made. There never was any tea ready to be served, and no efforts at all were made to increase the number of visitors.

The biggest of Western Electric's plants is at Hawthorne, near Chicago. About 15,000 people work there. And one day a committee of workmen went into the front office with a rather odd request: "All of us work on parts of things—pieces of things," they said. "We never see the complete product put together. Couldn't we figure out some way for all of our people to make a trip through the whole factory, and see what the others are doing, and understand the whole process that goes into the stuff we make?"

The way was figured out. I didn't see it work at Hawthorne, but I did go to the Baltimore plant and to the Kearny, New Jersey, plant when Open Houses were held at those places.

For the fortnight of Open House, the hours of the working day for key men in the departments were changed: 2.15 in the afternoon to 11 o'clock at night. Then, every afternoon and evening, after the regular working day was over, the rest of the employees had opportunity to pass through parts of the factory they did not know existed, past operations they had never seen before.

But the interesting thing, to me, was the fact that the touring workmen brought their families with them—their wives and children, their in-laws and sweethearts and fellow lodge-members, to see what sort of place Joe worked in, what he did to make a living and how he went about doing it.

They flocked through the immense factories in fascinated crowds, about five thousand of them every night, and every one of them had some sort of stake in what they were seeing. For admission was by ticket only, and the only way to get a ticket was to be on intimate terms with a workman—to be dependent upon him economically or to be his close friend. It took every one of them about three hours of tough walking to see what was to be seen. But they had a wonderful time, and for a simple reason: That remote and rather forbidding abstraction, "The Factory" where Pop or Cousin Joe worked, was being rendered then and there into a human sort of place which all the family could understand and talk about over the supper-table.

To risk putting too long a face upon it, industrial relations—the immediate industrial relations of flesh-and-blood individuals—were working down into the family and the social circle of every Joe and every Mike.

There were many cheerful things to see. I followed a family for a while: Dad all dressed in a blue serge suit and a derby hat; Mother in her best

*Girls demonstrating the soldering of cable terminals at an "open house" night at the Point Breeze plant of Western Electric.*

party dress; two high-school boys and a girl of ten. For a while they walked past machines that Dad himself had never seen before, workmen who were strangers to him. He was deeply interested, and asked questions of the men at the machines, explaining carefully who he was himself. Then, as we gradually drew near his own part of the factory, you could see the pride begin to rise in him.

"When do we get there, Dad?" the boys would ask. And Mother did her best to conceal her eager anticipation while Dad lifted his hand deprecatingly. "Take it easy," he said. "It won't run away." He laughed. "Not that baby."

We went down a broad aisle, and presently Dad stood back, his hands in his pockets and his hat on the back of his head, looking up at an immense electric punch press that shrugged its shoulders and set down a ten-ton foot upon a plate of steel, pressing it into some weird and artful shape.

"Well," Dad said, "there she is."

They stared in admiration. The boys said, "Gee-e-e!" Mother, still trying, said, "From what you've been saying, I'd have thought it was twice that big." But she didn't mean it, and he knew it.

There were four of the machines in a row, and Dad's was being operated by a tall, lean-faced man. Dad introduced him to the family, and introduced the men at the other machines, too. For the last of them, he had a particularly warm grin.

"And now, Mother," he said, "you can shake hands with Bill Nagle himself."

"Well," she said, "after all those cribbage games I've heard about, it seems like I know you already."

"That's right," said Mr. Nagle. "I have to beat the old boy here every day at lunch hour."

"You beat *him!*" Mother pretended to be outraged, and they all laughed.

It seemed that Dad had been working alongside Bill Nagle for three years. But their homes were miles apart, and they never got together at night. It seemed, furthermore, that there was a Mrs. Nagle and divers Nagle children, and arrangements were made forthwith for the women folks to get together and cook up a beefsteak dinner for all hands.

Dad settled down to explain his machine, in meticulous detail, to the boys. And Mother watched, with no want of pride in her quiet face.

All over the plant, encounters of a like sort were going forward. Above the hum and beat of the machines, voices wandered on as men explained their work and women and children listened eagerly.

At Baltimore and at Kearny numerous girls are employed, their nimble fingers working incessantly upon the more delicate contraptions that are part of transmitters and condensers and such. When the plans for the Open House were going forward, these young ladies had presented something of a problem. They had announced that they would not be content with ordinary work-dresses for the occasion, but intended to do themselves out in proper style. This seemed an admirable idea until they showed up for work the first afternoon—in silk evening dresses and the more complex variations of the modern hair-do. The crowds, quite understandably, banked deep about them.

But the boss decided that this was hardly in the mood of industrial production, and with what diplomacy he could command, suggested that they wear something a trifle less ravishing in the future. The girls compromised on party frocks and dirndl prints, but even thus tamed down, it was a matter for note that during all the Open House period, production, if anything, improved.

These matters may seem frivolous. Perhaps there is nothing of real or lasting importance in the spectacle of homey little family groups gathered about a machine, nor of girls allowing vanity to impinge upon the simple business of earning a weekly wage. But I assure you that such things made a very striking contrast to the picture one ordinarily gets of that troubled mystery, the Labor Situation. People, it seemed, were not emphasizing their differences with their employers but their common interests. Nobody seemed to be going hysterical at the ceaseless rhythm of the machines.

On the contrary, I think everybody (including myself) was a little astonished to discover that the factory could be a pretty decent sort of place to work in and that the benches and stools were peopled by quite ordinary individuals—not nameless atoms in that amorphous molecule, Labor.

But I am no expert in these affairs. I can only report that it seemed a sensible thing, and certainly a pleasant one, to invite families and friends in to see what really lies behind the pay envelope that Dad brings home every Friday night.

## Labor's Civil War

*(Continued from page 28)*

Since the A.F. of L. is determined to defeat Senate approval of the reappointment of Donald Wakefield Smith to the labor board, this, too, holds out the possibility of some kind of arrangement with those who oppose the N.L.R.B. and the Wagner Act for other reasons.

The C.I.O. is absolutely against any amendment at this time, fearing that once the Act is opened for amendment, provisions disadvantageous to labor will inevitably be adopted.

At this writing, strong representations are being made to Senator Wagner and Administration leaders to yield on some points. They may yield on the ground that public opinion demands some amendments as well as some changes in the board's administrative rules. Those possible changes may provide for employers being permitted to ask for elections, and for a liberalizing of the procedure governing the issuance of subpoenas. Employers have complained that their wishes are slighted when it comes to the issuing of subpoenas for all those whom they wish to testify.

The A.F. of L. expressed confidence that it not only has the votes to defeat confirmation of Mr. Smith, but to amend the Act according to its desire. A coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats is looked to by the Federation and by business groups to "put over" several Wagner Act amendments. What will happen depends upon the Administration supporters' handling of the problem in the coming months. The situation has reached the vote-catching and vote-swapping phase.

As to the "judge-jury" charge, it may be said that this procedure is the same as that of the Federal Trade Commission and other quasi-judicial administrative tribunals. The labor board complaints are handled under regional directors and the hearings held under trial-examiners appointed by the board and under direction of a chief trial-examiner. A separate section reviews the records, but the board does not consult with the trial-examiner or the trial attorney. Prosecution and judgment are kept apart.

Nevertheless, insofar as possible amendments are concerned, there would seem to be considerable room in the next Congress for some sort of a trade.

# America's Peace Army

## There is no basis for the fear that the CCC will follow a military pattern

### By JOHN L. CHRISTIAN

SINCE the tent pegs of the first CCC camp were driven into the rain-soaked earth of the George Washington National Forest near Luray, Virginia, in April, 1933, more than 2,000,000 young men of America have benefited by the nation-building service of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Five years ago the universal estimate of a CCC camp was "just another new-fangled New Deal idea." Since that time there has been an almost complete reversal of public opinion toward what is now recognized as one of the most useful of all the newer governmental agencies.

Let it be noted that America's forest army is a *civilian* corps. While the housing, messing, medical, and welfare work connected with the Corps have been cared for most efficiently by officers of the regular army aided by reserve officers, there is nothing military about the CCC. There is no military discipline in the strict sense, and there is no military training of any sort. The entire supervisory personnel has been devoted to a twin objective: The conservation of America's natural resources and the conservation of its young manhood.

All who are interested in the ways of peace need have no apprehensive attitude toward the Civilian Conservation Corps. Nor should they fear that it will turn in the direction taken by similar youth movements in certain European countries. Germany is generally credited with having originated the youth labor camp idea. From there it spread to nearly a dozen countries. Its adoption in a modified form was under consideration by the Chinese government before the outbreak of the present hostilities. The German *Arbeitsdienst* has a normal strength of 200,000 young men, and despite the fact that it is frankly military in nature and purpose it has been called, by qualified neutral observers, "one of the most desirable of the Nazi experiments." It goes without saying that the intellectual freedom and the widening mental horizon, so characteristic of the American camps, is lacking in the labor camps across the Rhine.

Unemployment among young men just out of school has long been one of the most baffling problems confronting American social workers. They tell us there are in the United States some 3,000,000 young men who have never held a steady job since they left school at the eighth grade or after having spent some time in high school. These are in addition to the very considerable number who never complete eight grades in school.

Today 300,000 of these young men are in the Corps where they benefit from good discipline, careful medical attention, excellent and nourishing food, regular hours of rest, and educational opportunities carefully adjusted to their needs. Secretary Perkins listed the benefits succinctly when she said, "Men leave the camps in better health and spirits; they have added to their skills, learned the importance of discipline and cooperation, and the value of the day's work."

During the first four years of its existence enrollees for the Civilian Conservation Corps were selected from families on public relief rolls. That is now changed, and today the only prerequisite is that the lad himself must be between the ages of 17 and 23 years, unemployed, and in need of assistance. The popularity of the service among young men is attested by the fact that some 250,000 recruits applied for the 60,000 vacancies available the past October. That is another way of saying that 190,000 unemployed young men were unable to gain admission and were, consequently, left to shift for themselves.

WHAT is the cost to American society of the maintenance of 1,500 CCC camps? Less than $20.00 per week will provide the CCC boy with food, clothes, pleasant and healthful living quarters, expert medical attendance, educational guidance, instructional and vocational equipment, tools and machinery for his work projects, and send $25.00 each month to his parents or other dependants. The basic wage is $30.00 per month, of which amount not less than $22.00 must be sent home to needy parents or deposited to the lad's credit in a federal depository.

What benefit accrues to the country in return for this expenditure? Most CCC camps work in national and state forests, and it is in this field that

*CCC boys operating the camp barber shop at Camp Sanders, Mt. Hermon, La.*

*CCC youths building a fence at Columbia, S. D.*

their most pronounced accomplishments are seen. The official records show that more than 1,250,000,000 trees were planted on more than 500,000 acres of devastated land by CCC enrollees. Some 100,000 miles of truck trails and minor roads have been constructed within national forest boundaries by CCC men. In addition, bridges, fire look-out towers, telephone lines, and other facilities for the protection and wise utilization of our national forest resources have been completed. But it must not be supposed that forest work is completed. The Forest Service has estimated that an additional 26,000,000 acres of once forested land should be replanted if America is to build defenses against continued waste of her national resources.

Much CCC energy is employed in the development of "playgrounds for the people." With five exceptions, every American state has parks of historical or recreational value which have been developed for public enjoyment by CCC labor crews. Behind these labor battalions come thousands from the cities and farms to enjoy hiking, riding, picnicking, study, and just plain loafing out of doors. Since the Civilian Conservation Corps was established April 6, 1933, it has developed some 500 state parks and recreational sites, until the total area of state parks now exceeds the area of the State of Connecticut.

Important work has been done in wild life restoration, soil conservation, flood control, and range land improvement. No nation can use its timber supply three times as rapidly as it is being replaced, overgraze its ranges, lay its fields bare to wind storms and floods which sweep away the land's fertility, without reaching a day of reckoning. This course has earned for America a reputation as the most prodigal of nations. The CCC has done much to call attention to the plight of our natural resources in field, forest, farm and young men.

Social values inherent in the Civilian Conservation Corps must not be overlooked. Educational advisers in the Corps have the experience of meeting in every lot of new replacements at the beginning of each six month's enrollment period, boys who have entered the CCC embittered with life and the traditional public schools. Not a few enter the camps to escape formal educational methods. Others are ill-adjusted to life among their fellows —easy prey to every wind of political doctrine. On the whole, the typical enrollee is no better and no worse than the average out-of-work-and-out-of-school American boy. He requires study and sympathetic understanding; and this must be distinguished from mere sentiment, which is never a very satisfactory substitute for employment and accomplishment. Nearly all enrollees are in need of reorientation which results in their becoming at peace with themselves and society. The present writer has been impressed deeply by the fact that nearly every enrollee has a basic honesty and manliness which a boyhood of poverty and life on the streets has not erased. It is much too early to become pessimistic over American boys.

*CCC boys learning how motors operate at Camp Clover Creek.*

*A basketball game at the CCC camp, Fort Payne, Ala.*

WHOLESOME fellowship soon develops in a camp. Racial and religious conflicts melt away; boys of different nationalities and religions become the best of "buddies." This merging of interests and quieting of prejudices is, of course, no new discovery to those who have observed youth of different

races at work and play. Here is practical demonstration of the humanizing effect of widening horizons. In short, a camp is an excellent proving ground for practical psychologists.

A WORD should be said for the educational features of the camps. In the first place, the educational program is entirely voluntary. No lad is regimented into any set schedule of classes or activities. The wise adviser soon discovers that what some boys need is to be left alone for a month or two until they come to the realization that the way to preferment is through expert knowledge in the trades and academic lines. Lock-step methods of grades, credits, and promotion simply will not do in a CCC camp. The tendency is toward the informal and the practical, with heavy emphasis upon purely vocational training. Education and rehabilitation, in their broader aspects, are recognized as perhaps the most useful function of the camps, a fact which is somewhat curious when it is recalled that education was not part of the original plan at all. Those who think the sideshow has swallowed the circus are reminded that in public opinion the rehabilitation of 300,000 men best justifies the expense of the Corps.

A boy interested in surveying wants to learn it at the business end of a surveyor's chain and an Abney level, with a competent foreman at the other end. The proverbial log will not do in this case. And the classroom must be right out where the stakes are being driven for the road-building crew. When a course in Diesel engines is announced it immediately brings the question: "Do we get to work on the engines?" There must be evening discussion periods for current events, social problems and citizenship, with ample opportunity for directed reading. Opportunity for self-expression must be given the timid, but gifted, lad. Some of the most successful classes are taught by enrollees themselves with the adviser as a sort of guide, philosopher, and friend. The range of subjects studied includes almost anything from agriculture to zoology. And the object of it all is to increase the boy's employability and his social worth to society. A few weeks spent discovering the enrollee's needs and interests will reveal the joints in the armour of the traditional school methods.

In conclusion, then, the Civilian Conservation Corps will go down in history as the greatest governmental effort yet put forth for the youth of this country, and one of the greatest conservation measures in history. And that is something which makes it of great ultimate value to all interested in the brotherhood of mankind.

Friends of peace are reminded that two significant CCC projects are the development of the Big Bend International Peace Park of 225,000 acres on the American side of the Rio Grande's Big Bend, and the International Peace Garden in the picturesque Turtle Mountains of North Dakota along the frontier between the United States and Canada. In response to this gesture the Mexican Government has begun similar work on their side, and the Canadians have done likewise.

*Bedtime at Camp Sanders, Mt. Hermon, La. Beds are arranged in alternate fashion in order to avoid contagion of colds.*

## Trade by Treaties

(*Continued from page* 16)

the United States than does any other country. American farmers have a particularly vital stake in English markets, for approximately a third of our total agricultural exports are sold in the United Kingdom. After the United Kingdom, Canada is our second largest customer.

It is of particular interest that just as the United Kingdom wants to buy those of our goods which are primarily agricultural, so Canada wants to buy those of our goods which are primarily industrial. By these two agreements *both* the American farmer and the American mill worker reap profit through the gain of foreign markets; and the opportunity thus given to each for increased economic activity naturally reacts to the enormous benefit of the other in increased purchasing power and hence in increased domestic markets.

The recent European crisis must bring home to us all the compelling importance of building sound foundations for permanent peace. Military demobilization, even military disarmament, alone cannot bring lasting peace. Lasting peace depends upon economic as well as military disarmament. Until the scourge of economic nationalism which has forced trade barriers to extreme heights throughout the world can be overcome through patient and careful effort to liberalize world trade, economic struggle will continue, accompanied by political suspicion and hostility.

Recent European events, far from overshadowing the necessity of building firm economic foundations for peace, demonstrate the need for redoubled efforts in that direction. Lovers of peace, lovers of American freedom must unite in support of the trade agreements program. It is a program for promoting domestic prosperity. It is also a program working powerfully for peace.

# Cultural Barometer

V. F. CALVERTON

LAST month I devoted a large part of this department to the French cinema, which I praised as the best in the world today. Since then a new film has made its appearance which reveals another aspect of the French film industry. This film, *Ballerina* deals with entirely different material from French films discussed earlier.

*Ballerina*, as its title suggests, is concerned with the ballet, its central motivation revolving about the problems, difficulties, conflicts, and jealousies which live within that thespian world. Those struggles alone would be enough to satisfy most American producers and directors. But not so with the French! *Ballerina* achieves its significance through something more subtle than the customary loves and hates, frustrations and futilities, of the ballet world. Its significance resides in its amazing revelation of child psychology: the psychology of girls from eight to fourteen years of age who study to be ballet dancers, their sub-adolescent fixations and hostilities, their exaggerated affections and fears, their fetishistic concern for glamorous trifles, their idolatry of motion, their idealization of rhythm and gesture.

The heroine, a little girl of twelve, is as unforgetable as Shirley Temple and Freddy Bartholomew are forgetable. Unlike them, however, this girl is extraordinarily unprepossessing: she wins your interest, understanding, and sympathy by her acting and not by her looks. Her hands alone, inimitably sensitive and rhythmic, are more intensely and compellingly alive than are all the smiles and simpers of the Hollywood child protagonists. Her face, homelier than that of a ghetto-starved waif, is magnificent in its homeliness. The very extensity of her nose, which would have made Cyrano de Bergerac envious, lends possibilities to her face which prettier features would have denied. The French director chose this girl because she possessed, in feature and actorial potentiality, those qualities which were necessary to make the film an esthetic success. Had he chosen—as most Hollywood directors would have done—a sweet, sympathetic, touching face that would have won sympathy by virtue of its charm, the cinema would have been a failure.

There are few pictures in which a crime is committed and in which you feel a definite sympathy for the criminal. The girl in this picture, because of her adoration for one ballet dancer whom she thinks of as her godmother, opens a trap-door through which a rival dancer falls and has her career thus destroyed. The crime, however understandable, is horrible and uncondonable. What this girl does in *Ballerina* is to make the horrible and uncondonable crime not only understandable but forgivable. To do that requires acting of the highest order. She meets the test; and this makes the film one of the most significant of the season. No Hollywood child actor could have done the job, because they are not taught to act but to look pretty, act sweet, be nice, or courageous or boyscoutish, or what you will. To act an unsympathetic role and make it sympathetic is something which they are never able to do, which explains why child actors in Hollywood are so hopeless—not only Shirley Temple, Bobbie Breen, Freddy Bartholomew and Company, but also the irrepressible and inexecrable Mickey Rooney!

The one Hollywood exception which deserves praise because of its very singularity is that of Bonita Granville, who gave such a splendid child performance in the film production of *These Three* (movie version of *The Children's Hour*).

### *Hollywood Deserts the Duce*

Several years ago, Mussolini sent his eldest son, Vittorio, to Hollywood to study how American films are made. The Duce was eager to build up a successful film industry in Italy. To the amazement of the young man as well as his father, a large section of the film colony boycotted him, refused to give him any advice or assistance whatsoever, and it was not long before he returned to Italy without having been able to gather the knowledge and experience he sought. Ever since then the Mussolini government has been hostile to American films.

Recently that hostility assumed an anti-Semitic character, with attacks upon Eddie Cantor, the Marx Brothers, the Ritz Brothers, and Charlie Chaplin, all of whom Italian critics condemned as Jews, therefore a bad influence in the film industry. The battle, however, is more economic than racial in character. American films are obviously so much superior to Italian films (which are the worst in Europe) that Italian producers find themselves unable to compete. These anti-Semitic, anti-American attacks are motivated by a desire to defend and protect the home industry, which, heaven knows, needs protection to survive.

Now we discover that Hollywood has decided to play a positive role instead of a negative one. Beginning with the new year a number of American motion-picture representatives agree not to sell their films to the Italian market. Bad as Italian cinemas are, Mussolini is determined to make his populace suffer through them. Mussolini's Hollywood, situated on the outskirts of Rome, is a *papier-mâché* affair which glitters rather than glows, and possesses an efficiency equivalent to that of a Mexican engineer. Nevertheless, he is insistent upon playing-up Italian films no matter how bad, and playing-down foreign films no matter how good.

The Minister of Propaganda declared, for instance, that all children's pictures must become educational, "exalting Italian heroism, especially military heroism, the Italian race, and Italy's past and present history." Stories and illustrations of a foreign character are "ordered suppressed".

It is to such extremes that European nationalism drives culture these days, reducing it to the status of a pawn of politics. Already it has brought us to the threshold of barbarism.

### *Stalin Stifles Creativity*

Totalitarianism, wherever found,

has similar characteristics. In Soviet Russia it is no less severe and annihilating in its political demands than in Italy and Germany. Bertram Wolfe, well-known radical critic and collaborator with Diego Rivera on several books, declared in *Workers Age* (one of the best leftist papers published in this country):

"The history of Soviet art and letters is full of examples for the working class of how not to treat its artists and writers and the artists and writers of other classes that it may inherit along with the society it takes over. In the early twenties, the futurists and abstract artists got brief factional control. Then the academicians were permitted to hound the abstract artists out of Russia or out of painting. With the ultra-left political line after 1928 came the dictatorship of the R.A.A.P.: this was dissolved in 1932 and its leaders, once faithful tools of Stalinism, were purged, some of them physically, a few years later. Since 1928, exhibitions have been increasingly filled with scenes showing Stalin winning great military battles (it was necessary to paint out the memory of Trotsky's role in the creation and leadership of the Red Army with scenes showing Lenin eagerly seeking advice from Stalin and leaning upon him, and it was necessary to paint out the memory of Lenin's dying warning to the party that his "best disciple" must be removed or the party would be wrecked): with ugly, insincere, badly executed portraits of Stalin by the thousands. The very style of depiction changed with each twist and turn of the party line: till 1934 Stalin was always stern, unsmiling, standing alone in heroic pose, the man of steel; then he began to appear as a benevolent patriarch, patting heads, kissing children, seated in the bosom of his family, smiling fixedly at all and sundry, the great humanitarian. It was at that moment that he began the purge!"

An even greater tragedy is that the same executionary policy is applied in the field of science, where astronomers, biologists, chemists, have been jailed and shot because their scientific beliefs conflicted with those entertained by Stalin and his reigning clique. But the tragedy deosn't stop even there. As Sidney Hook points out in his recent article, *Science and the New Obscurantism*, all scientists who have been "taken in" by the Stalin regime adopt attitudes and cling to contentions which are utterly unsound and unscientific and pathetically indefensible.

All this means that good scientists, good artists, good men in Soviet Russia today, and in all the Communist parties which are extensions of the Soviet political machine, are being driven in one of three directions: to silence, to jail, or to intellectual prostitution.

### *The Indian Walks Again*

A few weeks ago the manuscript of a play, *Metamora*, was discovered by Dr. Wallace A. Goates. Written by John Augustus Stone it represents a milestone in American drama. Not significant as a play, it is significant in terms of social content and national challenge. Barrett Clark, distinguished drama critic, stated that the discovery of *Metamora* is "one of the most important historical additions to American drama that has ever been made."

*Heroine of "Ballerina"*

*Metamora* is an Indian play which won a $500 award in the middle of the last century from Edwin Forrest, the famous actor and producer. Like many other plays of that time it was typical in that it aimed to get away from European, and especially English, things and root itself in American realities. Already the Indian had become acceptable material for drama. More than that, he was beginning, even then, to develop into a legend. Rousseau had idolized and idealized "the noble savage." Philip Freneau had extolled the Indian as a man of the earth, with all the virtues and energies and powers of the earth. Chateaubriand had hazarded thousands of miles of sea, and equal thousands of land, to see these Indians, "the noble savages", these holy men of the forest.

By the time Stone wrote his drama, the Indian was no longer a challenge to white supremacy. He was a beaten race. The sentimentalists had begun to feel sorry for him, as sentimentalists always do after they are sure that an enemy is beaten. Longfellow wrote about him in saccharine stanzas in his *Hiawatha* epic. Cooper exalted him into a legendary hero in his *Leather Stocking Tales*. More obscure writers lauded his courage, bravery, and stoicism.

*Metamora* introduced into our drama what Freneau and Longfellow introduced into our poetry and Cooper into our fiction. After *Metamora*, Indian plays multiplied, but in our century it has been the cinema rather than the theatre which has perpetuated the Indian theme.

### *The Eternal Toscanini*

That Arturo Toscanini is, everything considered, the greatest musician of our time is no longer contested. Some years back, it was customary to compart Stokowski with Toscanini, sometimes with Bruno Walter. But today such discussions have ceased. Toscanini is no longer comparable. He is incomparable. His work with the NBC orchestra gives the final touch to a great career. No other conductor has achieved such amazing innovations of interpretation, such miraculous revisions and re-emphases of tonal and rhythmic quality. If he fails at times with the Russians, as he did a few weeks ago with the *Pathetique*, he never fails with the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Spanish, or the Italians.

There has been considerable recent discussion in England about Toscanini, the best of it by Ernest Newman, who is the leading musical critic of our day. It is odd that the best musical critic of this generation should come from the most unmusical of all countries, England. Mr. Newman is not only superb as a critic of music as it is written, played, and performed; he is also a mind that delves with eagerness into the problems of music as a social reality. He tries to understand, study, and analyze music as a whole, in terms of the civilization which gave it birth, meaning, and significance. America has produced no critics of that order with the exception of Mr. Lawrence Gilman and Mr. E. Siegmeister. Unfortunately, Mr. Siegmeister has written little, but what he has written has been first-rate in terms of social content. Besides Mr. Newman, there is,

to be sure, Rutland Boughton, whose work on Bach and his time is one of the best musical analyses of our generation.

But let us turn back to what Mr. Newman said about Toscanini in the London *Times*: "What fascinates some of us where Toscanini is concerned is the fact that there is never any question of his 'Beethoven', his 'Wagner', or any of that nonsense. We get just Beethoven's Beethoven or Wagner's Wagner, and that is enough for us; for we find that when the score is played as it is written we perceive a hundred things in it that were not perceptible before. To play a score like that of the *Ninth Symphony* or the *Meistersinger* just as it is written, however, implies a knowledge of *everything* in the score, which few conductors seem to possess. At a Toscanini performance we hear a thousand things which we had never heard before. This merely means that we hear the whole score—because Toscanini really knows the whole score, down to the minutest accent or dot, and believes that if the composer put this or that down in his score it was because it meant something to him in the total texture."

I can think of no compliment greater than that which could be paid to a musician, or any one more accurate wherein Toscanini is concerned.

### *Exit Football*

St. Johns College, which recently startled the academic world by its elimination of specific courses from its curriculum, has now made another innovation—the discontinuance of intercollegiate athletics. Football is the first sport to feel the axe, and already its two football coaches have resigned. St. Johns does not intend to give up athletics, President Stringfellow Barr states, but merely intercollegiate athletics. "Fear may be expressed that dropping intercollegiate athletics will kill interest in all athletics." This fear, Mr. Stringfellow Barr goes to say, "seems to me to be groundless. There are two kinds of interest in athletics, the interest a good player feels in playing well, and the interest a popular athlete feels in attracting applause. We want and expect at St. Johns a great deal of the first kind of interest, but exhibitionism in athletics does not interest us."

From a cultural point of view this move on the part of St. Johns is most salutary. Athletics in almost all colleges and universities has lost its real purpose, that of being a body-strengthener and builder. It has lost most of the original amateur spirit and acquired a professional cast. Colleges have devised a dozen schemes whereby they can attract the best athletes to become their students. As President Barr states, "The term athletic scholarship is widely used today to hide subsidy and professionalism. Athletic scholarships are granted by many colleges, with a good deal of hypocritical talk about Rhodes scholarships, high grades, fine character, eligibility, etc., but for the obvious purpose of providing teams with paid players to win games."

What St. Johns will do henceforth is to encourage athletics within the college itself, and it will even establish athletic scholarships for those who assist in teaching sports to other students. In other words, it is stressing the cooperative spirit, instead of the competitive spirit, in athletics. It wants all its students, not just a small group of them, to participate in sport.

### *Nazis Meet Rebuff*

On the same day that George Grosz, one of the greatest artists of our time, became an American citizen, Mr. F. W. Elven, editor of the Cincinnati *Freie Presse*, a German language newspaper, rejected the Eagle award which was to have been bestowed upon him by the German government. "I am not interested in any country except the United States," he declared. "I want the citizens of Cincinnati to know that our policy is 'United States, first, last, and always'."

Mr. Grosz, a voluntary exile from Germany for the last six years, voiced similar sentiments: "America is the only place for a liberal mind," he stated. "If I had remained in Germany I would probably be in a concentration camp now. . . . Modern German art is mediocre. The mass movement in modern Germany has lowered the taste of its people for art. Nazism automatically ends esthetic development."

Mr. Grosz enjoys the distinction of having a number of his paintings hung in the recent "gallery of horrors," which contained the work of those artists whom the Nazis condemned as being non-German. During the World War he was tried twice in Germany for a drawing called "Christ Wearing a Death Mask," now hanging in Harvard University.

### *War and Culture*

Destructive and horrendous though war is, always has been, and always will be, the world has never been lacking in politicians, philosophers, and demagogues who have exalted it into a great and noble endeavor. In our own day Mussolini, plagiarizing Marinetti's words, has called war "the world's hygiene," and German Nazis have described it as "the beautiful adventure," "man's closest approach to the ideal." In the nineteenth century a man as gentle as Ruskin defended it for its moral value.

Most people, however, do not feel so warmly about war and in these days when war threatens like a storm-cloud to break upon us at any moment, it behooves us to give some reflection to its origins as well as its consequences. In that connection, I want to quote the following words of Mark Twain, which appeared years ago in his *Mysterious Stranger* because they are so appropriate and arresting:

"The loud little handful, as usual, will shout for the war. The pulpit will, warily and cautiously, object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly: 'It is unjust and dishonorable and there is no necessity for it.'

"Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded, but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity.

"Before long you will see a curious thing—the speakers stoned from the platform and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—as earlier—but do not dare to say so.

"And now the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war cry and shout itself hoarse and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth.

"Next, the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing fallacies and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."

# The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

According to information received from Berlin, Pastor Martin Niemoeller, who has been imprisoned for more than a year, has refused to regain his freedom on condition that he sign an agreement not to resume his activity in his Berlin-Dahlem parish. Pastor Niemoeller, the report continues, has addressed a letter to his parish exhorting it to stand fast in the faith and adding that he prefers to remain in prison rather than give up his vocation.

The rumors originating in Germany that Pastor Niemoeller and other Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders, both clerical and lay, will be released from "protective custody" and concentration camps remain merely rumors. Real leaders of the Church have ideals similar to those of Pastor Niemoeller. When given an opportunity, they will undoubtedly follow his example and endure imprisonment rather than apostasize.

In spite of—or perhaps because of—a vigorous "anti-Church" campaign being waged by National Socialist "racial" elements, church membership is not only holding its own, but is actually increasing because of the population increase. Even though they threaten to expropriate property belonging to the Roman Catholic Church and to liquidate all Protestant opposition, the regime's own spokesmen admit that the Church struggle has only intensified Church life.

Official figures quoted in a dispatch to the New York *Times* of December 4 show that 54 per cent of the German population still belong to Protestant Churches, 36 per cent to the Roman Catholic Church and only 10 per cent to other confessions or none, while 92 to 95 per cent still pay Church taxes.

Moreover, while withdrawals from Protestant Churches began in 1936 to exceed conversions from other faiths, yet all reports agree that 95 and more per cent of the children born in Protestant families are still being baptized. The families of prominent National Socialists—as, for example, Field Marshal Hermann Goering—are included. At least 90 per cent of the Protestant dead are being buried by the Church and some 80 per cent of the marriages among Protestants are still being solemnized in the Church. The *Times* also reports that relative figures for the Roman Catholic Church are considerably higher.

The situation of the Orthodox Church in Poland is a difficult one. The Orthodox press in Poland, as in other countries, has issued a great deal of information on the struggle that the Orthodox Church in Poland is undergoing, especially in the region of Holm-Lioublinska. More than five million members of this Church—especially those of Russian nationality and inhabiting the regions of the East—have no fixed status in Poland.

A commission appointed by the State to settle this question has achieved no practical results. The effort to make the non-Polish population both Polish and Roman Catholic has led to a serious conflict. Orthodox priests are obliged to use Polish in their services instead of the Old Slav language; if they refuse, the State cuts off subsidies, and they have to leave their parishes, pay fines, risk having the Church closed or themselves expelled by the administration. In certain cases priests who are not yet naturalized Polish citizens and who have refused to submit to these stipulations have been threatened with expulsion to U.S.S.R. The Orthodox Church is accused of being hostile to the State and even of betraying the State. Churches have been closed, burned or destroyed. The cemeteries are handed over to the Roman Catholics, who in some regions are taking an active part in this anti-Orthodox campaign. Finally, the fact that Orthodox children are obliged to receive Roman Catholic religious instruction is helping to create an atmosphere among the Orthodox population which makes the activity of the "Godless movement" all the easier.

All these facts have been submitted to the national Senate by deputies. A circular letter from the Orthodox episcopacy of Poland, containing a message of consolation to the Orthodox population, was seized, in spite of the loyalty to the State that it expressed. Several times Orthodox publications have been seized by the State administration, which also has the right to dismiss all priests and any other people serving the Orthodox Faith, without any indication of the reason and without any trial. The nomination of a priest is often refused without any explanation. Professors of Orthodox theology, such as Archimandrite Hylarion Wasdekas in Warsaw, and Prof. N. Arsenieff, well known in oecumenical circles, have been dismissed. In the Orthodox school of which Archimandrite Hylarion Wasdekas was head, the officials are now almost all Roman Catholics. Archimandrite is now also the Exarch in Poland of the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.

The following quotation from *The Commonweal* of December 2, 1938, is indicative of some of the honest thinking which has been stimulated in the United States by the persecution of religious and racial minorities.

"Though Jews are not a race, the colored people are. It is blood that identifies them. And though Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy are the outstanding preachers of racial intolerance today, we make bold to assert that the United States is the outstanding practiser of racial intolerance. There are 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States as against 700,000 Jews in Germany and 50,000 in Italy. We need not detail here the well-known facts of racial oppression in America—disenfranchisement, social ostracism, economic discrimination, educational, cultural and hygienic neglect, religious segregation, ghettoism, lynching and the rest. They are so well known that we are callous to them. The still small voice of conscience has been stifled in their regard. This is our national shame! It is ardently to be hoped for that the present crisis of the Jews will provoke widespread self-examination of conscience in America and efficacious resolution to mend our ways. Can we point out the mote in a brother's eye, while there remains a beam in our own?"

# THE GOVERNMENT

## Summary of activities and work of the various Federal Government departments and agencies

### *Notes Exchanged by United States and Mexico*

*Excerpts from Secretary of Hull's note to Mexico, presented on Nov. 9 to Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera, Mexican Ambassador to the United States:*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed by your government on Sept. 1 to Ambassador Daniels.

Careful examination of that note discloses no grounds that would justify this government in modifying the position set forth at length in my notes to you dated July 21 and Aug. 22, 1938.

My government would be willing to agree to the plan proposed hereafter, which, if acceptable to your government, would resolve at once the present controversy in so far as it relates to compensation for American-owned agrarian properties seized since Aug. 30, 1927, that if continued must seriously impair the friendly relations between the two countries.

1. Both our governments are in accord that the values of the American-owned agrarian properties expropriated since Aug. 30, 1927, be determined by a commission composed of one representative of each of our governments, and, in case of disagreement, by a third person selected by the Permanent Commission with seat at Washington, as established by the so-called Gondra Treaty.

2. My government proposes (a) that the two commissioners be appointed by their respective governments at once; (b) that they hold their first meeting in the city of Mexico on the first day of December, 1938; (c) that each government bear the entire expense of the salaries, maintenance, transportation and incidentals of its commissioner and his staff and that any expense incurred jointly as, for instance, in connection with airplane travel, be shared equally.

3. My government believes it important and understands that your government is in accord in this regard, that a time limit be established for the completion of the work of the commissioners. It is, therefore, proposed that the commissioners be instructed that they must complete the determinations of value by not later than May 31, 1939.

If, during the course of the deliberations of the two commissioners, they are unable to reach a common finding upon the matters submitted to them for their joint determination, my government proposes that the permanent commission at Washington be requested to appoint immediately the third commissioner in order that he may resolve the matters upon which the two governments' commissioners are unable to agree.

It is further proposed that in case of disagreement in any particular case, the representative appointed by the permanent commission be requested to render his award within not more than two months from the time the case is submitted to him. The salaries and expenses of the third commissioner will be defrayed in equal proportions by the two governments.

4. The adequate and effective measure of compensation to be paid in each case shall be determined in the usual manner by taking into consideration, among other pertinent factors, the establishment of the nationality of the claimant, the legitimacy of his title, the just value of the property expropriated, the fair return from the property of which claimant has been deprived between the time of expropriation and the time of receiving compensation, as well as such other facts as in the opinion of the commissioners should be taken into account in reaching a determination as to compensation.

5. It is my understanding that the Mexican Government will pay the sum of $1,000,000 United States currency as first payment of the indemnities to be determined by the commission to which this note refers, and that this payment will be made to the Government of the United States on or before May 31, 1939.

It is my further understanding that immediately subsequent to the determination by the commission of the final valuation, in accordance with the procedure indicated in numbered paragraph four of this note, of American-owned agrarian properties as defined in numbered paragraph one, the two governments will reach an agreement as to the amounts to be paid to the government of the United States by the Government of Mexico annually for the account of such claims in the years subsequent to the year 1939.

As the basis for such agreement there will be taken into consideration such statement of its ability to pay as may be demonstrated by the Government of Mexico. The Government of Mexico, I understand, agrees that the annual payments to be made by it to the Government of the United States subsequent to the year 1939 for the account of these claims will in no event be less than $1,000,000 United States currency, and that such payments will be made on June 30 of the corresponding year.

*Excerpts from a translation of the note from Eduardo Hay, Mexican Minister for Foreign Relations, delivered to Ambassador Josephus Daniels on Nov. 12:*

As was proposed in its note of Aug. 3 of the current year, my government agrees that the value of the expropriated lands shall be established by a commission consisting of a representative of each government; also that cases of disagreement between these representatives shall be decided by a third person designated by the Permanent Commission, established by the Gondra Pact, which has its seat in Washington, notwithstanding the fact that, in this instance, it is not a matter of an investigating commission, an express function in the said pact, of the commission referred to.

It agrees, likewise in conformity with its original intention, that the representatives of the two governments shall be immediately designated and that their first meeting shall take place in the City of Mexico on the first day of December of the present year. Outlays for emoluments, travel and other expenditures, both of the representatives and of the persons assisting them in their work, shall be defrayed by the respective governments. The two governments shall each pay one-half of the expenses incurred jointly.

Likewise, the emoluments which are to be paid to the third person referred to shall be shared equally, as proposed by your government, by Mexico and the United States.

My government manifests, expressly, that it agrees that the representatives designated be instructed to the effect that their work of evaluation be concluded in May, 1939, and that the cases of disagreement be submitted to the consideration of the third person, who will, likewise, be requested to render his decision within a term of not more than two months, counting from the date on which his intervention has been requested.

The Government of Mexico under-

stands that the commissioners, in proceeding to make the respective evaluation, shall take into account, among other pertinent facts, the establishment of the nationality of the claimant, the legality of his title to enter a claim and the last fiscal valuation prior to the expropriation.

Respecting the manner of payment of the corresponding indemnifications, my government will pay the amount of $1,000,000 in the month of May, 1939.

My government is agreed that, once the representatives fix the amount of the indemnifications, the governments shall agree upon the annual amount which the Government of Mexico shall pay to that of the United States, in the years subsequent to 1939, on the claims in question. In the determination of the said annual payments, the economic possibilities of Mexico shall be taken into account.

My government agrees, forthwith, that the annual amounts which must be paid to the United States Government shall not be less than $1,000,000, United States currency, and, lastly, my government is in agreement that the payments be made on the 30th day of June of each year.

The Government of Mexico deems necessary to have it understood that the decisions reached by the representatives designated shall in no case extend beyond evaluation of the lands expropriated and the modalities of payment of the amount determined; that they shall not constitute a precedent, in any case nor for any reason; neither shall they decide the juridical principles maintained by the two governments and applicable to the matter in question.

*The National Labor Relations Board Keeps Up With Its Work*

## Reply From Japan

*Excerpts from the Japanese reply to the United States' protest on China of Oct. 27. It was handed on Nov. 18 to Ambassador Joseph C. Grew by Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita:*

Firstly, . . . export exchange measures as adopted at Tsingtao are calculated to place users of the old Chinese currency, who have been obtaining unfair profits, on an equal footing with those using Federal Reserve notes.

Inasmuch as application of the measures makes no differentiation according to nationality, they cannot be considered discriminatory measures. As a matter of fact, it is through these measures that those users of Federal Reserve notes who had, in a sense, been discriminated against have been placed on equal footing with others and thus enabled to compete on a fair basis.

Secondly, in North and Central China, new Chinese regimes some time ago effected revisions of the customs tariff in an attempt to secure rational modification of the former tariff enforced by the Kuomintang government, which was unduly high and ill-calculated to promote economic recovery and the general welfare of the Chinese people.

However, the schedule actually approved for the time being is the one approved by the powers in 1931, so that no complaint has been heard from foreign residents of any nationality on the spot. The Japanese Government are, of course, in favor of the purpose of said revision, believing it will serve to promote effectively the trade of all countries with China.

Thirdly, as for organization of certain promotion companies in China, restoration and development of China's economic, financial and industrial life after the present affair is a matter of urgent necessity for the welfare of the Chinese.

The North China Development Company and Central China Development Company were established (by Japan) with a view to giving China necessary assistance toward said restoration and also with the aim of contributing toward the development of China's natural resources. It is far from the thoughts of the Japanese Government to impair the rights and interests of American citizens in China or discriminate against their enterprises.

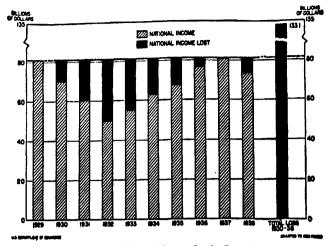
The Japanese Government, therefore, do not oppose, but heartily welcome, participation of third powers on the basis of the new situation which has arisen.

Fourthly, concerning the return of American citizens to occupied areas, Your Excellency is aware that in North China there is no restriction, excepting very special cases where the personal safety of those who return would be endangered, while in the Yangtze Valley large numbers of Americans have already returned. The reason that permission to return not yet has been made general is, as has repeately been communicated to Your Excellency, due to danger that persists because of imperfect restoration of order and also to the impossibility of admitting nationals of a third power on account of strategic necessities such as the preservation of military secrets.

Again, the various restrictions enforced in the occupied areas concerning residence, travel, enterprise and trade of American citizens constitute the minimum regulations consistent with military necessities and local conditions of peace and order. It is the intention of the Japanese Government to restore the situation to normal as soon as circumstances permit.

While it is true that in these days of emergency Americans residing in this country are subject to various economic restrictions, yet these are, needless to say, restrictions imposed not upon Americans alone but also on all foreigners of all nationalities as well as upon subjects of Japan.

However, since there are at present in China military operations on a scale unprecedented in our history, it may well be recognized by the government of the United States that it is unavoidable that these military operations should occasionally present obstacles to giving full effect to our intention of respecting the rights and interests of American citizens.

Japan at present is devoting her energy to the establishment of a new

***Loss Caused in National Income by the Depression***

Some striking points were made by Isador Lubin in presenting this and many other charts with his testimony before the Monopoly Inquiry Committee in Washington, December 1.

He pointed out that if the American economic system had functioned as effectively in the nine years from 1930 to 1938 as it did in 1929, the people would have had nearly $133,000,000,000 more real income than they actually received.

The loss of gross income by farmers from 1930 to 1938 was over $38,000,000,000 or about three times as great as their income in 1929.

Security holders would have received $20,000,000,000 more in dividends in the years 1930-38 if the high level of 1929 dividend disbursements had been maintained. The figures have not been adjusted for price changes since 1929, an adjustment which would make the loss smaller.

As to employment the reduced level of industrial activity since 1929 is equal to the loss of more than one full year of employment for the entire working population engaged in non-agricultural occupations. The loss shown, a full year's work for 43,000,000 men, does not allow for the addition since 1929 of about 5,000,000 to the potential working population nor for the nearly 2,000,000 persons unemployed in 1929.

order based on genuine international justice throughout East Asia, the attainment of which end is not only an indispensable condition for the very existence of Japan but also constitutes the very foundation of enduring peace and stability in East Asia.

It is the firm conviction of the Japanese Government that in the face of the new situation fast developing in East Asia, any attempt to apply to the conditions of today and tomorrow inapplicable ideas and principles of the past would neither contribute toward the establishment of real peace in East Asia nor solve immediate issues.

However, as long as these points are understood, Japan has not the slightest inclination to oppose participation of the United States and other powers in the great work of reconstruction in East Asia along lines of industry and trade; and I believe the new regimes now being formed in China are prepared to welcome such foreign participation.

## German-United States Notes on Austrian Debts

*Excerpts from the note delivered by the American ambassador to the German Foreign Office on Oct. 19, 1938:*

The failure of the German Government to reply to my notes of April 6 and June 9 regarding the cessation of service upon Austrian dollar bonds still comes persistently to the front in the United States as a disregard of just rights of the bondholders and an inequitable consideration of an American interest.

The German Government is currently making payments on the service of similar Austrian obligations in the hands of British, French and other nationalities. Its disappointment at the continued neglect of the German Government is therefore all the greater.

My government permits payments of every variety to be made from its territories to residents of Germany without hindrance or impediment, including payments on obligations held by German citizens.

Various German dollar bonds selling in the American market at extremely low prices because of lack of payment continue to be repatriated by Germany, exchange being made available for that purpose. The German Government must recognize that a continuation of this situation is certain to intensify a feeling of injustice and discrimination.

*Excerpts from the note dated Nov. 17, 1938, received at the American Embassy in Berlin from the German Foreign Office:*

The German Government has been seeking a way which would make it possible for it, in spite of its fundamental rejection of any legal obligation, to give consideration to the American creditors of certain Austrian Government debts in a similar manner as that meanwhile arranged for various other creditors. It has not been possible, however, to find such a way as yet, for the following reasons:

Your communication of Oct. 19 refers to the payments which the creditors of certain Austrian Government loans in England, France and several other countries receive on the basis of agreements concluded meanwhile with these countries.

These agreements, however, were only possible because of the fact that trade with all these countries results in a considerable export surplus for Germany from which foreign exchange for these payments can be drawn and because special provisions could be agreed upon which guaranteed that the trade surplus would always permit the withdrawal of such foreign exchange.

On account of the extremely passive condition of German trade with the United States, which already requires an outlay of considerable amounts of foreign exchange to pay for German imports from the United States, a similar treaty adjustment for payments to American creditors can naturally not be made.

The German Government has made investigations as to whether it might not be possible to make some other adjustment in favor of the American creditors. So far the investigations have not led to any solution; but they are being continued.

*Excerpts from the note delivered by the American Embassy at Berlin to the German Foreign Office on Nov. 25, 1938:*

My government reaffirms its position as to the responsibility of the German Government for the payment of the indebtedness of the government of Austria and its intention to look to the German Government for payment thereof.

This inter-governmental indebtedness, incurred to obtain food for the Austrian people at a time of distress and lack of means or ordinary credit for the most necessary payments, and specifically secured on assets and revenues of Austria, has not disappeared or been annulled by the fact of the taking over of these assets and revenues by the German Government.

It appears that, with respect to bonds of the Austrian Government which are held by citizens or residents of the United States, the German Government, while disclaiming legal responsibility, is prepared to make de facto provision for payment as a charge on the German Government, and that it has caused the suspension of capital and interest payments by the agencies charged therewith prior to Oct. 2, 1938.

This confirmation of the position that holders of the bonds of the Austrian Federal Government must look to the German Government for the discharge of these obligations might reduce the question of legal responsibility to an academic question were adequate provision, acceptable to the bondholders, made for the payment of the obligations.

My government sincerely hopes that these studies may produce in the near future a positive result so that the American holders of Austrian securities will not long remain the only important group of holders of Austrian bonds for which no provision for payment has been made.

It would cost little for the German Government to provide payments for the bonds of the Austrian Government actually outstanding in American hands such as it already provides for its own dollar bonds in the United States.

## Current History Quiz

*Questions on page 31*

1. Tunisia, Corsica, Nice and Savoy.
2. No; an agreement for payment was reached on November 12.
3. Pearl Buck of the United States in literature; and Professor Enrico Fermi of Italy in physics.
4. Daughter of John L. Lewis, the CIO president, and a member of the United States delegation to the Pan-American conference.
5. Belgium
6. Nineteen.
7. One billion marks (about $400,000,000). A 20 per cent levy is being imposed on Jews' fortunes to pay it.
8. Colonel Batista, Cuban dictator.
9. Czechoslovakia became Czecho-Slovakia.
10. Germany.
11. France. No; the Daladier government easily broke it.
12. Congress of Industrial Organizations.
13. Berlin, Germany.
14. Both conservative and liberal wings elected one member.
15. £200,000,000 ($1,000,000,000).
16. Attorney General Cummings.
17. Premier of Hungary.
18. The National Grange has gone on record for revision of the present Farm Act.
19. No; a round-table conference of Jews and Arabs has been called to discuss the problem.
20. The monopoly inquiry.
21. The new president of Czecho-Slovakia.
22. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union.
23. Rumania.
24. Because of the U. S. government's displeasure with recent developments in Germany.
25. The new President of Turkey.

## We Vote As We Please

*(Continued from page 35)*

did it all, but the New Deal vote increased by more than 400,000 each in the first three states and in Pennsylvania by 1,000,000. The New Deal total vote went up 4,655,000 in that year, 1936, and the increase in the four states named was just over half. This was much more than it should have been on a population basis.

Using the technique of the specific appeal to specific groups of non-voters, the New Deal won a total national vote in 1936 of 27,476,000. This was three times as much as the Democratic vote prior to Al Smith in 1928 and 12,460,000 more than he polled. In the five elections before 1916 the gain in the total vote of all parties was 1,200,000. In the five elections since suffrage (which should double the amount, of course) the increase has been 19,000,000. The Republicans have gained 500,000 and the Democrats 18,500,000. However, there are 30,000,000 qualified voters yet to be won.

The clearest picture of what has happened will be obtained perhaps if we compare the 1920 and 1936 votes of the five key states which have 20 or more electoral votes each and which together control 160 of the 266 necessary to elect. The 1920 election, the first under woman suffrage, produced the Republicans' new par from which they have deviated only once (1928) in five elections and confirmed the Democrats' par from which they deviated but slightly in three elections. It was also the last balloting before La Follette introduced the new technique of the specific promise to specific groups of specific aid from government.

The accompanying table shows the sweeping inflow of new voters in the five states which dominate national elections; it makes clear what has happened to reverse the former trend of politics and government and what must be done if the present trend is to be reversed again.

The Republican party shows steady, substantial growth, gains being recorded in every state except Ohio. But in the Democratic columns: California has increased its Democratic vote eight times; New York has added more than 2,000,000 and is well above the 1920 Democratic totals for all five states; the 1936 five-state Democratic total is four times as great as that of 1920.

This table would seem to make clear that the Democratic strength concentrated in these key states has not been won from the Republicans since the gain is greater than the total Republican votes at the beginning or the end of the period. Nor have the gains any connection with population changes, since they are fifteen times as great on a percentage basis.

In view of the facts that we have found holding true for forty years—that we go to the polls en bloc; vote as we have always voted, regardless of the politicians; cling loyally to party standards once we have enlisted under them, regardless of campaigns, candidates, peace or prosperity—the formula for Republican success or for Democratic defeat in 1940 would seem clearly indicated:

The Republicans can win by making a specific appeal to specific groups of new voters, appeals which will enlist in these five key states 4,000,000 of the 10,000,000 qualified voters who have never yet cast their ballots. There may be some hope of weaning away those who have voted New Deal once, but that is slight.

New Deal Democrats can defeat themselves by splitting as the Republicans did in 1912, unless one faction gets 70 per cent of their 1936 vote, which seems quite improbable.

The negatives are as clear in the pattern as the positives: The Republicans cannot win by appeals to Democrats to desert their party, by weaning away a few state leaders, by talk of constitution and liberty, by finding beautiful words for the radio speeches or sound sense for the party platform. The Democrats cannot defeat themselves by scandal within their administration, by fighting among themselves (unless they split their party and run two candidates for President), by extravagance, by their failure to end unemployment. This kind of thing has never changed totals enough to effect the final result.

Of course there is another possibility. History may have become tired of repeating herself, may yawn with boredom and decide that 1940 is the time to break all the precedents she has been building all through the years.

# THEY SAY

## Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

## China's Gangs of Robber Children

For fifteen years after the Revolution, homeless children roamed the Russian cities, stealing for a living and fighting for possession of the loot. Now, as a result of the slaughter and economic and social demoralization caused by the Japanese invasion, similar gangs of homeless Chinese children have been organized, and they have sprouted from the same germs—hunger and despair.

They operate in the large cities, especially in Shanghai, along much the same lines as the Russian *bezprizorniki*, though they seem to be better organized. Their methods of obtaining food are crude but very efficient. At an appointed hour they meet at a designated corner of the city early in the morning or late at night, when there are few pedestrians to interfere with their getaway.

They act swiftly. As soon as their number swells to some thirty-five or forty, they rush a foodstall or shop, snatching as much as they can put their eager hands on before the street-peddlers or employees of shops, overwhelmed by the suddenness of the attack and their numbers, can raise an alarm. In less than a minute they have denuded the shop and have disappeared through a labyrinth of alleys, each boy taking a different course.

These boys are always led by one or more adults. Within four days, two such raids were successfully carried out by a single gang of youths in their teens. On both occasions the signal was given by an adult.

Really criminal tendencies are yet dormant in the gangs. The boys want only to eat and are satisfied at having found at least a temporary solution to this gnawing problem. Shanghai's crack police force, sadly overworked by armed thugs, terrorists, petty criminals and the general tension of the situation, have not been able to give them much thought. They are not inclined to take a serious view of the raids, as the gangs are obviously formed of children misled by older and more daring, but essentially harmless hooligans. They seem to think that they can be quickly dispersed when the police has time to deal with them.

But the problem will not be easily solved. As long as the boys crave food, and stealing is the only means for them to satisfy their hunger, it does not require a student of psychology to conclude that they most certainly will keep on stealing. It is true that Soviet Russia solved her *bezprizorniki* problem; but Russia needed every man and boy for her immense industrial machine. The roving vagabonds were trained to become useful workers.

China's problem is harder. With a population of 450 millions, she does not need every available boy. She cannot afford to school him and feed him until he can be made self-supporting, even if this were her burning desire. Nor can she even use all the untrained boys in their teens as fodder for the enemy's guns.

—George Leonof in *China Weekly News*, Shanghai

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## The Life of a Conscript

In Britain the word "conscription" is not liked. Perhaps it is not actually *liked* on the Continent—but it is accepted. Conscription in France is not popular—even though force of circumstances and geographical boundaries have conspired to make France a military nation. Here are the reasons for the unpopularity.

(a) The young man who wants to adopt a professional career has to give valuable years to a service where he is usually not liked by the non-commissioned officers because he "has an education." That has been improved of late years and the university undergraduate or educated youth can, by either taking junior military training or entering some specialized unit, be placed in a cadet officer's squad, and even gain commissioned rank before he finishes his service. Many young officers are taken into the regular army now from these cadets. But the vast majority find their civil career interfered with by conscription.

(b) The young man who has any sort of a living to earn grudges two or three years of compulsory service with very little pay. He may help to support his parents and they will miss the francs he used to bring home, and will even deprive themselves of what they really need to send him a little pocket money *au régiment.*

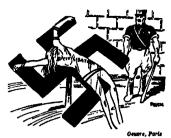
(c) The spirit of a conscript army in peace-time is not healthy. Influence goes for a great deal and favors can be bought by recruits with wealthy parents. Lads learn habits that they might not otherwise acquire. They come away from the regiment brutal in mind with their brains dulled.

(d) In France your clever young non-commissioned officer always tries for a commission unless he is going into the civil service. He goes to a ranker's school and is turned out a *sous-lieutenant.* That is not so bad, though I do not care for ranker officers as a rule, but what of the good, honest plodder who makes a good corporal, but who will never rise beyond that rank, or of the sergeant who is told he is too old to qualify for a commission?

They are regular soldiers, serving for a term of years with the chance of a pension and some small billet in a Government office at the end of their military usefulness. They grow disappointed, indifferent. Their pay is very small, disgracefully so in many cases, and they naturally turn their hats upsidedown when the troops go on pass, and he who can "drop" gets leave of absence.

When the "young class" leave for the colors in September, they go with a good enough heart, but it is the parents who look grave, and the young girls are, many of them, tearful.

In Germany service is even harder than in France. The French officer is not a martinet, as a rule; the German officer is taught to regard his men as mere cogs in a machine. The Teuton non-commissioned officer is a serving soldier who cannot become an officer,

Oeuvre, Paris

*German Kultur*

qualified by a word I will not attempt to translate, but which means that while he has the authority to command yet he is without commission.

He is most efficient, specially trained and used to handling men. He knows that when he leaves the service provision will be made for him and he will be honored in his own village. Naturally, to such a man discipline and the drill book are sacred law.

In Italy conscription has become a curse. Men who have returned to their farms after fighting in the World War have been called out to go to Abyssinia and after that to Spain. Some of those men have done seven years' campaigning.

Conscription does not mean you just do your eighteen months or two or three years and then have done with it. You may be called up at any whim of the Government.

Let us say that you are called upon to serve at the age of twenty. You do three years. For twelve years after that you are on active reserve, liable to be called on at any moment.

After you are thirty-five you pass into the territorial army, and you may be liable for service until you are forty-eight or fifty, when you go to the territorial reserve until you are fifty-five. All that time you must be ready to rejoin when called on, and during the first years you will be called out on periods of training as a reservist, usually for the grand maneuvers.

The reserve officer is not worried so much, but he is frequently asked to attend refresher courses.

Switzerland, which has a short training system, has an admirable little army. Six months is the usual period of service, and there are occasional calls on your service after you pass into the reserve. These periods are not unpleasant and the good burghers do not seem at all averse to them, but I have heard well-to-do young business men in Switzerland do everything they could to "dodge the army."

Army life can be a fine thing when it is passed in a good regiment and conditions are clean and pay is good, but conscription does not make for that sort of life.

—C. de Vilaines in *Yorkshire Observer*, Bradford, Eng.

## More Truth Than . . .

Chamberlain the Peacemaker: For one week only.

—Poster in front of London moving picture theatre.

## Horthy of Hungary

What sort of a man is Admiral Nicolas Horthy of Hungary, and what is his real position? He rules from an imperial palace, but there is no empire; he is an admiral, but there is no navy; and he is acting as regent pending the return of the Hapsburgs, whom he doesn't want.

The constitution of Hungary is bewildering. Once this country declared itself a republic. But the improvised assembly which made this declaration after the collapse of the "ramshackle empire" had no mandate to speak for all Hungary. It is said that immediately after the assembly had proclaimed the republic, one of the delegates got up and said: "Now we have got a republic. That is all right. Now what about a king?"

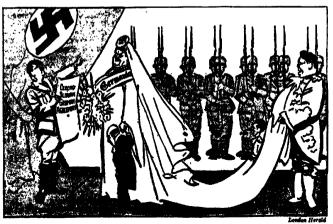
Horthy's powers in Hungary are undefined. He lives in the former imperial palace overlooking Budapest. He issues decrees, appoints judges and other officials. He can, if he likes, dismiss parliament. In other words, he is a dictator.

This form of constitution satisfies nearly everybody. The republican is able to say: We have a republic. The monarchist declares that Horthy is keeping the throne warm for a king. The Nazi can see elements of Nazidom in it, and has no complaint—for the moment.

Go back twenty years. Hungary was in the hands of a Bolshevist mob. Women stood in food lines and sobbed for bread. Village priests were dragged from their churches and hanged. Bourgeois officials were murdered in the streets and their bodies thrown into the Danube. Rumanian troops occupied the country; Czechs and Slovaks menaced it. Fugitives crowded into Budapest from Transylvania and the northern highlands, bringing with them what household goods they were able to save. Political parties were formed in a flash at street corners, and as quickly dissolved.

One morning in 1920 the citizens of Budapest were arrested by notices that appeared on the billboards. They told of the approach of a "Hungarian army." And beneath was the signature, Nicolas Horthy. What could be the constitution of this Hungarian army? Who was Nicolas Horthy? Those Budapest citizens were soon to find out. For one morning Horthy, at the head of a body of troops, rode into the city on an Arab pony.

The anxious onlookers gazed long at him. He wore the uniform of a naval officer. He was handsome and broad-shouldered. They knew all about him very soon. He had been aide-de-

London Herald

*The Wedding: A New Chapter in Czecho-Slovakia's Life*

camp to the old Emperor Francis Joseph. He had fought during the War on the Adriatic coast, had been wounded, had risen to be commander-in-chief of the empire's fleet. When the remnants of his command were handed over to the Allies, he had retired to his house in the country. Suddenly he appeared and began to organize a new army with the object of restoring order in Hungary. At Budapest they made him boss.

Sometimes they called him "governor," sometimes "commander-in-chief." In the end they called him "regent." Within a few weeks of his arrival in the city, order was restored. Hungary had no king; the last monarch, Charles, had abdicated at the behest of the Allies. Very well. Horthy could occupy the position of a king except in name. No one anticipated that the regency would last for eighteen years.

Horthy was, and is still, popular. There was glamor around the old Emperor Francis Joseph. But there was no glamor about Admiral Nicolas Horthy. It was respect.

There have been talks about the restoration of the Hapsburgs. There have been *putsches* on behalf of those exiles. All to no purpose. Admiral Horthy is still regent until the Hapsburgs return. Hungarians believe that their country's present state is only a passing phase, but they seem content to allow it to run on.

In December, 1937, Horthy was actually a real "monarch" for two days. At a mass meeting of the Hungarian National Socialist Party in Debreczen, they proclaimed him "King Nicolas." But those who did so were promptly arrested. For anyone who introduces the question of a monarchy in Hungary "is not serving his country," as it was put at the time by a member of the upper house of the Hungarian parliament.

—*Evening Standard*, London.

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## Perhaps

One day, perhaps, this country will in some conspicuous place erect a statue to Herr Hitler—as we have already erected one to George Washington—because he has woken us up.

—Maj.-General J. F. C. Fuller in *Daily Mail*, London.

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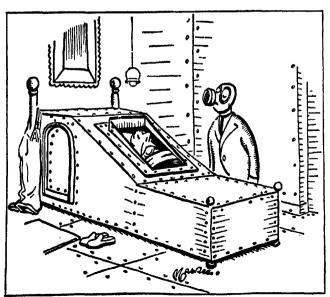
## German Opinion During the Crisis

In Germany the people—or at least the maturer section—is less adventurous than its Government, which is not responsible to it—at least not at any near date. The war memories of Germans over thirty-five years of age are even more unpleasant than those of the British, because of the blockade and the hunger Germany suffered. Those Germans are at least as apprehensive of war as the French, although Germany's soil was never devastated by war as was France's. They fear war, but nevertheless their apprehensions tend to diminish each time Hitler brings off a successful stroke. They come more and more to believe that whatever other countries may threaten they are largely bluffing and that Hitler will obtain his goal without causing war.

With the younger generation of Germans, particularly those under twenty-five, the attitude towards war is substantially different. The youth of Germany in the past five years has been subjected to prolonged and rigorous courses in anti-pacifism. All pacifist books have been destroyed and pacifist plays and films forbidden. To call Nazi teaching simply pure militarism is inexact, though its effect is not dissimilar. Perhaps it might be described as "neo-militarism" or "post-imperial militarism." It is, on the whole, less immediately aggressive; it is tinged with social doctrine (perhaps only latter-day Prussian paternalism, after all), and every militarist action or stroke of militarist diplomacy is depicted as being for the ideal of peace—a Teutonic or Pan-German peace. Militarism is inherent in the character of the German governing classes. Its new form is the contribution of Germany's new rulers, who, for the greater part, do not come from the old governing class, although the Army, Navy, and much of the higher civil administration is still in the hands of the latter.

German civilian morale during the crisis, when Hitler seemed determined to go to war for the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia, was certainly no higher and probably not as high as French or British. This is not meant as any comparison of "national courage," which is as great in one country as in either of the other two. But almost every German knows on what a narrow margin of foodstuffs and raw materials Germany lives under the present strain of unparalleled rearmament. When he goes into a shop to purchase a spare part for a wireless set or a motor-car or to give orders for house decoration or repair he is soon made aware of the shortage of raw materials available for civilian use.

—Berlin Correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*.

Dublin Opinion

***"Good morning, sir! Your bath is ready and war has not broken out today!"***

## Golf Widower

Obviously pressed for time, a man panted up to the tee and asked for permission to go through. "I hope you don't mind," he said as he drove, "I am in a great hurry. My wife is very dangerously ill."

*—Evening Standard, London.*

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## A Man Who Bombed Spanish Cities

In the heart of Barcelona stand dozens of shattered houses. Staircases hang in space like unfinished spirals. The passer-by can look into a room through a no longer existent wall and see a crushed bedstead, a clock, a child's chair, as if they were on the stage.

Recently I spent a whole day with some of the men who are responsible for those ruins—with captured Italian and German aviators. Some are gullible fools and some are cynical murderers. The Italians are chatterboxes, thoughtless and good-natured. They repeat hastily a few phrases they have learned by heart and then pass on to the subject of girls and the weather. The Germans are methodical and steeped to the marrow in propaganda.

Gino Poggi is a merry, sensible youth of twenty-two, a lawyer's son. He got his education in a commercial school, and upon being called up for his military service, became an aviator. In December, 1937, Gino was checking his instruments at the Bologna aerodrome. He was told: "Tomorrow morning you will go to Rome and then. . . ." Gino didn't even have time to say goodbye to his parents. From Rome he went to Majorca, then to Seville, then to Logrono. There he joined a crew of thirty Italian bombing pilots commanded by an Italian, Colonel Vintincelli.

"Tell me, did you like what you were doing—killing women?" Gino shakes his head.

"All of us thought it was disgusting. Even Colonel Vintincelli thought so." Gino wrinkles his childish forehead. "At first the life was easy and I never had to think. A man doesn't think when life is easy. But now. . . ." Suddenly he blurts out: "This is all so unjust. . . ."

*—Ilya Ehrenbourg in Izvestia, Moscow.*

## The World Today in Books

*(Continued from page 5)*

contact with Calvin Coolidge left with him the impression of a shy, kindly, grateful man whose "exterior crust was a protective armor against an encroaching world."

*A Puritan in Babylon* is noteworthy not so much because of the subject—we already have the late President's *Autobiography*—but because of the author. His skill in putting down one little word after another is approached by few other serious writers today. Where others merely see, White perceives; where others curl up and get comfortable in their prejudices, White makes an honest effort to keep his balance, and invariably does. William Allen White's shadow is bound to lengthen into an institution.

THE unique thing about James Farley is that he is all things to the same men. When he was made Postmaster General six years ago, Farley was called a spoilsmaster who was going to apply the Tammany system on a national scale. "Farleyism must go!" they sloganed.

But in the last year or two, the same critics have bought a new roll for their pianos. Somehow the word circulated that Mr. Farley had had a falling out with Mr. Roosevelt and his New Deal, that he was the strongest exponent of conservatism, that the President had laid a rug for him to the nearest exit. As a result, Mr. Farley's critics of only a few years back became his friends and protectors in a change of party line that would make the Comintern professionals sick with envy. No longer the spoilsmaster, Farley became a sweet soul whose continuance in office was blessed and prayed for by those who actually believed that he opposed the President.

Crocodiles will please shed their remaining tears now. Mr. Farley does not want their sympathy; indeed, he does not need it. On his own testimony, he is still as close and as loyal to the President and the New Deal as he ever was. The evidence is abundantly supplied in his newly-published biography, *Behind the Ballots*. "To set at rest reports that he (Roosevelt) and I have drifted apart over political quarrels," Mr. Farley says, "I wish to state definitely that I have

*(Continued on page 62)*

# CHRONOLOGY

## Highlights of Current History, Nov. 9–Dec. 6

## THE NATION

### *Foreign Relations*

Nov. 12—Mexico agrees to a plan for payment to the United States for land seizures from Americans.

Nov. 13—Ex-governor Landon and Kathryn Lewis, daughter of CIO chief, are among those named as delegates to the Pan-American Conference in Lima, Peru.

Nov. 14—Government, displeased with developments in Germany, summons Ambassador Wilson home from Berlin.

Nov. 15—President Roosevelt condemns the Nazi anti-Jewish outbreak. He declares that he "could scarcely believe it."

Nov. 16—White House explains that the President's rebuke of the Nazis applied to the persecution of Catholics as well as Jews.

Nov. 17—Secretary of State Hull signs trade treaties with Britain and Canada.

Nov. 18—Germany recalls her Ambassador to the United States to report on President Roosevelt's "singular attitude."

President Roosevelt acts to allow refugees already in this country to remain when their visas expire.

Japanese reply to the United States' protest says that the principles of the past no longer apply to China.

Nov. 22—Secretary Hull says he is not satisfied with Japan's reply to our protests on the violations of the open-door policy.

Nov. 25—United States sends a note to Germany insisting on the assumption of the Austrian debts.

Nov. 26—Ambassador Wilson will remain in Washington as an adviser on the relations between the United States and Germany, it is announced.

President Roosevelt calls Ambassador to Italy to join a parley with Wilson on foreign issues.

Nov. 28—Ambassador Phillips will return to Rome, it is announced. No statement is made about Wilson.

Nov. 29—Interdepartmental committee recommends to President Roosevelt 74 proposals to tighten the tie with the Latin American republics.

Batista, Cuban army chief-of-staff, on his return from a visit to the United States, reveals that we will cut our tariff on sugar in return for trade and labor benefits from Cuba.

Dec. 5—Export-Import Bank will lend $50,000,000 to Cuba in "triangular" deal, Cuban Ambassador to United States says.

### *Defense*

Nov. 15—President Roosevelt proclaims solidarity of the western hemisphere in defense as the basis of our armament program.

Nov. 19—Navy is spending $33,424,549 to prepare the government yards for an immediate building program, it is revealed.

Nov. 20—Admiral Leahy, in his report, admits that the delay in the new navy ships avoids the "two-ocean" issue.

Nov. 27—Secretary of War Woodring, in his annual report, urges that the Panama Canal be made "impregnable."

Dec. 2—Three German spies get prison terms of two, four and six years in New York City trial. The court says they stirred resentment against Germany.

Dec. 3—Senator Borah, attacking a "hysterical" armament race, says that Congress may have to let the people vote for war.

National Chamber of Commerce report opposes pump-priming by armament program.

Dec. 6—President Roosevelt advocates a pay-as-you-go plan for defense, warning against counting on new taxes.

### *Labor*

Nov. 9—Wages and Hours Law cost 30,000 to 50,000 their jobs, Administrator Elmer F. Andrews estimates.

Nov. 11—Ladies Garment Workers Union quits the CIO, opposing its permanent organization.

Nov. 13—Lewis, in a report to CIO convention at Pittsburgh, says that affiliated unions will not be sacrificed for peace.

Nov. 14—CIO convention gets a plea for labor peace from President Roosevelt.

Nov. 17—CIO threatens a boycott of Ford, charging that he refuses to bargain with the auto union.

Nov. 18—CIO permanently organizes as Congress of Industrial Organizations. John L. Lewis is elected first president.

Nov. 19—Auto union votes to abolish the Detroit council accused by Homer Martin of being Communist-dominated.

Nov. 21—Supreme Court grants the NLRB a review of the decision upholding the Fansteel dismissals.

Nov. 22—Wage cuts to the 25¢ minimum set by the Wages and Hours Law are "most illegal," Andrews says.

Dec. 1—Homer Martin tells the Dies committee that Communists bore into labor, but their number is small.

Dec. 4—Chicago stockyards strike is ended through Mayor Kelly's mediation. CIO union is to be the sole bargainer.

Strike at the Fisher Body plant at Flint, Mich., is settled.

### *Business*

Nov. 12—Clarence H. Mackay, chairman of the board of the Postal Telegraph Company, dies at 64.

Nov. 14—General Motors to stabilize jobs by pay "loans" to its employees during slack periods. 150,000 workers are protected.

Nov. 15—Big milk distributors, Chicago health chief and others are indicted at Chicago on trust charges.

Nov. 25—President Roosevelt says he is pleased with the business uptrend, but warns that jobs lag behind the production level.

Dec. 2—Dr. Willard Thorp tells the monopoly inquiry that it is hunting a rarity.

Dec. 3—Leon Henderson tells the monopoly inquiry that the nation's economic growth is in a temporary pause.

Dec. 4—James Roosevelt accepts position as vice president of Goldwyn film company.

Dec. 6—Charles F. Kettering tells the monopoly inquiry there is a need for new industries to care for idle men and money.

### *Political Groups*

Nov. 12—Idea of a third party for progressives is weighed at a conference in New York City by Mayor LaGuardia, Governor Murphy and Senator Bulkley.

Nov. 13—Governor Murphy rejects the third-party move after a talk with President Roosevelt.

Nov. 29—Republicans avert a clash on policies in their national body by seating both a conservative and a liberal.

Dec. 5—President Roosevelt, in a speech at the University of North Carolina, urges the nation to continue its liberalism as a world leader.

### *Law*

Nov. 15—Attorney General Cummings will shortly leave the Cabinet to resume his private law practice, President Roosevelt says.

Nov. 25—Mayor Wilson of Philadelphia is said by the grand jury to have accepted $53,750 in loans.

Nov. 26—Two killers of Alcatraz prison guard escape execution. The jury limits the penalty of felons to life terms.

### *Treasury*

Nov. 18—President Roosevelt names an advisory board to study the Government's spending problems.

Nov. 22—Estate of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., is valued at $26,410,837. Taxes leave $10,000,000 for beneficiaries.

Dec. 1—Eccles warns meeting of bankers that a sharp cut in federal spending now might retard recovery.

### *Relief*

Nov. 16—Harry Hopkins asserts that the federal works program could engage up to 2,000,000 jobless for 20 to 30 years.

Nov. 22—President Roosevelt halts PWA aid to Georgia for the State's failure to work with the federal government.

Dec. 2—President Roosevelt modifies his stand on aid to Georgia, reporting a new way to cooperate with the State.

### *Agriculture*

Nov. 15—Nation's crop acreage in the 1939 AAA program is reduced to 275,000,000. Benefit rates are fixed.

Nov. 27—National Grange, in 15-point plan, opposes all "regimentation," and asks for revision of the farm act.

### *Power*

Nov. 21—President Roosevelt, in Tennessee talk, says that the TVA sets an example for "equal progress" in other sections.

Nov. 23—Wilkie, assailing the TVA, says he will accept any value put on his properties by the SEC.

### *The Territories*

Nov. 28—Committee on Philippine independence, in a report endorsed by President Roosevelt, asks for an easing of the break from the United States.

### *Education*

Nov. 24—Hierarchy, in a pastoral letter, calls for teaching of democracy in Catholic schools throughout the nation.

## INTERNATIONAL

Nov. 10—Pearl Buck wins the Nobel Prize for literature. Prof. Enrico Fermi of Rome wins the award for physics.

Nov. 16—Anglo-Italian accord is put into effect after Great Britain recognizes the conquest of Ethiopia.

Nov. 17—Nansen International office for refugees, at Geneva, receives the Nobel Peace Prize.

Nov. 18—King Carol of Rumania leaves England, failing in his attempts to obtain financial and commercial concessions from England.

Nov. 21—Britain offers homes to German refugees in African colonies and British Guiana.

Germany concludes pact with Czecho-Slovakia.

Nov. 23—France concludes a non-aggression pact with Germany. Chamberlain reaches Paris on diplomatic visit.

Nov. 24—Britain and France agree, at a Paris parley, on strong defense and close unity.

Hitler talks three hours with King Carol.

Nov. 25—Germany and Italy assure Czechs on their new frontiers. Prague asks for guarantees.

Nov. 28—Bulgarian revisionists defy their government's curbs on them. Balkan nations study a plan for joint defense.

Nov. 27—Final Czech area is occupied by Polish troops after a series of skirmishes.

Nov. 30—Italian deputies demand the annexation of Tunisia, Corsica, Nice and Savoy, French areas in demonstration in Parliament.

Dec. 1—Foreign Minister Bonnet of France asks the Italian Ambassador for an explanation of the anti-French demonstration in Rome.

Dec. 2—Italian Foreign Minister says that his government is not responsible for individual Deputies' speeches.

Dec. 3—Great Britain reproves Italy for its anti-French campaign, but plans for Chamberlain's visit to Rome in January go forward.

Dec. 4—Italians attacked in pro-French rioting in Tunis. 30,000 persons in Corsica cry "Kill Mussolini!"

Dec. 6—France and Germany sign a peace pledge, adopting a "good neighbor" policy."

### *Spanish Civil War*

Nov. 13—Rebels claim all the main Ebro roads after new gains.

Nov. 18—Fire and blasts at Barcelona munitions factory, after shell is dropped, kill 200.

Nov. 29—Belgian, Swedish and Dutch delegates quit the Non-Intervention Committee. Belgium recognizes the Franco government.

### *Sino-Japanese War*

Nov. 12—Notes from the United States, Great Britain and France again protest Japan's ban on Yangtze commerce.

Nov. 20—Chinese report that 2,000 died in a five-day fire at Changsha. 500,000 homeless are receiving relief funds.

Dec. 1—Japan faces new 5,000,000,000-yen war bill, plus the largest budget in history, it is reported.

### *Bolivia*

Nov. 25—Attempted uprising is put down by the government. (Leftist agitators are blamed.) A state of seige is proclaimed.

### *Brazil*

Nov. 24—Brazil will strongly garrison Blumeneau, Germanic center, as a warning to the pro-Nazis, it is revealed.

### *Bulgaria*

Nov. 27—Troops surround the city of Sofia under martial law as "revolutionary" demonstrations occur.

### *Czecho-Slovakia*

Nov. 30—Dr. Emil Hacha, jurist, is elected President. Rudolf Beran is named Premier.

### *Ecuador*

Nov. 11—President Borrero threatens to resign after Congress demands a constitutional regime.

### *France*

Nov. 12—Decree laws revalue gold, increase working hours and take other steps for recovery.

Nov. 17—Paris police block a Leftist protest against the decree laws. Labor drops a plan for a general strike.

Nov. 21—Strikes rise over decree laws. Cabinet struggle continues.

Nov. 22—Labor Confederation decides to call a nation-wide strike to protest the decree laws.

Nov. 24—Strikers and Mobile Guards battle in a Paris auto plant. Violence flares in northern France.

Nov. 26—Premier Daladier decrees army control of the main French railroads to combat a general strike.

Nov. 29—Troops are on guard in Paris and throughout the country as the general strike begins.

Nov. 30—Daladier defeats the strike as workers ignore their leaders' call. Few leave their jobs. Paris is normal.

Dec. 1—Daladier calls Parliament for Dec. 8. Many strikers are being dismissed.

French Academy elects J. Tharaud, separating brothers who have been constant collaborators.

Dec. 3—S. S. Normandie is taken out of service and her crew is discharged in an effort to crush the strike.

### *Germany*

Nov. 9—Jewish shops in Berlin are raided and looted by storm troopers as the third secretary of the German embassy in Paris, wounded by a Polish Jew on Nov. 7, dies.

Nov. 10—Nazis smash, loot and burn Jews' shops and synagogues in a nation-wide drive. Eighteen Vienna and 12 Berlin synagogues are burned or bombed.

Nov. 12—Jews are barred from trade and all cultural activities by the government. A fine of 1,000,000,000 marks is to be levied on them for the murder of the embassy official.

Cardinal von Faulhaber's palace in Munich is stoned after Bavarian Minister Wagner denounces him.

Nov. 14—All Jews are ousted from the universities. Sales of Jews' securities on the Boerse are barred.

Nov. 19—Government refuses to permit Jews to take any of their possessions with them when they leave Germany.

Nov. 23—Twenty per cent levy on the fortunes of Jews is imposed to meet the huge fine.

Dec. 3—Concentration of Jews in ghettos is started. They are banned from certain areas in Berlin.

### *Great Britain*

Nov. 10—Britain will spend £200,000,000 next year to build up its air force, it is announced.

Nov. 24—Chamberlain and Halifax call on the Windsors in Paris. Visit is seen by some as a step toward a royal reunion.

Dec. 1—A "national register" is planned for use in the event of a war.

### *Hungary*

Nov. 23—Cabinet tenders its resignation after a defeat attributed to its land reform program.

Nov. 27—Imredy remains as Premier as a basis for reconciliation with his foes is found.

### *Italy*

Nov. 10—Cabinet decrees tighten restrictions on the Jews.

Nov. 13—Mother Cabrini is beatified at St. Peter's in Rome. She is the first United States citizen so honored.

Nov. 14—The Pope wrote to the Italian Premier and King protesting the government's new marriage restrictions, a newspaper reveals.

Nov. 25—Pope Pius is suddenly stricken by cardiac asthma, but he improves after treatment.

### *Norway*

Nov. 20—Queen Maud, aunt of the British king, dies suddenly of heart failure in London.

### *Palestine*

Nov. 9—Britain, rejecting Palestine partition plan, proposes a round-table conference of Arabs and Jews.

Nov. 13—Jericho falls again, this time to the British. Arabs are routed at the scene of Joshua's trumpeting.

### *Rumania*

Nov. 30—Codreneau, Fascist leader, and thirteen aides are slain by guards as "they try to escape."

Dec. 3—Three confessed assailants of the rector of Cluj are killed by the police as they "attempt to escape."

### *Russia*

Nov. 20—Briton, arrested for illegal flight into Russia to get his Russian wife, is forbidden to leave.

Nov. 23—Young Communist League is purged by the government. Principal leaders in Moscow are reported arrested.

### *Turkey*

Nov. 10—Kemal Ataturk, founder of the Turkish republic, dies at 58.

Nov. 11—National Assembly elects General Ismet Iononu President.

# Travel

NOT so long ago, when Americans were just getting over thinking of Africa as "the dark continent," only well-to-do sportsmen, hungry for the thrills of big-game hunting, ventured into that part of the world. The elephants, lions, hippopotamus, hyenas, crocodiles and other wild beasts are still there, of course. But today Africa holds another fascinating attraction for travelers—its natives.

The most accessible of all the natives in South Africa are the Bantu people. They came from the north as a conquering race, and were pushing south at the very time Europeans were working into the interior of the continent from Cape Town. War between the two groups ensued for a time; but now the Bantus are a peaceful and flourishing people, living in special territories that have been set aside for them.

Their young men, however, often "come to town," working in the mines, serving as houseboys or helpers in garages or pulling rickshas in the streets. Prudently, they save their wages so that when they eventually return to their native villages, they may invest in cattle.

To the polygamous Bantu people, cattle are wealth and so may be exchanged for wives. Each wife is given a hut for herself and her children, and her relations with her husband, his other wives and the community as a whole are well defined. Women do the field work, but men hunt and do the milking.

South Africa's oldest and most primitive inhabitants are the Bushmen. A vanishing pigmy race, they live mainly by hunting and by gathering wild fruits. Tribal life is ruled by the older men and the best hunters of each band. When he marries, a Bushman usually brings his wife to live with his tribe; but in a few tribes wife and husband live with her family until their first child is born.

More advanced than the Bushmen are the Hottentots. They are monogamous, and unlike the Bantus they permit the women folk to do the milking. They are fond of hunting with bows and arrows. In South Africa, a number of museums are devoted to the culture and tribal customs of the Bantu, Bushmen and Hottentots.

* * *

During these bleak winter days many an American who cannot take a holiday until next spring or summer gets vicarious pleasure by drawing up tentative plans for his fling. If you are counting on including England in your itinerary you will surely want to take in the annual Shakespearean festival at Stratford-on-Avon. This year the festival will open April 3 and run for 24 or 25 weeks, ending in September. The repertoire has not yet been definitely settled; but the choice of plays will be made from the following: "King John," "King Richard III," "King Henry VI," "Coriolanus," "Love's Labor's Lost," "Twelfth Night," "Anthony and Cleopatra," "As You Like It," "Measure for Measure," "Othello," "Much Ado About Nothing, and "Taming of the Shrew."

* * *

Northern Rhodesia recently presented a bronze half life-size figure of David Livingstone to the collection of statuettes of "empire builders" in the Imperial Institute of London. Shown in a suit of sailcloth, the famous explorer holds in one hand a rough-hewn staff, in the other a Bible. The features are copied from a portrait sketch, and the cap on the head is similar to one which Livingstone requested in a letter.

* * *

To get some idea of the number of absent-minded people a large city like London possesses, one must pay a visit to the official auction room on the edge of Covent Garden Market to which are sent "lost" articles from all parts of the city. Thirty-five thousand suits, 12,000 pairs of shoes, 60,000 umbrellas and 100,000 dresses end up there each year. The auctioneers report that women are more absent-minded than men, for the larger part of the lost property consists of women's apparel and effects. The thousands of single gloves found in the city are sent to agricultural districts where they find a ready market among farmers who use one hand more than the other in their work.

## The World Today in Books

(*Continued from page 58*)

never left his presence in anything except the happiest frame of mind and have never known him to exhibit the slightest indication of displeasure with we personally. I have been loyal to President Roosevelt from the beginning . . ."

Now that the truth is out, the party line is certain to revert back to its original position. Farley will again be denounced as a spoilsman and a knavish politician. His "friends" and "protectors" are sure to come out from behind their tears and permit their faces to relax back into their normal scowls.

The truth about Jim Farley is that he is neither unscrupulous politician, nor hardened conservative, nor a storehouse of social consciousness and liberalism. He is merely an average person with an average outlook on life and philosophy and government. As a politician, he is as honest as the political system will permit, but not as dishonest as it will permit. He is not unscrupulous, but neither is he a softie. He knows his politics, his organization and the men working for it. Mark Hanna may have been shrewder; Blaine may have been able to drive sharper deals; but no politician has ever worked harder or been able to tie together so many loose ends in so short a time. "Jim Farley," the President once said, "has been taking it on the chin a good many years. But he is taking it with a smile because he has had the idea in the back of his head that in spite of all kinds of unfair attacks, the American people will read him for what he is, absolutely on the level."

Mr. Roosevelt, of course, was referring to Farley the man, not Farley the author, yet the suggestion is very pertinent: we should "read him for what he is, absolutely on the level." The book is exceptionally well-knit and well-written, but even assuming it was entirely ghostwritten, it is still a significant story. Far more important—in this case, at least—than the style is the substance. And *Behind the Ballots* has as much substance, page for page, as any autobiography this season. It is the life story of James A. Farley, most of it concerned with his political career. He has not pulled his punches in writing about people he has known, but neither has

he deified himself. He frankly admits soliciting political jobs, accepting sinecures, and taking advantage of every opening.

Frank, candid autobiographies are the order of the day and many authors, attempting to win popular favor, will glut their pages with overdoses of synthetic confessions. *Behind the Ballots*, however, is not sticky nor annoying in its frankness. James Farley does not have to wear his heart on his sleeve to attract attention.

W. E. WOODWARD has become, in many respects, the most interesting of living American historians. He is a moderate debunker who stands Left-center in his orthodoxy of approach. For instance, if the venerated old Parson Weems occupied the extreme Right in his account of George Washington, while Rupert Hughes stood on the ultra-Left, Woodward in his Washingtonian work has inclined toward Hughes while retaining his mental balance and clarity of judgment. Woodward is not a sentimentalist except that he has apparently, a deep regard for the common man. He very frequently indulges in a wealth of petty, little-known detail, occasionally none too accurate yet pertinent and in the main valuable, casting sidelights and side-shadows on his subject matter.

Now comes a more than ordinarily sympathetic *Lafayette*—a character whom Woodward evidently likes better than either Grant or Washington. Lafayette was a veteran of three revolutions, the American, that of the French Bastile, and that of the Orleanists in 1830.

When Lafayette came to America for his first revolution, Jefferson said he had "a canine appetite for popularity." He liked publicity, according to Woodward, and was willing to suffer or even die for it, heroically, blatantly. And he was very useful to the struggling Americans. He was modest, too. He told Washington: "I am here to learn and not to teach."

In the second "Lafayette" revolution, the French hurricane of 1789, the hero's mission was that of pacifier. He was "by instinct a compromiser." He believed in everybody's best intentions and tried to synchronize them into something constructive. But "only fanatics will be heard during cataclysms"—and Lafayette's became a voice crying in the wilderness of France.

In 1830 Lafayette was a republican, but obligingly lent his support to the liberal monarchists who enthroned Citizen Louis Phillippe of the House of Orleans. This was Lafayette's—and Woodward's—last revolution.

A SMALL, simple gravestone in France carries the following inscription:

> *Under this stone rest bones collected during the excavations in the former royal chapel of Amboise among which it is surmised that there are the mortal remains of Leonardo da Vinci.*

Yet no one knows whether those are the remains of Leonardo or some nameless person; the chapel in which he was buried, was ransacked and ruined, the dead disturbed in their graves and their bones scattered and destroyed. Such an ending, Antonina Vallentin says in the biography, *Leonardo da Vinci*, was tragically appropriate. For the results of his work and his research have not been preserved. "His unique career, a lifetime devoted to research in every field of knowledge, ended without the publication even of fragments of his conclusions."

In his quest of perfection, Leonardo allowed to be destroyed for posterity the greatest range of knowledge ever acquired by one man. He was almost seventy when he died but he had counted on a longer life in which he could complete the record of his work. He was tortured by the realization that he had robbed himself of fulfillment; nothing remained but "fragmentary achievements from all his immense efforts."

The world knows that he had experimented with human flight, that he had constructed a huge motorless flying machine, but there is no record of the actual experiments. A number of his engineering accomplishments are known but many of the engineering theories he is believed to have evolved successfully are still being pursued in modern laboratories. Air conditioning is supposed to be a recent invention, but Leonardo went far beyond our comparatively limited range almost 450 years ago. In medicine, surgery, biology, psychology, physics, chemistry, military science, music, he has come as close to ascertaining fundamental laws as any man before or after. The world recognizes him chiefly as an artist; but even here some of his greatest paintings have been destroyed.

Considering the great gaps in our knowledge of Leonardo, Miss Vallentin does very well. Though *Leonardo da Vinci: The Tragic Pursuit of Perfection* can hardly be called a definitive biography, it is skillfully composed, shows a great deal of research and collating, and contains a wealth of interpretative material. Physically, the book itself is a work of art. Binding, printing, and illustrations are beautifully done.

Isaac F. Marcosson follows up his *Adventures in Interviewing* of more than a decade ago with *Turbulent Years*, a semi-autobiographical account of the author's conversations with people who have made or are making a claim to history. "Ike," as he is known to journalists the world over, is the kingpin of all interviewers. From 1907 to 1936 he was associated with the *Saturday Evening Post*, latterly as chief foreign correspondent. In this position, he covered dominant personalities of three continents and through them, important events.

Included here are vivid, intimate sketches and accounts of interviews with men who ruled the world in the 'twenties and early 'thirties. One of the most interesting chapters deals with Leon Trotsky, at a time when the famous revolutionary was still chief of the Red Army. It took Marcosson weeks to break through the wall that surrounded Trotsky. Finally, the last streamer of Red tape was cut. Trotsky talked freely, answered every question. On the way back to his hotel Marcosson fell, hitting his head against the pavement. His head and arm heavily bandaged, Marcosson found it difficult to convince his Moscow friends that he did not pick up the injuries during the interview.

Marcosson's comments on events are well-rounded. The book makes pleasant reading.

The greatest autobiography ever written by a journalist, of course, is credited to Lincoln Steffens. His *Autobiography* was in reality several books in one: the early chapters, devoted to his childhood, could be published separately and would be a classic of literature for children; the middle chapters, containing the account of his higher education and newspaper and muck-raking days, could stand independently as an effective picture of the revolt of a sensitive individual against the rigging of a politically corrupt America; the last chapters could be published as a study in social and political philosophy.

And yet—Steffens' story was not complete. It didn't tell enough about the real Steffens. He had described and attempted to explain himself in his autobiography but the picture showed him largely as he wanted to appear. For—and this is apparent in *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, collected and edited by Ella Winter and Granville Hicks—Steffens was vain and warmly human. The *Autobiography* presented the reformer; now, the *Letters* present a responsive, sensitive, emotional, impulsive, contradictory—and very likeable personality.

In sheer drama and sustained interest, the *Letters* outdo, perhaps, even the *Autobiography*. Covering the period in Steffens life from 1889 to 1936, when he died, this two-volume collection makes, moreover, a highly significant story. The work shows careful, capable editing.

For the most self-effacing work of the year, this department nominates *The Captains and the Kings Depart*, published in two volumes and consisting of the journals and letters of Reginald Viscount Esher, edited by Oliver Viscount Esher. The work was published in a whisper and issued without a release or explanatory note. It lacks jacket, preface, foreword, introduction or editor's remarks; indeed, editor and subject are hardly identified. This lack of fanfare is all the more conspicuous since it deals with a figure who, to most Americans, is a stranger. A further puzzle is the fact that Viscount Esher, who died in 1930, turned over his diary and his papers dealing with the World War to the British Museum in 1921 and gave specific instructions that they not be opened until after fifty years.* Do the present volumes embrace any of the material placed in the Museum? This question is pertinent because most of the material in *The Captains and the Kings Depart* is concerned with the World War. Is this material the surplus over that deposited in the British Museum? This department does not know and solicits enlightenment from the publishers.

If the material in these books represent that which is left over, then we have never seen a more significant surplus. For *The Captains and The Kings Depart* contain information on the World War which in many respects is even more revelatory than Lloyd George's now-I-will-tell-all six-volume history of the conflict. Reginald Viscount Esher was an interesting figure in English history. He slid in and out of politics with the greatest of ease, apparently thought nothing of refusing the King, and was the counterpart of our modern Peglers.

Outspoken at all times, he told the elder Henry Morgenthau, representing President Wilson, soon after the United States entered the war, that he [Esher] was a "shocking materialist," that he did not believe that the war would end all war; that if the Allies won they "would be foolish if they failed to get all the material guarantees they could get, so that when the next war comes, each of these nations would find themselves stronger and more self-supporting than they did at the start of the World War." Morgenthau was shocked at these ideas and asked Esher not to circulate them for fear all enthusiasm in America for the war would be destroyed. Writing in his journal, Esher pictured the Americans as idealists who thought of war as a Crusade, despite the fact that many of those who held this view never "used the symbol of the cross."

Esher's letters to Douglas Haig mercilessly criticized the military blunders of the Allies. He was even more severe with the politicians behind the lines: "All the politicians, English, French, and Italian, are drunk with their own verbosity. They talk themselves into the belief that they are winning the war, when they are losing it hard. . . . They are afraid of their own shadows!"

All this and more throughout the two volumes. If this is the material placed for safekeeping in the British Museum, one can well understand why Viscount Esher thought it best that it be unopened for half a century. For it clearly and bluntly tells things that were never made public before; of peace overtures by the Germans long before America jumped into the battle; of a memorandum sent to the British Cabinet shortly after the end of the war warning against the League of Nations, pointing to the inevitability of a future war upon even a bigger scale if it should be adopted.

There is more to *The Captains and the Kings Depart* than meets the eye. This department will discuss it again in a later issue.

* Columbia Encyclopedia.

# CURRENT HISTORY

## FEBRUARY, 1939

*Editor and Publisher,* M. E. Tracy
*Associate Editor,* Norman Cousins
*Business Manager,* John C. Casman
*Advertising Manager,* John A. Curtis

## ARTICLES



## DEPARTMENTS



Cover Photograph from Wide World



Current History, Volume XLIX, No. 6. February, 1939. Whole No. 291. Published monthly by Current History, Inc., 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. Advertising Offices at 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7, in the United States, possessions, Canada, Central and South America and Spain; elsewhere $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new addresses. Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Albany, New York. Entered in Canada as second-class matter. 

## THE ISSUE

**Ernest Kidder Lindley** knows the President as well as any correspondent writing from Washington today. He was the *New York Herald Tribune's* Albany correspondent during the years Franklin D. Roosevelt was Governor. When the New Deal moved from Albany to Washington, Ernest Lindley moved with it. Though employed by a Republican paper, Lindley was always disposed to give the New Deal its just due. He is the author of *Half Way With Roosevelt, The Roosevelt Revolution,* and *A New Deal for Youth.* At present, Lindley conducts a daily syndicated newspaper column from Washington. Mr. Lindley writes on *The New Congress.*

**Rene Kraus,** German journalist who came to this country after the Nazi steamroller rode over Austria, was managing editor of a Vienna newspaper. In *Mohammed Stages a Comeback,* he tells of the upward surge of the Moslems, who now number 250,000,000 throughout the world.

**Harold Callender,** foreign correspondent of the *New York Times,* journeyed through Germany after the November riots, talking to people and jotting down notes on living conditions and public sentiment. He completed his trip but did *not* write his story, which took the form of a series of articles in the *Times,* until he reached Paris. The editors consider the series one of the outstanding journalistic accomplishments of recent months. By special arrangement with the *New York Times,* an article summarizing Mr. Callender's material appears in Current History under the title, *The Germans in Germany.*

**The Right Rev. Monsignor John A. Ryan,** leading spokesman of liberal Catholics for many years, is Professor of Moral Theology and Industrial Ethics at Catholic University. He is also a director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. He was elevated by Pope Pius XI to the rank of domestic prelate in 1933. Dr. Ryan has analyzed the recent radio charges of Father Coughlin and provides an effective answer. The article is published by arrangement with the editors of *Commonweal.*

**Ludwig Lore,** who writes on *The Four Ukraines,* came originally from Breslau, Silesia. He is half German and half French; a veteran of the international labor movement. An experienced critic of international affairs for many years, he is now foreign columnist on the *New York Post.* He is considered perhaps the best "detail man" in the country.

**Roger Shaw,** author of *Mars Motors East* in this issue, is a member of the Society of American Military Engineers and the author of a comprehensive military book, *175 Battles.* He is a staff member of Current History, and former foreign editor of *Literary Digest.*

**Clarissa Wolcott Delaney,** who contributes *The Myth of Economic Matriarchy,* graduated from Vassar in 1929. She is a former contributing editor of a technical art periodical. Later, she specialized in economic and business research.

**Henry C. Wolfe,** who contributes *Scandinavia On Guard,* drove an ambulance in Italy in the World War and later worked on relief missions in devastated Russia. He comes from Ohio, spends much time in New York, and takes frequent trips to "unusual" European countries. He is author of *The German Octopus* and a noted lecturer and magazine contributor on foreign affairs.

**Fred C. Kelly** *is another man from Ohio.* For this number he writes "Government by Test Tube." He runs a 600-acre farm, worked for the Department of Justice in the War, and was once a Washington columnist of outstanding note. He has written eight books, one of which brought about a change in the banking laws of Ohio. It was called "How to Lose Your Money Prudently."

**Edward Tomlinson,** a specialist on Latin-American affairs, attended the recent conference at Lima. He is a lecturer and journalist of long standing, and has flown *close to 100,000 miles around South America.* He has made 3000 addresses on his favorite subject, and is a well-known radio broadcaster. He was a World War engineer, and went to college in Scotland, although he hails from Georgia. Mr. Tomlinson writes on *The Meaning of Lima.*

NORMAN COUSINS

# Ten Important Books of Non-Fiction in 1938

CURRENT HISTORY's Literary Advisory Board, which annually selects ten important non-fiction books, has named on its 1938 list:

*Benjamin Franklin*, by Carl Van Doren (Viking Press);

*Elihu Root*, by Philip C. Jessup, (Dodd, Mead);

*Save America First*, by Jerome Frank (Harpers);

*A Southerner Discovers the South*, by Jonathan Daniels (Macmillan);

*Red Star Over China*, by Edgar Snow (Random House);

*Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci*, edited and translated by Edward MacCurdy (Reynal and Hitchcock);

*Science for the Citizen*, by Lancelot Hogben (Alfred A. Knopf);

*My America*, by Louis Adamic (Harpers);

*Power*, by Bertrand Russell (Norton);

*Unto Caesar*, by F. A. Voight (Putnam).

When CURRENT HISTORY first organized its Literary Advisory Board for the purpose of selecting ten non-fiction books of the year, it used the adjective "best" to describe the list. But the word "best" seemed too conclusive, too presumptuous; out of the many thousands of non-fiction books published each year, it was impossible to say with even approximate certainty which ten could be called "best." The word "best" was dropped and "outstanding" was substituted as the adjective in the selections of the board last year. There is a further change this year: the board is describing its selections as the "important non-fiction books of 1938." The refinement was suggested by one of the members of the board who pointed out that dozens of books each year are outstanding though not necessarily worthwhile or important.

Another change this year is the announcement of the list in February instead of in the January issue. Though January is an appropriate month in which to review the achievements of the previous year, the announcement is being held over one month in order to enable the judges to examine books published up to the first of the new year. Formerly, final selections had to be submitted early in December in order to meet an editorial deadline. Although few books are published in the last three weeks of the year, there was a possibility, that nevertheless, one or more significant books, issued during that period, would be deprived consideration.

THE selection of the ten important non-fiction books of 1938 was made by *Current History* Literary Advisory Board, the members of which are:

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, former editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature.*

JOHN DEWEY, educator and philosopher.

AMY LOVEMAN, associate editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature.*

BURTON RASCOE, literary critic and author of *Titans of Literature* and *Before I Forget.*

DOROTHY THOMPSON, political commentator, writer, lecturer.

JOHN W. WITHERS, Former Dean of the School of Education, New York University.

M. E. TRACY, editor and publisher.

CURRENT HISTORY'S purpose in sponsoring the annual selections is to give greater emphasis to non-fiction literature of definite merit. While it is not the intention of the editors to minimize in any way the importance of fiction, it is their hope that the selections may help increase general interest in worthwhile non-fiction books.

Members of the board, who include authorities in the fields of education, literature, history, philosophy and current events, submitted nominations for the list independently of each other. Only one ballot was required on the current list. On the 1937 list, the last five places on the list were intricately interlocked in ties. This year, however, there was a remarkable degree of agreement on the entire list with not a single tie.

In the absence of exceptionally close voting or ties, there is no honorable mention on the current list. Two books, however, each came close to tying for a place among the first ten: William Allen White's *A Puritan in Babylon* and Roger Burlingame's *March of the Iron Men.*

Harpers, publishers of *Save America First*, by Jerome Frank, and *My America*, by Louis Adamic, is the first publishing house to place more than one book on a single list in the three years that the selections have been conducted. Viking Press came close last year with Emil Ludwig's *The Nile* and an honorable mention for G. A. Borgese's *Goliath: The March of Fascism.*

Only two publishers, Harpers and Macmillan, have been represented on each of the three lists. Four publishers, Random House, Dodd Mead, Viking Press and Oxford University Press, have placed books two out of the three years. In all, twenty out of a possible maximum of thirty publishers are on the lists.

The editors note with pride, in speculating upon the possibilities for permanence of the books on the current list, that many of the works among the previous selections have already established their claims to lasting fame. *Inside Europe*, selected on the 1936 list, is something of a living newspaper; it is revised and brought up to date every few months. *The Flowering of New England*, also on the 1936 list, won a Pulitzer Prize in history as well as every other important non-fiction award in the last two years. Other Pulitzer Prize winners were Allan Nevins' *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (biography, 1936) and Marquis James' *Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President* (biography, 1937). And still in the non-fiction spotlight are *Sweden: The Middle Way*, by Mar-

quis Childs (1936), *An American Doctor's Odyssey,* by Dr. Victor Heiser (1936), *The Arts,* by Hendrik Willem van Loon (1937), *Life and Death of a Spanish Town,* by Elliot Paul (1937), *Middletown in Transition,* by Helen Merrell Lynd and Robert S. Lynd, *If War Comes,* by Major R. Ernest Dupuy and Major George F. Eliot.

Each of the previous selections has had a distinguishing attribute; the 1936 list emphasized history and biography, and the 1937 list leaned towards current affairs. The present list, though strong on biography, is the most universal of the three. In addition to two biographies and two semi-autobiographies, it numbers two studies on social and political philosophies, a survey of science for the layman, a regional study, a personalized history, and a book on government planning.

Brief comments on each book follow:

### *Benjamin Franklin*

Carl Van Doren points out in his preface that he is the first biographer in 75 years to undertake a full-length story of the Great Universalist "with all the precise details essential to it, into a single narrative large enough to do it justice."

A little less than one-half of the book embraces the part of Franklin's career not covered in the *Autobiography.* The work is a masterful accomplishment, one that may establish its right to a rating as the standard full-life biography of Franklin, perhaps even over William Cabell Bruce's Pulitzer-Prize winning book of twenty years ago.

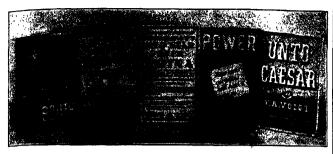
Van Doren is a skilled writer and a good organizer of material. It has been said that the very proficiency of the organization is at fault. But more important than the method is the material. The significant thing about the book is that between its covers Van Doren has gathered together all the facts necessary for a complete picture of Benjamin Franklin. Some of the material is new; most of it is not. But *all* the material available on Franklin—from cradle to grave—is there, and in one volume.

Detachment, sympathy, knowledge—the three cardinal requirements of a competent biographer—are evident in *Benjamin Franklin.* The book has already been mentioned in connection with the Pulitzer Prize in biography for 1938.

### *Elihu Root*

Also mentioned as a possible winner of the Pulitzer Prize for biography is Philip C. Jessup's two-volume definitive study of Elihu Root, statesman, treaty-maker and lawyer whose public service spanned half a century. For many years, Root was publicly recognized as the "ablest living American." He pulled chestnuts out of the fire for more Presidents than any other statesman in our history since Jefferson.

Root's work following the World War, and, in fact up to his death in 1937, was devoted largely to the cause of peace. He was the prime mover in arranging for American membership on the World Court; he represented the United States at various disarmament conferences; he drafted the Nine Power Treaty, and, until his death, was chairman of the Board of the Carnegie Peace Endowment. He lived to see the structure of peace which he, perhaps more than any other man with the exception of Woodrow Wilson, had been instrumental in creating, begin to crumble. When he died in February, 1937, not long before his 92nd birthday, the world had started again on the road to war—a destination it is rapidly approaching today.

Philip C. Jessup's *Elihu Root* is not as concise nor as compact, perhaps, as William Allen White's biography of Coolidge in *A Puritan in Babylon.* But Root's life was so active, so varied, so abundantly rich in accomplishment, that an extensive and detailed treatment of this type is justified and indeed needed.

### *A Southerner Discovers the South*

Jonathan Daniels, author of *A Southerner Discovers the South*, who is a Southern liberal, motored all through Dixie, from Maryland to the faraway Gulf of Mexico. He studied the industrial revolution in his native North Carolina, and the steel mills of Birmingham, Alabama. He visited Mississippi's cooperative Delta plantation, and the so-called Dyess colony in hillbilly Arkansas. He took in the TVA in Tennessee, the pellagra situation, the ex-aristocrats who moan of the "war" and the slum proletarians who have become much more typical of the present-day South.

Then there was the celebrated Beale Street at Memphis, of which Handy wrote his immortal Negroid Blues, and West Paces Road in Atlanta, with its plutocratic upper-crust. Mr. Daniels ranged from "So Red the Rose" to "Tobacco Road" in his search for local color. The share-croppers and hitch-hikers and uplifters and Bible Belts-men became known to him first-hand, as did the squalor and the departed glories. Mr. Daniels has escaped from the genteel tradition, much to his credit, and he spares the reader nothing. It reminds one of a big-scale survey on the style of, let us say, Carleton Beals on South America. "To the South's lost woods and waters," says the author, "I set forth—to find out. Tenant farmers, poets, and bar-tenders (among others) told me the South."

### *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci*

The great Leonardo was a philosopher, scientist, painter, sculptor, astronomer, architect, geographer, inventor, and musician. On some 5000 manuscript sheets of "looking-glass writing" he penned his monumental notebooks. These he intended later to edit and arrange, but somehow he never seemed to get around to it.

Four centuries later the editor appeared—and did the job. His name is Edward MacCurdy, and after a lifetime of study and research, he collected the material in two volumes. Leonardo called his notes "a collection without order taken from many papers which I have copied here, hoping afterward to arrange them in order, each in its place, according to the subjects treated of." In Mr. MacCurdy's new work, no less than 64 illustrations set off the observations of Signor Da Vinci.

Leonardo foresaw the War, predicted air bombers, poison gas, tanks and submarines. He combined, most engagingly, beauty and science. He tells fables and allegories, becomes despondent or elated, looks into the fell future, has a finger in every conceivable animal, vegetable, and mineral pie. Somebody once said of him that he possessed, above all men, the Cosmic Vision.

For a superman, Leonardo was eminently human, as well as humanistic, and this rendering of him for the American public is indeed a "definitive edition" as its proud publishers claim. Mr. MacCurdy has performed a service. He evidently enjoyed himself in the tedious process, and so will his delighted readers.

### *My America*

Louis Adamic's *My America* is a mine of rich, meaningful meaning. The book runs to something over 300,000 words, or about four times as long as the average. It is not a question, however, of whether the book is too long or "sprawling," as some reviewers have commented, but whether everything it says is worth reading. There is no doubt that it is. A writer with Adamic's talent can never write a book long enough. While it may be true that the chapters bear little relation to each other, and that not much of a thread of continuity is maintained, the book does not suffer because of it. Pearls do not lose their value simply because they are unstrung.

## Previous Selections by the Literary Advisory Board

**1937**

*Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President*, by Marquis James (Bobbs Merrill)

*Bulwark of the Republic*, by Burton J. Hendrick (Little Brown)

*If War Comes*, by R. Ernest Dupuy and George F. Eliot (Macmillan)

*Life and Death of a Spanish Town*, by Elliot Paul (Random House)

*Middletown in Transition*, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd (Harcourt Brace)

*The Arts*, by Hendrik Willem van Loon (Simon and Schuster)

*The Growth of the American Republic*, by S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager (Oxford)

*The Nile*, by Emil Ludwig (Viking)

*The Miracle of England*, by Andre Maurois (Harpers)

*The Ultimate Power*, by Morris L. Ernst (Doubleday)

**1936**

*A Diplomatic History of the United States*, by Samuel Flagg Bemis (Holt)

*A Program for Modern America*, by Harry W. Laidler (Crowell)

*An American Doctor's Odyssey*, by Dr. Victor G. Heiser (Norton)

*Hamilton Fish*, by Allan Nevins (Dodd Mead)

*Inside Europe*, by John Gunther (Harpers)

*John Reed*, by Granville Hicks (Macmillan)

*Sweden: The Middle Way*, by Marquis W. Childs (Yale Univ. Press)

*The Downfall of the Gold Standard*, by Gustav Cassel (Oxford)

*The Flowering of New England*, by Van Wyck Brooks (Dutton)

*The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock* (edited by Allan Nevins) (Appleton, Century)

*My America* contains limitless numbers of meaty observations and stories based on Adamic's experiences of the last few years. There are extracts from his diary, letters to and from his friends, sketches of people in all walks of life, stories of his travels, his impressions of trends and developments in a wide number of fields ranging from literature to labor. It all adds up to one of the most readable and engrossing books of the year.

### Power

Bertrand Russell's *Power* is the result of an effort to isolate for microscopic examination the peculiar virus in the blood of man which fills him with the desire to rule or exercise strong influence over his fellow man. Russell subjects today's dictators and the movements they represent to a penetrating analysis, on the basis of which he is able to demonstrate the essential fallacies of both Fascism and Communism. He takes the very sound position that the first concern of the totalitarian state is to remain in power; needs of the people are secondary. Their grievances cannot take the form of organized opposition. Is it any wonder, then, that tyranny comes in the front door when minority rights go out the window?

It is childish to defend one type of autocracy as against another, says Russell, for all extremes of government power are bad or are potentially bad. Only force can decide whether an autocracy is "good" or "bad" and even that decision may be "upset by an insurrection." Russell is convinced that no solution is possible to the problem created by the assumption of unlimited power by the individual or by the state unless that solution embraces the fundamentals of democracy.

### Red Star Over China

*Red Star Over China* was more than a book. It was a document of strong importance in history-in-the-making. It was the first full and authentic account of the Chinese Communist army and provided historians with material to fill what had previously been a missing link in their current history of the Far East. The scarcity of information had been caused by Chiang Kai-shek's news blockade but Edgar Snow managed to penetrate the blockade and obtain first-hand material.

Mr. Snow tells of the amazing march of the Communist army, a hegira of thousands of miles across the face of China; of the story of Mao Tse-tung, amazing leader of its forces, of its military organization; of its public health program; of its plan for the country. There is no end to the amount of material Snow has collected. *Red Star Over China* is an interesting book, often a compelling one. Though published at the beginning of the year, it is still high in popular favor and has the definite promise of permanency.

### Science for the Citizen

Professor Lancelot Hogben believes in popular science. He has written this humanistic book "for the large and growing number of intelligent adults who realize that the impact of

science on society is now the focus of genuinely constructive social effort. It is also written for the large and growing number of adolescents who realize that they will be the first victims of the new destructive powers of science misapplied."

Dr. Hogben favors science as a means to social justice and the betterment of mankind's lot. He calls his book a "primer for the age of plenty." Hunger, homelessness, wars, race hatreds, disease, insanity, all the curses of the world in which we live, are fair targets at which science may shoot with considerable success and ultimate victory. The Professor is optimistic, but his simple, enthralling scientic expositions cause the reader to share his elevated views.

Two years ago, Dr. Hogben wrote *Mathematics for the Million*, which was a scientific social history from pre-antiquity down to the present. This time he takes up astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, physiology, electricity, and all the phenomena of nature, on the basis of public spirit and social conscience which give to every man and woman a vital stake in scientific progress. For when science ceases to be academic, abstract, and mysterious, and becomes a matter of bread-and-butter and the elementary pursuit of happiness, it popularizes itself.

*Save America First*

Jerome Frank believes in the United States, and he does not believe in Europe. He considers European "isms" to be baneful in the extreme, and advocates an American stay-away from proletarian dictatorship to the Left and plutocratic dictatorship to the Right. This middle road is the keynote of his excellent book.

Nor is Mr. Frank ignorant of the practical aspects of American politics. He is one of the country's leading lawyers, and an active New Deal brain-truster since the piping days of 1933. He has worked as counsel for the AAA, the RFC, and the PWA. He has fought against Insull and Insullism in Chicago, and has labored for better municipal government—the weakest point in our American system, as all critics agree. He has taught at Yale, written a non-fiction best seller, and served as a member of President Roosevelt's Securities and Exchange Commission. He understands agriculture, railroads, and public works, and

(*Continued on page* 63)



THE PELMAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA
Dept 32, Pershing Bldg., New Rochelle, N. Y.

"I Wonder What Time My Daddy Will Telephone?"
"The minute he calls up I'm going to speak to him about Bobby. He's my cousin, and he's just five weeks old. *And they haven't got a telephone where he lives!*
"One of these days his mother's going to run out of his talcum. Or she'll want his father to stop at the drug store on the way home for oil. Or maybe she'll want to ask the doctor about that rash on his back — Bobby's back, I mean.
"Then suppose some week he gains six ounces. Don't they expect to tell their friends news like that?
"Well, how is Bobby's mother going to do all those things besides her marketing?
"I'm going to see if my Daddy can't fix it. He's always saying how good telephone service is — and how cheap."
BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM
*You are cordially invited to visit the Bell System exhibit at the Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco*

# Dictators, Take Note!

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT did not overstate the perils confronting democracy in his message to Congress. Totalitarianism is definitely committed to the destruction of the form of government in which we believe. As a matter of plain common sense, totalitarianism has no choice but to pursue such a course. Its motives, objectives, aspirations and concepts are irreconcilable with democratic ideals.

Thus far, totalitarianism has succeeded in beating back democracy with bluff and sabre-rattling. When he departed for Europe the other day, Poultney Bigelow, the Kaiser's 83-year-old playmate, declared that Germany under Hitler had made England and the United States "crawl on their bellies". He said further that Germany was being converted into a sort of national West Point.

There is ground for arguing that England has been made to crawl, but not the United States. We have neither sanctioned nor approved the brutal swashbuckling by which dictatorship has cut its way to power. We have been very slow, however, to recognize the uglier prospects this implies.

The American people have found it hard to believe that civilized nations could be so easily misled; that they could abandon the essentials of human progress so casually; that millions of supposedly enlightened human beings could be persuaded to immolate themselves on the altar of blood and thunder by such simple demogogic tricks and stampeded backward toward the jungle. Now that they are beginning to realize the disagreeable truth, their attitude is stiffening.

The American people always have gone—and always will go—to great lengths for the preservation of peace, but they will never go so far as to surrender their principles, their institutions and their ideals. Their belief in democracy is too deep-rooted for such a sacrifice; besides, they have found it too great a blessing. Democracy has not only enabled them to make unprecedented strides in the field of material achievement, but has brought them a degree of happiness and satisfaction such as no other system guarantees. It has enabled them to live with each other as good neighbors regardless of race, color or creed.

If Europeans prefer to surrender their liberties for the sake of a brief uneasy strut, that's their business. We have no idea of trying to prevent them. If England prefers such a policy of appeasement as commits her to helping the dictators smash weak states and grab other people's territory, that is her business. We do not propose to act as guide, philosopher and friend to any European country. When it comes to the New World, however, we shall pursue a different course. To that end, we are seeking the cooperation of all New World countries; to that end, we are insisting on more alertness with regard to spies and propagandists.

"We shall take leave to be strong on the sea," as Woodrow Wilson once put it. We shall take leave to report facts as we find them and to criticize what we believe deserves criticism. We do not intend to apologize for exercising what we regard as just, legitimate and indispensable rights. We have always encouraged free expression of opinions and we shall continue to do so, no matter how that expression seems to reflect on ourselves or other people. We believe in daylight, not censorship. We find the wicked, useless, wanton persecution of helpless people distasteful, and we shall continue to say so. In this connection, we are not pro-Jewish or pro-any particular race, but are opposed to the mauling and manhandling of any minority. We do not believe that it is possible to find happiness in the denial of basic rights to any group. We do not believe in a type of government or a philosophy which sanctions and pursues a policy of racketeering. We do not believe that machine-gun authority can, or will, ever pay its way.

We sincerely hope that the dictators will let us and the rest of the New World alone; that they will discontinue trying to bluff or convert us into conformity with their "aspirations." We hope that they will show sufficient respect for our ideals, if not our power, to abstain from acts which might cause trouble. We hope that they will cease mocking our aims and objectives in order to sell themselves and their ambitions at home. This hope does not blind us, however, to the obvious implications of their present attitude. If they try any such tricks on this side of the Big Pond as they have tried and found workable on the other side, we shall not hesitate to take such measures as may be necessary for our own protection.

M. E. Tracy

South America: A Map-Story

The Des Moines Register & Tribune Syndicate.

# CURRENT HISTORY

Planning the New Congress (Page 15)

CURRENT
HISTORY

VOL. XLIX NO. 6 FEBRUARY, 1939

# A Month's History in the Making

THE month of December found public interest shifting from the New Deal to national defense in this country. To what extent such a shift can be traced to political strategy or to circumstances of an external character, must remain a debatable question. The probabilities are that it owes something to both. At all events, the Roosevelt administration is now emphasizing the need for a greater air fleet, a greater navy, and increased armament all around.

Meanwhile, the New Deal has lost little of its standing as a major political issue. Neither is there any likelihood that it can be sidetracked as such by a sudden beating of the tom-toms and a cessation of promises to balance the budget next year.

Dissension over the policy of spending and borrowing continues to split the Democratic Party and, possibly, to provide fuel for Republican campfires. This explains why President Roosevelt felt it necessary to make another plea for "unity" in his Jackson Day dinner speech and to remind the country that Republicans, because of their gains in the November election, no longer have an excuse for failing to come forward with a program on the ground that they lack strength. Instead of stopping there, as he might have done with unimpeachable propriety, the President suggested that because of its seemingly impregnable position, reactionary interests have been trying to bore their way into the Democratic Party and that for the Party's good, as well as their own peace of mind, they should abandon this kind of strategy and flock with their own crowd.

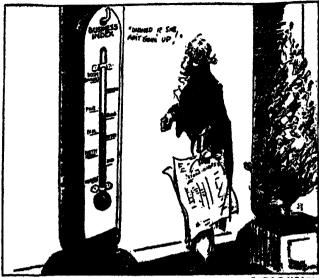
While New Dealers applaud the President's pronouncement because of its boldness, conservative Democrats appear less enthusiastic. They resent being classified as borers-in and being read out of the Party so nonchalantly.

As Senator Van Nuys of Indiana expressed it, "I join in the President's plea for party solidarity; not, however, to the extent of eliminating all who do not see eye to eye with it on its present controversial issues. I suppose I am classed among the so-called conservative bloc in the Senate, but that does not mean that I am not a liberal in my viewpoint. The President will have no firmer friends in his concerted movement against inertia, greed, ignorance, short-sightedness, vanity and opportunism than I. This sort of democracy represents to me a militant, progressive force moving within constitutional limitations to make a better and more human government—the vehicle for the full and free expression of the people's will—a liberal but not a radical party. It is this element within the Democratic Party of today which has held its poise and made workable most of the objectives of the present administration. It will be a sad day for the Party and for the country when that element of our Party is eliminated."

A UNIQUE feature of President Roosevelt's recent addresses and messages is the absence of prophesy with regard to a balanced budget, stabilized debt, reduction of government expenses, and other fiscal aspects of the New Deal, over which some people persist in worrying. He recommends a budget of more than $9,000,000,000 for this year, with an added special appropriation of $875,000,000 for W.P.A. This means a deficit of more than $4,000,000,000 by the end of next June and a Federal debt of more than $44,000,000,000. Some people regard it as a pretty stiff dose, even for the United States—especially when presented as a condition that is likely to continue. They argue that if the pattern of the last six years prevails for the next six years, the United States will face a national debt of $70,000,000,000 by 1945 and an annual budget of $12- or $13,000,000,000, with recovery still around the corner, and that such a prospect calls for caution, if not conservatism.

AMONG other items, the President's budget message contained the largest appropriation for national defense ever recommended in time of peace. If this appropriation is authorized—and there seems every likelihood that it will be—the United States will have joined the world-wide race in arms, particularly on the sea and in the air. It visualizes a navy second to none and an air fleet that will equal that of any country on earth. It also visualizes a mammoth expansion in air and naval bases, particularly in the Pacific Ocean. Though it marks a definite and rather unexpected change in policy, most Americans approve it. They feel that democracy is threatened with aggressive attack by the dictatorships and that the best way to prevent this attack from materializing is to convince the dictatorships that the United States is prepared to defend itself. Elements of fear, hysteria and misapprehension have undoubtedly played a part in this quick shift of public sentiment, and there is good ground for suspecting that they will carry the country to unreasonable extremes unless they are subordinated to clear thinking. While this country may be justified in strengthening its defense mechanism, it must not go so far as might provoke war or as might commit it to dangerous entanglements.

THE CONFERENCE recently held at Lima, Peru, may justly be regarded as part of our new defense policy, particularly as it affects the western

*New York World-Telegram*

***Speaking of Temperatures***

hemisphere. In the sense of establishing cooperation among the republics of this hemisphere in case of attack from the outside, that Conference was a success. There can be no doubt, however, as to what cooperation implies for this country. In case of an attack from the outside, the United States would have to carry the load regardless of where the attack occurred. It would be our part to provide the major share of men, munitions, machinery and supplies. All the other New World nations put together could not match the service we would be called upon to render. Such a situation does not reflect on the other countries in any way. It is to be presumed that each and all of them would cooperate to the full extent of their capacity. They lack the capacity, however, and that is one of the bleak facts we must recognize. We are embarking on a defense program which contemplates not only protection for ourselves, but for this entire hemisphere, and we must not delude ourselves as to what that implies.

Furthermore, the program is so timed and oriented as to create a definite impression abroad that one of its objectives—if not its main objective—is to sustain democracy. Unless it is carried out with extreme care and specific limitations, it might well be so construed or manipulated by diplomats as to involve this country in trouble overseas—and that is something to be avoided at all costs. Even with its vast resources the United States cannot undertake to preserve democracy all over the world. It faces a sufficient task in preserving its own, particularly if that task includes the western hemisphere.

No one can review what has occurred during the last few years without realizing that democracy in general—and our own in particular—has become the object of assault by totalitarian states. This assault consists partly of organized propaganda, organized spying, organized competition in foreign trade through government subsidies, and organized raids on territory which, though it may not belong to democracies, includes treaty commitments and commercial privileges that they have a right to enjoy. Japan, for instance, virtually denounces the Nine Power Pact, the Open Door, and other guarantees in which we are definitely interested, as part and parcel of her violent occupation of China. Germany seizes Austria without definite assumption of the Austrian debt to us. Officially sponsored agencies work to undermine our influence in Latin American countries. Hired propagandists attempt to stir up trouble within our midst. Japan professes to be angered because we made a $25,000,000 loan to China. Such incidents leave no doubt as to which way the wind is blowing, or how hard it would blow if we failed to put up the proper windbreaks.

The American people are not happy over such conditions. We would much prefer to get along without having to visualize increased national defense as a real necessity. We do not like to spend money for forts and ammunition dumps; for the training of young men in the art of wholesale murder. The way things are going, however, leaves no choice in the matter. Like so many other people, Americans face the prospect of coercion if we are not prepared to maintain our liberties and protect our rights. We face the mockery of our ideals and the misconstruction of our policies from abroad—not to mention the trouble created by hired agitators and propagandists from within. Apparently, we cannot even appoint one of our ablest and most distinguished lawyers, Felix Frankfurter, to our highest court without having it misinterpreted, though it was in strict conformity with time-honored customs, practices and constitutional guarantees.

The appointment of Frankfurter has aroused angry repercussions in Germany. The new Justice was born in Vienna, and did not come to America until he was 12 years of age. Hence his native tongue is German; his birthplace, what is now the second city of Germany.

But the very fact that Frankfurter is a Jew, appointed to our Supreme Court in these piping times, seemed to the Nazis a direct slap in the face. He had represented the international Zionist movement at the Paris peace conference after the War, and was a cofounder of the troubled little state of Palestine at that time. To the military-minded Nazis, Frankfurter's only virtue is that he was an American major in the bellicose days of 1917. The fact that he was a major *against* Germany, makes little difference in German eyes.

Germany has gone about consolidating her Czecho-Slovak coup of last September with a mass referendum in the annexed Sudetenland. Some 30 Sudeten Nazi delegates, representing close to three million Sudetens brought under Hitler's rule, were elected to the Greater German Reichstag. "Do you acknowledge our Fuehrer, the liberator of the Sudenten?" read the ballots, and the "liberated" ones flocked to the polls.

The Sudeten vote totalled roughly 1,200,000 in favor of Hitler and annexation, 7000 against. This amounted to a ratio of 170 *Ja's* to every one *Nein:* an overwhelming verdict, although of course there was moral—if not physical—pressure brought to

Richmond Times-Dispatch

*Can He Digest It All?*

bear on the enthralled voting public. Dr. Konrad Henlein, Nazi Sudeten leader, became a prominent member of the Reichstag; and within reorganized Czecho-Slovakia an active Nazi Party (under Ernst Kundt) continues to exist, sponsoring the interests of what remains of Czecho-Slovakia's German-speaking minority of 250,000.

All told, Czecho-Slovakia to date has lost by the auction-block three million Germans, 600,000 Hungarians, 80,000 Poles, a million Czechs, and 35,000 Ruthenians (or Carpatho-Ukrainians). This amounts to about a third of her population. It has shown the Czechs that the principle of racial self-determination, of which they made much during the World War and after, is a double-edged sword. They used it against the Hapsburgs, now Hitler has used it against them.

Meanwhile, the French have disposed of their interest in the Czecho-Slovak arms works of Skoda at Pilsen, where the fine beer flows. These works are now hard by the German frontier, virtually under German control. After Krupp's they are the biggest munitions concern in Europe, employing 40,000 workmen. The French stockholders sold out for approximately $10,000,000, as a rearming Germany began to absorb the Skoda output. It may be remembered that it was Skoda' howitzers (then Austrian) that conquered Belgium in 1914, knocking down the steel-and-concrete Belgian forts and blasting the road through to Paris. Since the War, Skoda has furnished arms to all comers, for all wars, and on all fronts. Also, it manufactures a very good automobile and various kinds of pacific gadgets, large and small.

Loss of its share of Skoda is something of a blow to French big business, but it is nothing compared to a new Paris scandal: the case of the French Pathé film company. This firm went bankrupt in 1935, and 7,000 unhappy stockholders have brought suit against an incredible Rumanian, Bernard Tanenzapf, or Bernard Natan, its former presiding "genius." This wizard they accuse of fraud, conspiracy, "sybaritism," fictitious purchases, false theater leases, watered stock, and embezzlement of funds up to a billion francs. M. Bernard has been arrested, with some of his henchmen, but government politicians appear to be involved and Frenchmen are reminded perforce of the famous Stavisky scandal that rocked their country back in 1934. That unsavory episode involved pawnshops and politicos, and led to a virtual civil war (which forced Premier Daladier out of office) just five years ago this February.

There is further dissension in gay Paris, involving Russian Czarist exiles. The 21-year-old pretender to the throne of the Romanovs, young Vladimir II, took a trip to Berlin to visit his sister, now the wife of the ex-Kaiser's most popular grandson. It was rumored that Vladimir might have a conference with Hitler, relative to Czarist reinstatement in the Ukraine—"if and when." This Vladimir denied, but it started Russian tongues wagging, and set grandee against grandee, Cossack against Cossack. Some of the exiles are strongly pro-Hitler and approved of the rumored plan. Others (such as the heroic veteran Denikin) howled their denunciation. To them Holy Russia is Holy Russia, whether Red or White, and Germany is unholy, especially under a Hitler. "Whoever may aid Russia's enemies," shouted General Denikin, "cannot call themselves patriots."

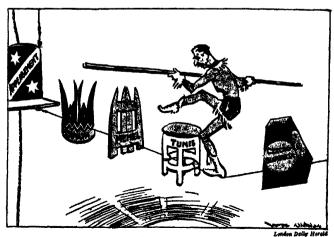
And while the White Russians wrangle in Paris, the Red Russians plan to expel every German citizen and ex-citizen from Russia—a total of perhaps 1000. Even Communist exiles from Germany (some of them Trotskyites) are included in this latest purge. Germany, further, is required to discharge every Russian employed in Hitler's embassy building at Moscow. Just what the fate of the German exiles would be, nobody seemed to know or care.

To counter Italian demands for French Corsica, Tunis, and other desirable spots, Premier Daladier has taken an ocean trip to the island home of Napoleon and the North African colony which Mussolini covets so eagerly. Daladier's receptions in both places turned into stormy ovations—the Italian-speaking Corsicans and Mohammedan Tunisians cheered him to the last echo. It was an obvious answer to the Italian demands, which also look to the Suez Canal and the port of Jibuti (outlet for Ethiopia) in French Somaliland. Some 21 of the 32 Suez directors have been French, with ten of them British, and one Dutch. More than half of the 400,000 shares of Suez stock have been in thrifty French hands—a major annoyance to the Italians in Ethiopia. To them, as to the British in India, the Suez Canal is a veritable life-line.

But the English populace has guffawed over Italian demands on France. London students answered their young

London Daily Herald

*Circus Novelty*

*De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam*

***The Wedding of the Week—But the Best Man Spoiled the Show.***

Italian contemporaries by parading with signs saying: "Give Us Back America"; "We Want Hanover, Normandy, Detroit, Dunkirk on Historic Grounds"; "How About Calais?" and similar joyous buffoonery. True, the British Empire has lost much land through the centuries, even including Corsica, which it once gobbled up for a short time.

Germans, too, have lost a great deal —including Memel, an ancient East Prussian city of 40,000 on the Baltic Sea. Lithuania got this by devious means after the War, but today the Nazis under a veteran Herr "horse-doctor" have raised their militant heads. They wish to get it back into the German fold. A local Diet election has given the Nazis in Memel some 25 out of the 29 seats, and the Lithuanians are frightened. Their dictator, an army chaplain, may glare at the veterinary boss of Memel, but the latter holds the trump cards. Via the Memel Nazis, Germany now tends to dominate Lithuania, whose population is less than three million. Strangely enough, it was the German army that freed Lithuania from Russian ownership during 1914–18.

IN JAPAN a new Premier has come into power — Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, age 73. This aristocratic old lawyer is an extreme reactionary; the sort of man who would be called Fascist in western Europe. He dislikes party politics, strikes, civil liberties, and ruling capitalists, and prefers archery and fencing in the traditional Japanese style.

Hiranuma succeeded Prince Fumimaro Konoye, a comparative liberal whose son captained the Princeton golf team and who attended a fancy-dress party disguised as Hitler. Konoye has a sense of humor and enjoyment, while the serious-minded Hiranuma sleeps only four hours per night, contents himself with fish, rice, and tea twice daily. Hiranuma is expected to "play ball" more effectively with the army, navy, and Chinese war than did his good-natured predecessor. Japanese big business—Mitsui and Mitsubishi interests, for example, the final word in plutocracy—do not like the puritanical, Junker-like Hiranuma, whose whole record is opposed to them.

Meanwhile, Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has expelled from his government ex-Premier Wang Ching-wei and others who favor peace with Japan, based on extensive Chinese concessions. China's direction remains in the hands of diehards and last-ditchers.

RUMANIA—whose domestic politics generally resemble an operetta of "Merry Widow" type—daily becomes more Fascist and anti-Semitic, although comic King Carol's brand of it is opposed to Germany and the Nazis. His cabinet ministers now sport big hats like Napoleon's, brand-new blue and gold braided uniforms, and Fascist salutes. Carol fears for his rich oil wells, his intermediate position along the Nazi road to Russia, and his Ukrainian, Hungarian, Jewish, and German minorities, all of them restless. Before long this last absolute monarch may join Wilhelm, Edward, Alfonso, Vladimir, Otto, and other royalists on relief. He is markedly unpopular with his English relations; Hitler does not care for him, nor do the Muscovite Comrades. Out of Rumania's 20 millions, at least five million are ripe for revolt.

REBELLIOUS minorities throughout the world are demanding independence, self-determination, or home-rule, and some are obtaining it, like the Slovaks, Ruthenians, Balinese, Sudetens, Syrians, Catalans, Filipinos and Irish. Now the dour Scotch, merged with mighty England since 1707, have made a stout beginning. Edinburgh again becomes a capital city of sorts as four important "interior" departments are moved from London to the ancient Caledonian hub of "Odin's burg," where the Nordic gods once ruled supreme. This is a step in the decentralization of Great Britain; but it stops far short of that home-rule status demanded by Scottish nationalists who, every so often, burn the Union Jack and cheer admiringly for the spunky Eire of De Valera. The fact that the present Queen is technically Scotch, does not interest national-hearted Highlanders and Lowlanders. Some of these, it seems, ardently espouse Field Marshal Crown Prince Rupert of Bavaria, a popular old German who is last pretender of the exiled Scotch Stuart dynasty.

# The New Congress

## Though more independent than its predecessor, the 76th Congress is no anti-Roosevelt runaway

### By ERNEST K. LINDLEY

THE present Congress was advertised for eight weeks after its election as the most independent of the four Congresses of the Roosevelt Administration. But if any part of the public expected to see Congress celebrate its freedom with bronco-like plunges it must have been disappointed with the opening session in January. What it saw instead was a wary steed, powerful enough to run away or throw its rider if the reins were drawn uncomfortably tight but otherwise apparently disposed to do nothing uglier than to snort and frisk about.

Congress has reestablished itself as a coordinate branch of the government. In fact that goal was clearly achieved by the Seventh-Fifth Congress, predecessor of the present one, when it refused to pass the President's bill to enlarge the Supreme Court. The Congressional revolt of the spring of 1937 extended through the fall and winter and into the early spring of 1938. It reached its second peak when the House blocked the reorganization of the executive branch of the government.

Congress remained thoroughly out of executive control until the Florida primary, a New Deal victory over the conservative Democrats, brought a flock of nervous Congressmen galloping toward the White House again. The Seventy-Fifth Congress was a stampeding Congress.

On paper, the Seventy-Sixth Congress should be more independent than its immediate predecessor. After eight years of dwindling strength, the official opposition has made a sharp recovery. The Republican gains in the House number 80; the newly assembled House consisting of 261 Democrats, 169 Republicans, two Progressives, one Farmer-Laborite, one American Labor Party member, and one vacancy. The Republican gains in the Senate numbered eight, making 23, as against 69 Democrats, two Farmer-Laborites, one Progressive, and one Independent.

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What are two important New Deal creations which Administration supporters now acknowledge to be particularly vulnerable to attack?

What has President Roosevelt said is his goal for the national income?

Why did Vice President Garner return to Washington in mid-December when Congress did not convene until January?

What is likely to keep the conservative Democrats from declaring open warfare on President Roosevelt and his program during the new session?

*These questions are answered in Mr. Lindley's article.*

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Thus the Democrats still hold more than two-thirds of the Senate and a generous majority in the House. As the President pointed out in his Jackson Day speech, he is the first two-term President since James Monroe whose party has not lost control of Congress before the end of the second term.

But the Republican comeback has been great enough to restore an effective two-party system, especially in the House. The Republican gains are reflected not only in votes on the floor but in large memberships on committees which conduct most of the business of the House. And the Republicans are now numerous enough to block the procedural short-cuts to which the Democrats frequently resorted in jamming through New Deal laws from the beginning of the special session of 1933 to the end of the regular session of 1938.

With the recovery of their strength, the Republicans also have renewed their morale. There are not only more Republican votes to be counted in committees and on the floor, but more Republican voices eager to subject the Roosevelt Administration to a running fire of criticism. Many of them are new voices which the public will be curious to hear and to some of which it may take a distinct liking.

The new Republican power is not, of course, the full measure of opposition to the Roosevelt Administration. The warfare between the New Dealers and the conservative Democrats culminating in the attempted "purge" during the 1938 primaries has left many sores in the majority party. At the same time, the failure of the "purge" in the three notable efforts to defeat conservative Democratic Senators, heartened the entire right wing and middle of the party. If the Democratic conservatives, both extreme and moderate, were to act solely in accord with their personal feelings, the 1939 session would be one of the fiercest battle royals ever witnessed in the national capital.

PRACTICAL politics, however, is acting as a sedative. The practical politicians—and most of the members of Congress fall within that class—have to reckon first with Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity and secondly with the acceptance by the public generally of the main reforms of the New Deal. The durability of Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity is attested by polls and is generally acknowledged to be a fact. Popular acceptance of the chief reforms of the New Deal is an even more impressive consideration. Only the extremists talk of turning back. During the 1938 campaign the attacks on the New Deal, by most candidates of the opposition in both major parties, were highly selective. The weakness of certain parts of the New Deal structure is recognized in the White House. Perhaps somewhat belatedly, the New Dealers realized that WPA, as administered, had become more of a political liability than of a political asset. Hence the shift which puts WPA under an army engineer, and proposes to place its administrative and supervisory employees under civil service, may result in the allocation of funds by Congressional formula instead of at the discretion of

the Executive, and is almost sure to lead to the strengthening of the Corrupt Practices Act.

The National Labor Relations Act and Board are acknowledged in the Administration to be a politically vulnerable sector, although difficult to repair without creating new difficulties. For most of the proposed amendments would either destroy the legitimate purpose of the law to protect collective bargaining or else project the Federal Government much further into the business of regulating the relations between employers and employees.

Besides WPA and the NLRB there are other New Deal tools which, as the President said in his annual message, "had to be roughly shaped and still need some machining down." He is ready to have this machining down done, provided that the essential usefulness of the tools is not impaired.

This expression of reasonableness was sweet music to the ears of many faithful Democrats who wish to avoid an open breach with the President but had become genuinely worried about the political consequences of parts of his program. Even sweeter to them was his declaration that the period of major reform had come to an end: that, with a few specified exceptions, Congress had already translated his New Deal into legislation. Sweetest of all was the absence of the sharp words and innuendos with which he ordinarily prods his critics, in and out of his own party. In his annual message this year, he spoke more exclusively than ever before as the President of all the people.

Bressler Cartoon

*A Tough Climb*

The mollifying words and tones of the President at the opening of the Seventy-Sixth Congress were a third check on riotous rebellion. In addition, he recognized forthrightly the prerogatives of Congress. In private conference he had already given assurances to the Congressional leaders of his party that he would keep his bright young men out of sight and hearing of the halls of Congress, that he would send up no more "must" bills, and that he would let Congress do its own bill drafting. Finally, he had dropped the "must" category of legislation in the latter part of 1937. Actually Congress is unfitted to draft complicated legislation without the assistance of experts from the executive branch, although there is a difference between calling for expert assistance and having it forced upon you. But the assurances given by the President, together with the rigid correctness of his annual message, were gratifying to the Congressional sense of dignity.

The President, in fact, has gone beyond mere gestures of appeasement and has rather ostentatiously dumped responsibility into the lap of Congress. This is another signal for caution, especially among the old-line Democrats. The right to criticize is much more comfortably exercised than the duty to take responsibility for action.

The President, for example, stated his firm belief that it would be unwise to cut Federal expenditures substantially at this stage of recovery. He gave as his goal an eighty-billion dollar national income. At that income, according to the Treasury estimates, the present tax system would yield more than eight billion in revenue, enough to balance the budget just a shade below its present level. He implied that those who favored balancing the budget now were satisfied with a sixty-billion national income. Suppose that the clamor for economy should really materialize in substantial cuts in the budget. Then suppose that we suffer an economic setback during the next year and a half, or even that we don't push up steadily toward the eighty-billion goal. The President would always be able to assert that the blame rested with Congress. Conservative Democrats realize they must move cautiously, with regard not only to the budget but to all other phases of the President's program, if they are to avoid putting themselves in a hole.

To both parties the approach of the next Presidential election is a check on rambunctiousness. The Republicans have revived enough to make a real bid for control of the Federal Government in 1940. But they are still the minority party. What they do probably will be less important than what the majority party does, and than the course of recovery during the next 21 months. Probably most people vote for or against the party in power rather than for or against the minority party. But how the Republicans handle themselves in Congress will improve or detract from public confidence in their party—and in particular members of it.

The Democrats, on their side, know that if they persist in their intramural war the result of 1940 may well be a Republican victory. The resurgence of

## CURRENT HISTORY QUIZ

Answers on page 54

1. To what nation has Mexico recently started supplying oil under a barter arrangement?
2. What high American official was vigorously attacked by the German press for a speech he recently made in Cleveland?
3. With which two nations has Czechoslovakia recently had tense relations?
4. How much did Anthony Eden receive for his recent address before the National Association of Manufacturers?
5. What is Italy's attitude toward her 1935 agreement with France?
6. Who was Philip Musica?
7. What nation's attitude considerably changed the scope of the "Declaration of Solidarity," adopted at the Lima Conference, from the form proposed by the United States?
8. What were the results of the recent referendums conducted by the Department of Agriculture on cotton, tobacco and rice crop control?
9. To what notable Spaniard was citizenship restored by Franco?
10. Who is Felix Frankfurter?
11. China formerly received war shipments from Indo-China. Where does she now obtain them?
12. To what position was Harry Hopkins recently nominated?
13. Who is Baron Hiranuma?
14. Who is Frank Murphy?
15. What large French company was recently charged with fraud?

the Republican party has made both the right and left wing of the Democratic party more important to each other. That is why Vice President John N. Garner came back from Uvalde in mid-December to demand concessions from the President, on one side, and to urge the need for conciliation on the old-line Democrats, on the other. He wants both sides to unite in what he conceives to be the middle of the road.

The practical political factors working for harmony in the Democratic party, and, to a lesser extent, in the Republican party are numerous and weighty. But working in the other direction in each party is a profound struggle for control in 1940, based not only upon personal rivalries but upon genuine differences in viewpoint. The Republican party is not sprawled out over so wide a front as the Democratic party is, but it has its right and left and its center. It has its Liberty Leaguers and its moderate progressives, its budget-balancers and its Townsendites, its old-timers and its bright young men.

On the vital question of control of the party, neither the New Dealers nor the old-line Democrats have shown the slightest sign of yielding. The President has intensified the New Deal complexion of his cabinet with Harry L. Hopkins and Frank Murphy. His other important new appointments, beginning with Felix Frankfurter for the Supreme Court and working down, are fairly strictly New Deal. In his Jackson Day speech he again declared that the Democratic party must remain devoted to liberal principles—and invited the discontented right wingers to move over to the Republican side. Trusted supporters have been moved into important vacancies in the Senate and House committees. He is willing to make minor concessions, but there is no doubt that he will fight to the end for the power to choose the Democratic Presidential nominee in 1940 and to direct the writing of the platform.

In both parties it is an open question whether the centripetal forces of practical politics are strong enough to offset the centrifugal forces of principle and personal feeling. In the Democratic party, especially, personal feelings have been inflamed by continual guerilla warfare.

The specific problems before the present Congress provide opportunity for dispute but hardly for permanent disruption, since they do not make a neat pattern.

First is the budget embracing the President's spending and investment program. The old rule still holds: economy may be popular in the abstract but not in the concrete. Congress never has been an economizing body. It may shave relief appropriations somewhat and do some righteous cheese-paring elsewhere. But the budget presented by the President

*Harry Hopkins, former Works Progress Administrator, is sworn in as Secretary of Commerce by Associate Justice Stanley Reed as President Roosevelt looks on.*

made no provision for larger old age pensions or other expansions of the Social Security Act. It made none for PWA projects or for slum-clearance or for any part of the national health program. For every dollar it takes out of the budget Congress is pretty sure to add another somewhere else.

Second is reorganization of the executive branch. The reorganization proposals will be presented as five or six bills instead of one and the President is willing to compromise, anyway. A hysterical revolt against this reform, such as occurred last winter, doesn't seem likely to occur again.

Third is the railroad problem. The President handed it to Congress last year and Congress did exactly nothing. Now the railroad managers and railroad labor have got together on a program, which may or may not satisfy Congress.

Fourth is the national defense program. It may be modified or rejected in detail, but every Congressman knows that the country wants a water-tight and air-tight national defense.

Fifth is revision of the neutrality act to permit the President to discriminate between aggressors and their victims. Although the country is strongly anti-dictator in its sentiments the President's hint of economic sanctions disquieted the isolationists. But the line of division here is not between parties or between conservatives and progressives.

Those were the five points stressed by the President at the opening of the Congress. All else he classified as repair work or as expansion of existing law. Some of the proposed expansions may be fairly hefty, notably in the case of the Social Security Act. In the controversy over larger old age pensions, greater aid for dependent children, revision of the old age annuity section and its extension to groups of workers who are not now covered, the President may well find himself in the middle of the road, or slightly to the right of it.

On the agricultural program, the National Labor Relations Act, WPA, and other centers of controversy, forces converge from several directions. If he handles himself skillfully, Mr. Roosevelt may be able to play the part of mediator rather than of advocate.

It will be a long session of Congress, filled with talk and haggling and minor explosions. But it will set no new trend and it will leave unsettled the intriguing question: who will control the two leading parties in 1940?

# Mohammed Stages a Comeback

## Asleep for 500 years, the Moslems are beginning to stir again and are aiming for political power

### By RENE KRAUS

EVERY Friday 25,000 citizens of the United States, arms crossed and faces turned to the east, pray for the coming of the Mahdi of Allah. These sons of Islam have preserved the same mystic belief in the coming of their Messiah which inflames their 250 million co-religionists from Morocco to the Sunda Islands, from Madagascar to Mongolia.

In the Philippine Islands and at Egyptian universities, in Oriental courts and in the tents of Tartar nomads, on the benches of the Yugoslav parliament and in the huts of the Negroes on the African Gold Coast, in the African bush and on the steppes of Asia, every day and every hour, the Mahdi—the reincarnation of Mohammed—is expected to appear.

The power of Islam, awakening and taking political form, grows from its unshakable religious unity. And Mohammed's teachings are still spreading, particularly among the colored races, for this form of monotheism is closer to their primitiveness than either Christianity or Judaism.

The second factor in this upward surge of Islam is the fruitfulness of its followers: white nations show a frightening recession of their birth rate, but Moslems multiply like rabbits. In Egypt, for instance, the population grows so rapidly that it will have quadrupled in a hundred years, to 49 million inhabitants should births continue at the present rate. Indeed, statisticians figure that in 425 years there would be 2 billion inhabitants in Egypt—as many people as there are in the whole world today.

This same fruitfulness is evident in all Islamic countries. In Palestine the natural reproductive fruitfulness of the Arab part of the population is two and a half times that of the Jewish. In Algiers the Islamic element reproduces four times as fast as the European. In Egypt, in Turkey and in Iran (Persia) there are nearly three times as many children to every adult as in white countries. Since Islam now comprises one-eighth of the world's population, in two generations it should increase to one-fourth. Disease and lack of scientific sanitation counteracted this high birth-rate in past centuries, but today medical science and modern invention penetrate to their lands and preserve their offspring in a higher ratio than heretofore.

THE third factor in the surge toward world power is the wealth of raw materials in Islamic countries. Their oil and cotton, particularly, place them in competition with the United States. Paradoxically, it is to an American that the Orient owes the opening up of its natural oil treasures. In 1896 a fanatical mob destroyed the property of an American missionary society in east Anatolia. Washington demanded satisfaction from Sultan Abdul Hamid, and sent the warship *Kentucky* to Constantinople with Admiral Colby Chester in command. He spent his free time studying business conditions in Turkey and later returned to Constantinople as a private citizen representing the American oil industry. His negotiations with the government of the Sultan secured for the Standard Oil Company an interest in the Imperial Turkish Petroleum Company.

After the Great War many more concessions were granted. The younger Islamic states—like Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan—prefer American capital because it carries no threat to their independence. America has no colonial aspirations in the Orient. In 1930, Standard Oil was given the exploitation of extraordinarily rich oil fields in the Bahrein Islands. Rizah Pahlevi, Shah of Persia, recently gave the American Oil Company of Delaware a 60-year concession for the development of more North Persian oil fields. And finally the King of Arabia, Ibn Saud, granted to the California Arabian Oil Company a concession in the province of Hasa on the east Arabian coast.

These Islamic states, however, lacking domestic capital and the technical means of tapping their oil resources, are using American capital for their own ends. Most contracts provide that on a stipulated date the equipment of oil companies shall pass to the state which granted the concession. In the spring of 1937, the American Oil Company of Delaware was forced to agree to add only natives to its technical personnel. So the day is not far off when the white man will be shown the door.

Similarly in the production of cotton does Islam rise as a powerful rival of the white world. The center of this cotton area is in Egypt, where British rule endeavored to force production after the American Civil War. Since that time England has encouraged cotton-growing not only in Egypt and India, but also in the Sudan, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. More recently Germany has fostered cotton-growing in Iran, where a raw material base for Nazi military and industrial needs is being developed.

BUT in the same measure that Islam is expelling the white man as his usefulness ceases, it is embracing another stranger—the little yellow man of the Far East. Japanese imperialism has discovered through Islam the path to the South Atlantic, and through conversion to Mohammedanism a practical way of traversing it.

Religion in the Japanese system is above all a matter of the practical interests of the state. In 1868, when Shintoism replaced Buddhism, a commission was appointed in Tokyo to determine which religion would best serve Japan's national purposes. This lack of prejudice in matters of belief makes it easy for the Japanese to open wide the doors of their empire to Mohammedan influence. Priests and learned men of Islam pass through this door one way; Japanese commercial agents, military instructors and diplomatic advisers go through in the opposite direction.

Japan's effort to force itself into Islam is the most clever undertaking

in the history of imperialism. It strives for hegemony over two continents—Asia and Africa. Yet these endeavors enjoy widespread sympathy and whole-hearted cooperation among the Mohammedans, whose newly awakened national movements see nothing but British, French, Italian and Dutch colonial antics from which they wish to free their 250 million co-religionists. In this fight for liberation they welcome a powerful Far Eastern ally.

But Japanese influence is by no means the only one which is trying to push into Islam. In like manner the world struggle between Fascism and Communism rages on the backs of the Moslems. Bolshevism took the offensive, the U.S.S.R. being the first great power to offer an alliance to "working Mohammedans." In 1917, only a few weeks after the Revolution, the Red government in Moscow turned to the Moslems of the East, with a manifesto in which they were told to "drive away the imperialistic robbers of Europe and prepare for cooperation with a new free Russia." Immediately thereafter, Lenin established a Mohammedan Association for the Freeing of the East. Two years later there was born in Mohammedan Tashkent a university for the training of revolutionary agents.

Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, has become a center of Russian expansion in Asia. But Afghanistan is watchful that this international expansion is not connected with Communist propaganda on its own soil. This same point of view characterizes all the Asiatic Islamic states.

The Comintern carefully spares the religious feelings of Islam. In India, as well as in the North African colonial possessions of France, where its agents are particularly active, Bolshevism disguises itself as true to tradition and religion.

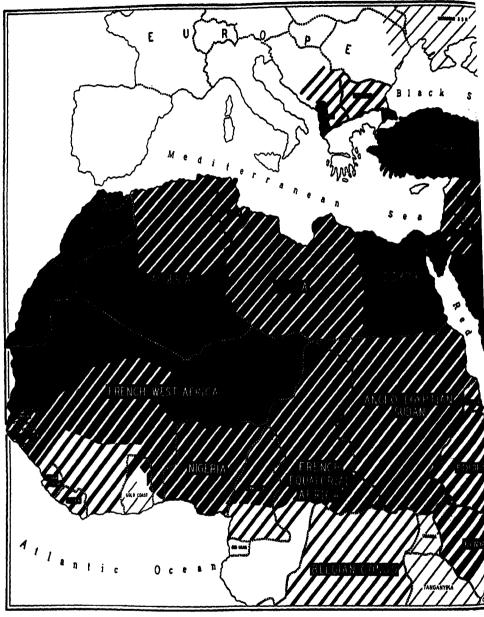
Italian Fascism is endeavoring to use feudal and reactionary influences in the Mohammedan world for its own purpose. Mussolini goes before Islam and talks of friendship, particularly since the conquest of Ethiopia. He has taken over the role of Protector of Islam in which Kaiser William II failed. The worldly ruler of the Papal City of Rome sets the Coptic Christian majority in Abyssinia at a disadvantage with the Mohammedan minority. Koran schools and mosques are being erected in all cities and villages. Pilgrims to Mecca have organized help from the Italian government.

The reasons that move Mussolini to his enthusiastic pro-Mohammedan attitude are clear. In the first place they lie in the fact that today, after the annexation of Ethiopia, another million Moslems are Italian citizens. Even more they lie in the endeavor of Fascism to revolutionize the colonial possessions of England and France. This purpose is served by zealous radio propaganda in all the Arabic, Asiatic and North African dialects broadcast from the stations at Rome and Bari. The nationalistic leaders of revolt in Algiers, Tunis and Morocco find haven in Italian possessions when it gets too hot for them at home. The first warships which the Shah of Iran used for demonstration against England were of Italian origin, their crews trained by Italian instructors. When the Imam of Yemen, in the southwestern corner of Arabia, attempted to withdraw from the British protectorate, it was proved that Mussolini had promised him military and diplomatic aid. But Yemen quickly retreated from the Italian front and righted itself in the system which Ibn Saud and England have jointly erected in Arabia.

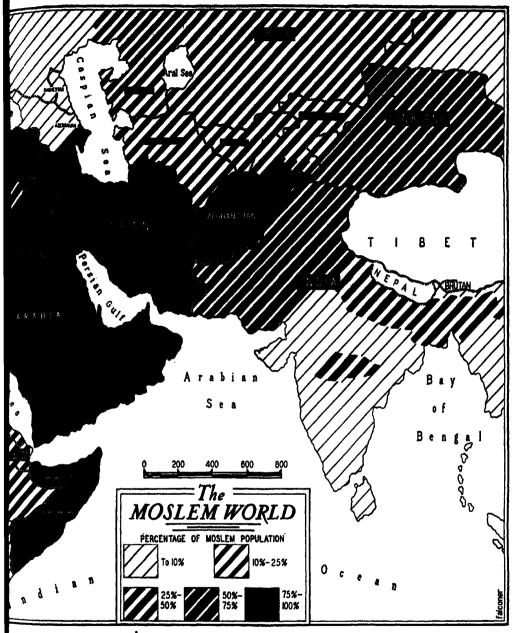
*A crowd in the main square of the Italian colonial city of Tripoli, Libya, hails a newly unveiled heroic equestrian statue of Benito Mussolini. In his hand the statuary Il Duce brandishes the sword of Islam. A year ago Mussolini assumed the title of "Protector of Islam."*

ISLAM, however, is skeptical of Italian protectorship. When Mussolini proclaimed himself Protector of Islam, Sheik Mustapha El Maraghi, president of Al Azhar University in Cairo and highest intellectual authority among the Mohammedans, succinctly declared that only a Moslem may be the Protector of Islam. Besides, even the *Christian* ethics of the agnostic Duce are subject to argument.

This last allusion has a deep and serious meaning. Unforgotten in the entire Mohammedan world are the horrors with which Italian imperialism drowned the uprising of the Senussi. These Senussi were the most zealous of the many secret brotherhoods of African Moslems. They resisted Italian rule until their last desert cloister was burned and their warriors literally were exterminated to the last man. The destruction of the Senussi is bemoaned and sung in heroic ballads from the Moroccan Riff to the shores of the Ganges.

In three countries on the European Continent Islam has large groups of believers. In Yugoslavia and in Bulgaria they form important minorities. In Albania they are in the vast majority, having 750,000 out of the total population of a million. And yet, Albania is being rapidly modernized under King Zog, who, himself, is engineering the movement, since he has no objection to being regarded as a freethinker. His queen, the former Countess Geraldine Apponyi of Hungary, is permitted to retain her Catholic creed, although His Albanian Majesty still renders lip-service to the Koran. As in Turkey, modern enactments have set the whole system of Moslem law aside, and the King has a most efficient, ruthless way of dealing with all who are

identified as religious reactionaries.

In Yugoslavia there are 1,600,000 white-skinned Moslems, forming about ten per cent of the total population. The majority of Yugoslav Moslems form a religious and not an ethnical minority in the kingdom, are loyal to their government, and have placed ministers in the Belgrade halls of state. Among these followers of Islam, polygamy is almost unknown; while they may still observe the Fast of Ramadhan, they pay little attention to other religious duties, and have almost done away with the wearing of the veil by women. Here, too, Islam is making great efforts to adapt itself to the modern way of life.

Bulgarian Islam is different. Out of six million inhabitants, there are about 800,000 Moslems in Bulgaria, constituting an ethnical as well as a religious minority—one of the few well-treated minorities of our times. Three-quarters of the Moslems in this country are Turks, not assimilated with the Bulgarian nation. Yet as a minority in a strange land, they enjoy a far better religious situation than they would in their native Turkey. They also receive unusually liberal treatment in legal matters. A minimum of 40 Moslem families in any town or village is sufficient to establish a recognized Moslem section of the community, and their priestly Muftis are paid by the State.

Nowhere else in the world do Christians and Mohammedans seem to live together in happier or more harmonious understanding.

Pan-Islam has numerous and varied faces: millionaire merchants who sit in highly modern business houses in Calcutta; plantation workers in Sumatra and Borneo; civil-war marshals in Mongolia and Tibet; revolutionary hordes between Siberia and the Urals; weird kings in Kabul, Teheran and Mecca; technicians, engineers and officers in the new Turkey; students in the Levant; religious fanatics in the Arabian deserts; youth in Egypt; nomads in the Sahara; Riff Kabyls on the coast of the Atlantic; near-savages in the African bush. They speak a hundred different languages; they stand on all the steps of civilization; the color of their skins is every shade from white to ebony black. But when, on Friday morning, the Imam calls to prayer, all of them sink to their knees. 250 million people turn their gaze in the same direction, where they believe the holy city of Mecca stands.

They have been asleep for half a millennium. Now they are awake. Just as they bore colonial status patiently, without changing their identity, so now they suffer even the newest currents—Asiatic imperialism, Bolshevism and Fascism. Islam always remains true to itself.

# The Germans in Germany

## A significant change in the public temper towards the Hitler regime has come about in recent months

By HAROLD CALLENDER

It is difficult to gauge public opinion in Germany, for it is not supposed to exist, inasmuch as all Germans are officially regarded as backing Chancellor Hitler as one man. Everywhere it is believed that telephones are tapped by the secret police, letters opened and suspected dissenters closely watched.

Official spies have successfully given the impression that they are practically ubiquitous, and Germans who have ideas of their own habitually speak in whispers and avoid the telephone, save for routine communications. Yet one finds plenty of evidence in all classes of acute apprehension as to where the country is being led, and hope is repeatedly expressed that foreign powers will yet check Nazi "dynamism".

The Nazis, however, reveal an increasing sense of power, of ability to defy the world. The press writes of the United States and Britain often in terms of contempt and jeering, though France just now, because she is behaving well from the German point of view, is exempt for journalistic attacks.

But the victorious mood is tempered by an awareness of the doubts, misgivings and discontent within Germany and of the growing mistrust abroad. The regime feels fully able to squelch malcontents at home and able for the present to ignore foreign opposition. But it suspects that this may not always be the case.

This is my impression after a recent journey about Germany, including visits to ten cities in the West, South, East and North of the newly expanded Reich. All over Germany and even in the Nazi ranks there are many who are shocked and shamed by the November riots and by what has been done in the name of the German people. They bitterly resent the official assertion that the onslaught on the Jews was a spontaneous act of the German nation—an assertion that they consider a slander upon Germany.

Moreover, they are appalled by the implications of recent events for the future of Germany and are filled with apprehension as to where the country may be led by policies that appear to them to be dictated by passion and violence.

"But what are you going to do about it?" asked one foreigner.

"There is nothing we can do," was the typical reply. "If we protest we only go to jail. The power of the state is too overwhelming."

One German declared that "it is too bad that foreigners are so gentle toward Germany, for only firmness works."

"Why didn't you go to war in September?" he asked a Briton. "It would have been short, for there was no enthusiasm for war whatever in Germany, and it would have brought an end to the Nazi regime."

The Briton replied that a European war was a high price to pay to enable the Germans to change their own government. But Germans generally admit they cannot do it themselves and many hope the outside world will help them.

The almost universal testimony is that the Germans hated the idea of war in September and scarcely cheered the marching troops. Chancellor Hitler's greatest asset is that he has gained his ends so far without war. As long as he can do that, there will be a widespread disposition to hope that Nazi dynamism will become satiated and moderation will grow—though there are no notable signs of it at present.

Even upon pacific non-Nazi Germans Herr Hitler's foreign triumphs have made an impression, and even those who hate the domestic intolerance often seem pleased by the growth of German power in the world—so long as it does not lead to war. Heretofore most of the people probably underestimated the danger of Nazi foreign policy, but those dangers are widely realized now.

Catholics, who are pressed with threats to remove their children from Catholic schools, and Protestants, who find the police have cut off their pastors' salaries, have additional reasons to dislike totalitarian dynamism. Hundreds of Catholic priests and lay readers are in prison; in schools for Nazi leaders the campaign against the churches has been resumed, and both Catholics and Protestants expect a renewed attack.

A popular idea among the Nazis is that the Catholic Church is very rich. Hence it is expected that the state will first seize grounds and buildings owned by monastic orders and the church, but not church edifices; then will cut off state salaries of priests, which are paid from the church tax, and then will close the monasteries and destroy the lay organizations.

"Probably the church tax will still be collected, but will be used by the state for nonreligious purposes," said one Catholic leader, "and the attack on the church will be accompanied by wholesale arrests of priests on charges of revolutionary plots."

Toward the Protestants a new method recently employed is not arrests, but cutting off the pay of pastors. This lately has been done in thirty cases. Not only do the Nazis withhold the pay due from the state tax; they send the police to forbid the church treasurer to pay anything to the pastor. There is no law authorizing this, but such actions have been taken in recent weeks. Meanwhile the faithful carry on with their own pastors, ignoring officially installed substitutes.

Shortage of food still irks the Germans, most of whom do not prefer guns to butter. The butter ration is a quarter-pound per capita weekly. Eggs are almost nonexistent and the better kinds of meat are often unobtainable, but the bread is somewhat whiter than a year ago, though housewives say rice flour and saccarine are widely used instead of wheat flour and sugar.

Everywhere people complain of taxes, compulsory party contributions and high prices. This is especially so in Vienna, where women say the mark buys only about what the Austrian

schilling did, though the mark is supposed to equal one and a half schillings.

But all these facts are of human, not political, significance so long as the state can prevent public opinion from having any great effect upon the government of a supposedly united people of 80,000,000.

I have met some scores of Germans of all classes in many parts of the country. Scarcely any defended the November anti-Jewish riots, although some defended anti-Semitism. The black-shirted Elite Guards usually denied that they personally had participated and said it had been the brownshirted Storm Troopers, while the Brownshirts put the blame on the Blackshirts and the secret police. Thus, even the Nazis do not appear precisely proud of this achievement.

But what the Germans generally think is largely immaterial, for few dare to give much help to Jews and none dares openly to criticize; many have been arrested for mild expressions of dissent. Yet it is noteworthy that in the privacy of their homes many Germans everywhere condemn the persecutions with the sincerity of insiders who might at any time find themselves at the mercy of the same forces.

The Jews realize that as a community living in Germany their end has come. They await only an opportunity to depart. Formerly wealthy men, distinguished physicians, lawyers and scholars now feel that they will be lucky if they can emigrate with only the clothes on their backs.

A large part of the male Jewish population is still held in concentration camps, where many have been morally broken and some have died. Thousands of women and children have been deprived of the heads of their families and strive themselves to carry out the elaborate and intricate preliminaries to emigration—although the detention of many Jewish lawyers makes these official formalities doubly difficult.

Meanwhile bank accounts of Jews have been blocked, Jewish-owned property has been impounded and no Jew—save for a few officials of Jewish organizations—may earn a living. For these reasons there are want and misery today among many, and the spread of destitution in the circumstances is bound to be rapid. This, to judge by official publications recently, is the intention.

Despite certain professional scruples manifested by the police in more than one city, there is scarcely any legal protection in Germany for the persons or property of Jews. The doctrine that Jews are outside the law was frankly proclaimed recently in a Berlin court, the Landesgericht, which refused to give a Jew the benefit of a rent law on the ground that "the Jew is a foreign body in the German community."

Keepers of shops, cafes and restaurants are obliged, whether they would or not, to put up signs saying "Jews Not Wanted," though some wanted them very much. One cafe in Vienna complained to the police that if it were barred to Jews it would have no customers, so it was permitted to remove its sign.

*Following the November riots, truckloads of storm troopers drove through Berlin and rounded up suspected "non-Aryans."*

There are many instances of kindness by non-Jewish Germans to Jews. When Jews' houses were smashed and food supplies ruined and shops refused to sell to them, they often found that food had mysteriously appeared on their doorsteps during the night. This happened in country towns as well as in big cities.

There are authenticated cases of Jews emerging moneyless and broken from concentration camps and receiving banknotes surreptitiously from Aryans, and of non-Jews—even Nazis—giving shelter to homeless Jews.

But such indulgence in the charitable spirit must be carried out with stealth and caution, for it conflicts with official ideology and with authorized conceptions. More careful Aryans strive to forget that they ever had Jewish friends, for who wants to go to jail or incur the displeasure of the ward boss of the party?

This dilemma is particularly noteworthy in the Catholic regions of South Germany and Austria, where Christmas as a Christian feast day is taken seriously by millions of devout persons who are unable to reconcile the teachings of the church with the teachings and acts of the Nazi party. Moreover, the Left Wing of the Nazis themselves has lumped Christians and Jews together as undesirables who have to be "liquidated." It is attributable to the Nazi's own published threats that Catholics and Protestants suspect that they will be the next victims, and consequently they feel more than abstract sympathy for the Jews.

In Cologne there are only about 12,000 Jews in a city of almost 800,000, but that community felt the full force of Nazi wrath in the recent excesses. The attacks were made by Blackshirts in uniform, who had typed lists of Jewish shops and houses. These were raided systematically one after the other in the center of the city.

An example of the thoroughness was the way in which an X-ray machine in a Jewish doctor's office was smashed with crowbars and wires cut with pliers, while an occulist's apparatus was destroyed with a sledge hammer. In one case a piano was thrown from a second-story window into the street.

Hohestrasse was a mass of wreckage presided over by the police at 11 o'clock in the morning, but it was all cleaned up by 7 o'clock. Apparently the only synagogue not burned was

in the suburb of Kulk, where the local Nazi leader was on a holiday.

When a daughter found her aged Jewish father with broken ribs she called a hospital, and it refused help; a friend got a doctor.

In Duesseldorf the onslaught was perhaps even more violent, and many were injured, according to reports heard there. Again it was mainly the Elite Guards who operated.

In Duisburg in the Palatinate houses as well as shops were entered, smashed and robbed. It was said authoritatively that in Soden am Taunus, near Frankfort on the Main, the only Jewish tuberculosis hospital in Germany had been raided and the patients driven out at night.

In Stuttgart, with about 4,500 Jews, houses and apartments were spared. But cases are cited in which doctors, asked to treat injured Jews, replied they could do so only if a Jewish doctor was not available. There was, it is said, only one Jewish doctor in Stuttgart at the time.

The United States Consulate in Stuttgart has 110,000 visa applications on its waiting list and examines sixty or seventy cases daily. Its waiting room and stairway are crowded with would-be emigrants, and many intercept the consul at home and at an automobile parking ground to beg him to help them. In July, August and September the consulate issued 3,190 visas, but may now issue only 850 monthly.

Among the 6,000 Jews in Munich about 1,000 were arrested, including aged and sick persons. Bank accounts of Jews were blocked and only 100 marks a month per family is permitted to be withdrawn.

In Munich quiet reigned until the November excesses. A witness told this correspondent of raids by groups of three—two Blackshirts or Brownshirts and one secret police agent—who smashed shops and some houses, including all the contents. A fireman who had been on duty to keep a synagogue fire from spreading told of having seen rabbis dragged from their beds and beaten up and trampled upon as the temple burned.

Jews ran from house to house to give warning. A manhunt followed.

It was said that 17,000 were at one time in the concentration camp at Dachau, where special uniforms for Jews had been prepared long before the Paris slaying that was given as the reason for the Nazi wave of terror.

In Nuremberg many Jews were forced to sign away their property at an exceptionally small part of its value.

*Cover of German magazine showing prisoners in a concentration camp.*

Such facts could be multiplied endlessly, town by town. They are worth recording because only a small part of them has come to light, and because they give a slight indication of what the Jews have been through and what they fear may recur on an even greater scale and with even greater ruthlessness, as Nazi publications frankly threaten.

Economically, Germany has tightened her belt far beyond the last notch. The evidence of individual housewives all goes to indicate that, save for slightly whiter wheat bread, the food situation as a whole has grown rather worse in recent months. But the military situation, in the opinion of most expert observers, is brilliant, and the average German, whose role is to be seen and not heard, is expected to feel that the newly acquired fighting power more than compensates for the reduction of the butter ration to a quarter or a fifth of a pound per capita weekly.

It is possible for the foreign traveler to remain wholly unaware both of the extent which regimentation and militarism have gripped the whole nation and of the effects of rearmament upon the kitchen and the dining table. For he is troubled neither by cause nor by effect. He moves about much as before so long as he takes no photographs of the landscape, which nearly everywhere has some military significance, and so long as he keeps his political opinions to himself when in public places.

In the first-class hotels and restaurants the visitor eats not so well as in the days of the freer but militarily weaker republic, yet well enough to convince him that Nazi Germany is over-supplied with food of nearly all kinds. Neither his freedom nor his appetite is subjected to the severe restraint imposed upon the freedom and appetite of Germans.

In the big hotels the foreigner can have, not the quarter of a pound of butter a week that Germans are allowed, but a quarter of a pound with each meal including afternoon tea and midnight supper if he wants it. As an indication of this super-abundance at his disposal a huge mountain of golden butter is sometimes wheeled into the dining room—enough to buy a large fraction of a machine gun.

The thoughtful foreigner will have the meal served in his room and invite his German friends not only to partake of it but to fill their pockets with butter wrapped in oiled paper. This bit of etiquette will make him very popular.

He even finds eggs on the menu, and the genial waiter will bring him any number cooked in any form. But these he will not offer to his German friends. Nor will he order them a second time. When it comes to eggs, even the foreigner will prefer guns. But when he walks into the dining car an hour after crossing the French frontier he will order eggs and eat them with relish bestowed upon a rare delicacy.

There is a shortage of fresh fruits, though preserved fruit is still available to the traveler apparently in normal quantities. But ladies who understand these matters say that the cherries are preternaturally red and other fruits slightly adulterated to make up for the lack of sugar.

But if a foreigner left a comfortable hotel and took a house in Germany he would discover further gastronomic disadvantages. Mothers complain of a shortage of butter, eggs, fresh fruit and green vegetables for growing children. Housewives say that it is often difficult to get first-class meat and that they have to choose from a limited variety at the butcher shop. They tell of the shortage of wheat, flour and sugar, and say that most pastries are made with substitutes.

Vegetable fats are used instead of butter in cooking. Working-class women find prices high and meat almost beyond their purse.

If the question is asked whether Germans generally like this kind of life, the answer is no. But as yet it does not matter much, for the German people are not running Germany.

# Catholics and Anti-Semitism

## A leading representative of the Catholic Church examines the "radio priest's" anti-Jewish charges

By MONSIGNOR JOHN A. RYAN

AT THE outset of his radio address November 20, the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin expressed deep sympathy with the Jews of Germany. He then undertook to explore and set forth the reasons why Nazism has been "so hostile to Jewry." His explanation was stated in such terms as to suggest that the Jews in Germany deserved, to a considerable extent, the cruel injuries which they have suffered at the hands of the Nazis. The majority of his hearers undoubtedly concluded that, "the Jews had it coming to them."

He asserted: "It is the belief, be it well or ill-founded, of the present German Government that Jews—not as religionists but as nationals only—were responsible for the economic and social ills of the Fatherland since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles." As a matter of fact, there is no evidence that the Hitler Government actually held the Jews blameworthy in such great measure. According to Father Coughlin, the Nazis identified the Communists of Germany "with the Jewish race." This assertion is likewise unsupported by the facts. He declared further that Nazism "was ushered into existence as a result of Communism." This is an oversimplification of history and a grave distortion of the conditions which led to and accompanied the triumph of the Nazis in 1933.

Father Coughlin then asked himself whether there existed facts to substantiate these alleged beliefs of "the Nazi Party." His answer was a virtual affirmative. His supporting "evidence" consisted mainly of the names of two groups of alleged Jews who were supposedly prominent in the Soviet Government. The first list contains twenty-five names, of whom twenty-four were specified by Father Coughlin as atheistic Jews. These, he declared, were "quasi-cabinet members" in the Lenin Government in the year 1917. Where did he get this list?

In his broadcast the following Sunday, Father Coughlin answered this question by citing a volume entitled,

*Father Charles E. Coughlin*

"The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World," by Reverend Denis Fahey, C.S.Sp., professor in Blackrock College, Dublin, Ireland. The book he has continued to recommend even on the cover of *Social Justice*. On page 90 of that volume will be found these twenty-five names. Where did Father Fahey get them? From a weekly paper published in London called the *Patriot*. In passing, it should be noted that the appendices to Father Fahey's volume include three other fairly long extracts from this newspaper. Taken together, the four show that the *Patriot* is definitely anti-Semitic. Indeed, Father Fahey's book itself may fairly be put in the same category. There are numerous illustrations of this bias in the body of the book and there is Appendix V, which presents four pages from the notorious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." While Father Fahey admits that the "Protocols" have not been established as authentic, he denies that they have been proved forgeries.

To return to the precious list of twenty-five: where did the *Patriot* get it? Purportedly from the issue of March 6, 1920, of the *Documentation Catholique* of Paris, a publication whose statements, of course, have not the authority of the Church. Where did this French journal get it? From an alleged report made by the American Secret Service to the French High Commissioner, says the *Documentation Catholique*.

HERE then we have the ultimate alleged source of the list. Father Coughlin quotes Father Fahey, who quotes the *Patriot*, which quotes the *Documentation Catholique*, which declares that "the American Secret Service takes responsibility." Unfortunately for this "cloud of witnesses," Chief Wilson of the United States Secret Service declared November 28, 1938, after an exhaustive search of the records and consultation of the members of the service on duty from 1916 to 1920: "It is quite certain that no such report was ever made by the United States Secret Service." Indeed, its phraseology suggests that it is anti-Semitic propaganda, rather than the report of an agency of the United States Government.

Father Coughlin does not even quote Father Fahey's book accurately. He refers to the list of names which we are considering as Lenin's "quasi-cabinet." No such expression is found in the Fahey volume. There, the list is described as denoting "individuals" who "made themselves remarkable" in "certain Soviet organizations which came into power in Russia in October, 1917." And we have seen no confirmation in other histories of the Russian Revolution even of Father Fahey's reserved judgment of the twenty-five. In his address of November 27, Father Coughlin declared that the alleged report of the United States Secret Service "was later incorporated in the British White Paper." On November 28, the British Library of Information in New York City denied that the British White Paper included this document. Nor is such inclusion mentioned in the Fahey book. In the same address of November 27, Father Coughlin

asserted that Father Fahey's book, on page 90, represented the alleged American Secret Service report as stating that "fifty-six out of fifty-nine members of this quasi-cabinet were Jews." The allusion here is undoubtedly to a second list which Father Coughlin had mentioned in his address of November 20 and which apparently was derived from Nazi sources. It is not found at all in Father Fahey's book, either on page 90 or on any other page.

The only other important quotation drawn by Father Coughlin from this alleged Secret Service report dealt with the part played by certain American-Jewish bankers in the Russian Revolution.

This participation has not been denied by the bankers themselves. But they have pointed out that it was the revolution which overthrew the government of the Czar that was in question, not the revolution which set up Bolshevism. As Mr. Kerensky pointed out in the New York *Times* November 29, all the important classes in Russia were in favor of deposing the Czar, and the part taken by the Jews was not of exceptional prominence. Of course, no person, banker, Jew, or anyone else, need be ashamed of helping to overthrow the government of the Czar as it existed in the spring of 1917. Father Coughlin uses this part of the supposed report in such way as to suggest that the Jewish banking houses helped to finance the expulsion of the Kerensky Government by the Bolshevists and Communists nearly six months later—in October, 1917. This assumption has been denied by the New York Jewish banking houses, as well as by Kerensky, and it remains without substantial support anywhere else.

PROBABLY the worst misrepresentation committed by Father Coughlin was his distortion of a quotation which he made from the *American Hebrew*, issue of September 10, 1920. Into that quotation were inserted the words, "the Russian-Jewish Revolution," thus conveying the impression that this Jewish journal was claiming credit for the establishment of Bolshevism. The fact is that the paper was referring to "the overthrow of Russian Czarism."

Father Coughlin had a great deal to say about a British White Paper, entitled, "Russia No. 1 (1919)," and the alleged fact that some part of it had been expunged by the British.

In this he is following faithfully the excerpts from the *Patriot* published in the Fahey book (page 88). This is a tempest in a teapot; for the only important sentence that was eliminated in the abridged edition was a declaration (September 6, 1918) by a M. Oudendyke to the effect that Bolshevism was threatening the whole world, inasmuch as "it is organized and worked by Jews who have no nationality and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things." This is one man's opinion—an exceptionally competent man according to the *Patriot*, but by itself, even on the *Patriot's* evidence, it is not conclusive.

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**IN response to numerous requests for an announcement of the official position of the Catholic Church toward Father Coughlin and his various activities, Cardinal Mundelein, of Chicago, has authorized the following:**

**"As an American citizen, Father Coughlin has the right to express his personal views on current events, but he is not authorized to speak for the Catholic Church, nor does he represent the doctrines or sentiments of the Church."**

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IN HIS broadcast of December 4, Father Coughlin discussed a statement attributed to Henry Ford by the newspapers in the middle of the preceding week. This statement was one of which no believer in human rights, or in Christ's doctrine of brotherly love, need feel ashamed. Nevertheless, Father Coughlin asserted that the newspaper account of Ford's statement was "totally inadequate" and that Ford had subsequently asserted the conviction that there was "little or no persecution in Germany."

Within a few hours after the Coughlin broadcast, Mr. Harry Bennett, personnel manager of Mr. Ford, denied that Ford had characterized the printed text of his statement as "totally inadequate," or that he had expressed the opinion that there was "little or no persecution in Germany." Moreover, Mr. Bennett declared that the original public statement attributed to Mr. Ford was "absolutely correct." The foregoing account is taken from the Associated Press and the United Press dispatches printed in the daily papers on December 5.

Why did Father Coughlin think it necessary to drag into his address of December 4 the Ford statement? As noted above, that statement as published was entirely reasonable, and in complete accord with the Christian doctrine of brotherly love. The only adequate answer is that Father Coughlin is eager, or at least willing, to promote anti-Semitism in the United States. The same inference reasonably emerges from a consideration of the other two addresses. In the one delivered November 20, he tried to justify, or at least excuse or extenuate, the persecution of the Jews under Hitler. Whether the Hitler Government itself believed that it had sufficient provocation for its enormous violations of charity against the Jews, is entirely irrelevant to the cause of truth and justice, particularly in this country.

No intelligent person could publicly countenance this alleged belief and the conclusions drawn from it, without being aware that he was thus making life harder for the Jews in America.

In his radio broadcast on November 27, Father Coughlin repeated, through an electrically recorded transcription, all that he had said in his address of the preceding Sunday, thus making the evil impressions then produced more definite and probably more widespread. He added some material from Father Fahey's book and the falsification of the quotation from the *American Hebrew*. The net effect of the new material brought into his broadcast of November 27 was to arouse further ill-feeling against Jewish people in America and to discourage feelings of sympathy for the Jews in Germany.

It would seem that the enormous cruelties inflicted upon the Jewish people in Germany, no matter what offenses might have been committed by a small minority of Jewish individuals, ought to move every Christian heart to pity, ought to prevent any Christian from saying anything which would make their lot harder to bear. These considerations involve Jews everywhere, even those Jews who are our fellow citizens in the United States.

It has been urged that Catholics in particular ought to refrain from encouraging this campaign of anti-Semitism, from fear that the same methods and the same psychology will be used against them when the next anti-Catholic movement gets under way. The first two commandments provide an infinitely higher motive and an immeasurably more effective one. From every point of view Catholics should refrain from fostering by speech, action or by silence anti-Semitism in the United States.

# Scandinavia: Pace-Setter in Peace

## Away from the fever of war, the three northern nations continue their preference for butter instead of guns

By HENRY C. WOLFE

Is it true that the one-time warlike Vikings have turned themselves into practical pacifists?

What is the size of the Scandinavian merchant marine as compared to those of powerful England and America?

Do Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland have any Nazis at home to contend with?

Where does Hitler's Germany get the necessary iron ore for her big guns?

What do responsible Danish people say about the likelihood of a sudden German invasion?

*These questions are answered in Mr. Wolfe's article.*

FOUR centuries before Columbus the Vikings were braving the lonely Atlantic to visit North America. Their high-prowed craft harried the coasts of England, Scotland and Ireland, and privateered in the Mediterranean. The towering warrior sons of Odin and Thor ruled the waves. It was a Norman descendant of the Vikings who conquered Britain in 1066. From the region that now embraces Denmark, Norway and Sweden came the Viking strain that wove into the racial pattern of the Latins the un-Latin coloring of blond hair and blue eyes. Viking freebooters left their ethnic mark upon the Irish, the French, the Italians and other peoples.

With such a lusty martial heritage, it is not surprising that centuries later Sweden should produce a succession of great military leaders. King Gustavus Adolphus fought Wallenstein and Tilly before he died a hero's death on the field of Lützen. Charles XII, adventurous and romantic, fought long campaigns against the Russians, carrying his wars from the Baltic to distant Poltava in the Ukraine. Two or three centuries ago there was no army in the world that stood higher than the Swedish. The Swedes have a glorious military tradition.

But today the lands of the Vikings have turned their backs firmly upon war and the quest of martial glory. The foreign visitor to Stockholm is struck immediately by the unmilitary appearance of the city. There are few men in uniform and these are almost lost in the crowds of civilians hurrying along Stockholm's crowded streets. If the visitor has been in Germany recently he is impressed by the contrast between the martial Nazi cities and the peaceful Swedish scene. This is as true of the capitals of Denmark and Norway as it is of Stockholm.

In the Scandinavian capitals there are no military lorries thundering through the streets at all hours of the day and night; gas-masks are not hanging from the baby carriages; air-raid sirens are not shrieking their dismal practice warnings; huge black bombers are not roaring overhead; heels are not constantly clicking salutes; and at night there are no military searchlights flashing back and forth across the skies rehearsing for *Der Tag*.

No, these poised sub-Arctic countries are free of the war fever that is epidemic in some lands to the south. Here the busy tempo of civilian life reflects the commercial activity of the Scandinavian democracies. These kingdoms have repudiated war as an instrument of national policy. While other frenzied states are squandering their resources on enormous armaments, the cheerful Northerns are building up industries, increasing their merchant fleets and extending their over-seas commerce.

Today, the combined merchant marines of the Scandinavian countries and Finland rank third in the world, being surpassed only by Great Britain and the United States. They outrank such great powers as Germany, France, Japan, Italy and the Soviet Union. Although the combined population of these four northern nations is less than seventeen millions, they have a purchasing power that gives them a high rating in world economy. In 1936, for example, they purchased foreign goods to the amount of 200 million pounds sterling. That same year Italy, with a population of 42 millions, purchased only 130 million pounds worth of goods in foreign markets.

As the largest of the Scandinavian countries, Sweden sets the pace, in some respects, for her neighbors of the Northern group. Having had the almost unparalleled good sense to stay out of war since the Napoleonic era, the Swedes have enjoyed a century and a quarter of peace in which to work and build. This extended warless period goes a long way toward explaining Sweden's enviable social, political and economic progress.

Long ago the Swedes recognized the fact that a people can not enjoy at the same time an abundance of butter and guns. The result is that today Sweden has plenty of butter, and, if need be, the money to buy guns. But memories of the military prowess of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII do not tempt the social-conscious Swedes to change their foreign policy from peaceful collaboration to aggression. It is only a small minority that would force the kingdom into the armament race and Europe's imperial and ideological rivalries.

BUT with the war-minded world what it is today, the Swedes do not choose to be defenseless. They remember how unceasingly they had to work to maintain their neutrality during the years of the World War. They have no illusions about the difficulties they will encounter in keeping their country from embroilment in a future conflict. No people in Europe watched the late Czecho-Slovakian crisis more closely than did the Swedes. For they realized that what was happening along the Danube could happen along the Baltic.

It is this attitude that accounts for the popularity of the Swedish slogan: "An army and navy only large enough to defend our neutrality!" In comparison with the military establishments of the great powers, the Swedish national

defense is small. The army consists mainly of twenty regiments of infantry, four of cavalry and seven of artillery. The navy, comprising three small battleships, destroyers, cruisers, submarines and coast defense vessels, acts in conjunction with the coast artillery. Neither the Swedish army or navy is strong enough to threaten any major power. Operating in their own territorial limits, however, they could make invasion of Swedish rights a costly affair even for a strong military state (Germany, for example). In 1937 there was opened the Swedish inland railway, which provides communication from north to south well out of the range of enemy naval guns on the Baltic.

In their modern industry the Swedes have a strong auxiliary arm of national defense. Their hardware and tools are world-famous, and today their anti-aircraft guns are considered the equal, if indeed not the superior, of any in the world. Other nations are buying Swedish artillery as fast as Bofors can manufacture it. Sweden's agricultural products, mines and forests are a reservoir of essential war materials that the Third Reich cannot match. But in the limitations of her natural resources and raw materials there inheres a danger to her security that Swedish government leaders cannot afford to ignore.

TODAY, the high-grade Swedish ore from the Gellivara and Kiruna regions of Lapland is being purchased in great quantities for armament purposes by Germany and other nations. Indeed, during the Czecho-Slovakian crisis fifty car trains of ore left every hour for Lulea, the port on the Gulf of Bothnia where it was loaded on steamers. In the event of war Germany would need this ore in even greater quantities, because the Reich would probably be cut off from her normal sources of raw materials in western Europe, Africa and South America. The Swedes fear that if they refused to sell their ores to the Nazis, a desperate Germany would regard the measure as a hostile act, thereby bringing upon the Swedes armed retaliation from across the Baltic. On the other hand if the Swedes continued to sell ores and other *matériel de guerre* to the Germans, strained relations with the anti-Nazi countries might result.

Not only the Swedes but the Danes, Norwegians and Finns fear a war that will involve Germany. In such a conflict there is the omnipresent danger that the hungry Reich would raid these "war pantries" for food. It is assumed throughout Scandinavia that Germany's naval forces would control the Baltic against the Soviet Union and the western democracies. Denmark would be especially endangered, not only because of her vulnerable proximity to the Reich, but also because the Danes have reduced their standing army to such a small number that it could not offer more than nominal resistance to a strong aggressor. Denmark's west coast of Jutland would, moreover, provide excellent German air and submarine bases for attack on Britain.

THE Finns, at the opposite end of Scandinavia, would be endangered by a German thrust northeastward along the Baltic coast toward Leningrad. Such a drive would carry the war to the Gulf of Finland and make that body of water an area of conflict. Too, there would exist the danger that the Nazis would be tempted to land an expeditionary force in Finland and violate that country's neutrality. Any such German move would inevitably bring a Russian counter-thrust, thereby casting the little republic in the role played by Belgium in 1914.

Each of the lands of the Midnight Sun has its own special problems in the matter of nation defense. To the Danes, the Nazis are the potential enemy. The Swedes, protected by the Danish buffer in the west and the Finnish buffer in the east, are much more fortunately situated than either Danes or Finns. And, geographically, the Norwegians appear to be the most happily located of any of the four Northerns. Although all these countries are bound together by strong ties of friendship and mutual interests, a military alliance has been ruled out by their leaders. Such a mutual-assistance pact would presuppose a common enemy.

The Danes in particular have opposed a military alliance of the Northerns. Of all these countries, Denmark is least prepared for national defense. Whereas Sweden and Finland stoutly announce their intention of resisting any attempt to violate their territorial integrity, the land of Hans Christian Andersen is making only small additions to its army and navy. Every Dane, be it remembered, keeps in mind the little kingdom's experience in 1864. That year Denmark was attacked by Prussia and Austria, a flagrant case of unprovoked aggression. The Danes resisted bravely, but to no avail. They were overwhelmed by larger armies better equipped than the Danish forces. And while this conflict was going on, the Danes made vain appeals for help to Sweden, Britain and France. Her two great enemies defeated her and despoiled her of South Jutland. The result: two years later Prussia humbled Austria at Sadowa; four years later Prussia smashed French military power at Sedan. Had the other nations stood by Denmark, the Danes reason, there would have been no Sadowa and no Sedan.

Would a stronger army and navy really protect Denmark from aggression? Many Danes doubt it. A member of the Danish Parliament recently explained this viewpoint to the writer: "If we should start building up our army, Germany, our second best customer, would immediately take offense. It would undoubtedly involve us in trouble with the Reich. And could we count on support from the League, Britain and France? We could hardly expect more aid than was given Ethiopia, China and Czecho-Slovakia. Our young men would be slaughtered and our country would be devastated. And to what purpose?

"We prefer not to fortify Copenhagen. Why not? Because today it is an open city. If Germany should invade Denmark she would not, we hope, bombard an unprotected city. But even if it were fortified, we could not expect to hold out long against the Reich's military machine, and our beautiful capital would be subjected to the fate of Madrid and Canton. We would expect no help from the great powers. Under the circumstances, we believe that a larger defense program would be worse than useless."

Thus, though there is nothing rotten in Hamlet's kingdom, the "peace of Munich" echoes sadly in the "Paris of the North."

AT the other end of the Baltic, where the narrows between Sweden and Finland connect the Baltic with the Gulf of Bothnia, the Aland islands occupy a position of considerable strategic importance. In fact, the situation is far too strategic for the comfort of the Alanders. Enjoying an autonomous status under Finland, the islanders have some voice as to what goes on within their territorial preserves. When Sweden and Finland recently approved a plan to militarize the Aland islands, the people of this archipelago ob-

jected strenuously. They argued almost unanimously that their present unfortified condition does not invite attack, that militarization of the islands would lay them open to invasion whenever war breaks out in the Baltic. Nevertheless, Sweden and Finland want fortifications on the Alands to protect their coasts along the Gulf of Bothnia against any enemy who may be tempted to emulate the Reich's dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia.

But aside from being invaded or actually involved in Baltic fighting, the lands of sunlit nights dread the indirect effects of war. It would not only adversely affect their commerce with at least some of the belligerents, it would seriously hamper their trade with other neutrals. Military and naval strategists in Scandinavia foresee, in the event of war, a Nazi attempt to bottle up the Baltic and make it, for the duration of the conflict at least, a German lake. The entrance to the Baltic would be mined and Reich submarines would patrol the Skaggerak and the Kattegat looking for enemy (and perhaps neutral) commerce.

The neutral shipping losses of the World War would be repeated and perhaps exceeded. Germany's opponents would search for contraband all commerce bound for Denmark, Sweden and Norway through the North Sea, just as they did from 1914 to 1918. The Soviet Union, blockaded by the Reich, in the Gulf of Finland, would attempt to route her commerce through the Arctic Ocean by using her modernized ports on the White Sea and the Murman Coast. This would draw German submarines to the coast of Norway, whose many fjords would provide secret U-boat bases—and troubles for the Norwegians. No matter from what angle the Northern countries examine the problem, they foresee that a general European war would entail serious complications and losses, if not armed invasion.

In all four Northern nations there are Nazi-Fascist movements. Each country has its own special problems created by its authoritarian-minded minority. Denmark is by far the most fertile field for Nazi penetration. This is not because Danes are more Nazi-minded than Swedes or Norwegians; it is merely because Denmark is located on one of the "bleeding borders" of the Third Reich. Furthermore, the large commerce between Denmark and Germany provides the Nazis with an opportunity for economic penetration. Hand in hand with Nazi economics go politics. And while there is a small German minority in Denmark, there is a Danish minority in the Reich. But Nazis never speak of the latter; they harp on their separated German brethren across the Danish frontier. Hitler's minority dispute with Denmark is fictitious, but it serves its purpose.

In Denmark the Nazis are few, but noisy. Last April a youthful Danish Nazi fired a revolver containing blank cartridges at the Minister of Justice during a session of Parliament. In October the Danish authorities rounded up a spy-ring operating under foreign supervision in Denmark. The leader of the spies was Horst von Pflugk, a former German naval officer.

On the streets of Danish cities the visitor sees young men in the uniform of Nazi Storm Troopers. Just how to cope with this situation is a problem occupying the attention of Denmark's government. The so-called "silent treatment" of ignoring these young swastika-wearing troublemakers is being tried. But it may not work. Then the Danes will be forced to use more stringent methods, or go the way of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

In Sweden and Norway the Nazi-Fascist movement is small and apparently ineffective. A few reactionary army officers, students, industrialists and disgruntled members of the lower middle class compose this element, which seems to cause little concern to the democratic Swedes and Norwegians. They have, of course, the advantage of geography over the Danes. In Norway and Sweden, as in Denmark, there is freedom of the press and assembly. Of recent months the newspapers in Sweden have been increasingly critical of Germany's imperial ambitions, racial persecution and aggressive foreign policies. The Nazi philosophy is completely at variance with the tolerance of the Scandinavian peoples. Although the Swedes have no desire to interfere with German internal affairs, they also have no intention of permitting Nazi agents to stir up trouble and dissension in Sweden.

A few weeks ago when the Reich attempted to carry out an Aryanization program in Swedish commercial houses doing business with Germany, the Swedish Foreign Minister, Rickard Sandler, took a courageous stand. "To meet impudence with submission is not the right method," Mr. Sandler warned his countrymen. "In the interests of sound and correct business relations, which we desire to maintain between Swedish and German economic life, it would be better if such attempts (Aryanization) were stopped immediately." Those words, it might be said, sound the keynote of Scandinavia's attitude toward the Nazi movement.

Today, the only serious threat to Scandinavia's democracy comes from the outside. That is why each of the four Northerns is maintaining in its own way a position of judicious vigilance. Even though there are not many soldiers under arms in this region of the Midnight Sun, these northern neutrals are striving to defend their progressive civilizations. The lessons of recent Austrian, Chinese, Ethiopian and Czecho-Slovak history have not been lost on the peace-loving lands of the warrior Vikings.

Current History Map

*The Scandinavian nations, with only the Baltic Sea and the Schleswig border to separate them from Germany, cast a wary eye toward the Third Reich.*

*The War Threat in*

# Mars Motors East

By ROGER SHAW

LAST December a "comradely evening" was held in the vast People's Theatre at Berlin. Present were 3,000 massed road laborers, full of the Yuletide—if not the Christmas—spirit. Fuehrer Hitler attended, as did the blaring brass band of his personal bodyguard, on this day of epic festivities.

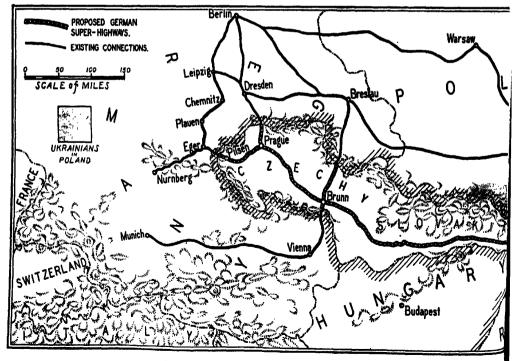
These German laborers represented a state organization which has reached unprecedented importance, called the Autobahn. Its strategic function is to build what in America are known as motor parkways. Its Yule celebration marked completion and opening of the 3,000th kilometer in the super-highway system of the Third Reich. One purpose of this elaborate, high-speed, concrete road project is to furnish employment to the German proletariat, but the principal objective is purely military. Like the ancient roads which linked the Roman Empire, the Autobahn is meant to shuttle troops here and there, in a dizzy minimum of time.

The genius of the Autobahn is an unassuming German engineer named Fritz Todt. He was present at the Yule gathering in the People's Theater as the guest of honor. Todt it was who hastened the new German Rhineland fortifications which face the French Maginot Line—those pill-boxes and machine-gun emplacements called by Hitler the *Limes Germanicus.*

Todt's Autobahn system enables the German motorist to travel from the North Sea flats to the Alpine ranges, from the industrial West to the barren "Slavic" East, without let or hindrance. One can cover these sweeping distances without ever leaving the system, without passing through a single village or meeting a crossroad, and without any speed-limit whatsoever. The Autobahn system consists of four lanes, two each way, and wide lanes at that. It is a veritable Valhalla for the Barney Oldfields of this world.

Todt plans to go on opening additional stretches at the rate of 1,000 kilometers or 625 miles per year. Hand in glove with Todt and his Autobahn operates the politically powerful National-Socialist Motor Corps which, after the brownshirt Storm Troopers and the blackshirt Elite Guards, constitutes the third branch of the Nazi Party's private army.

But German road-building enterprise does not stop within the borders of the Third Reich. It extends into Germany's new dummy-state of Czecho-Slovakia, and into that state's three autonomous component parts: Czechy, Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukrainia. Here, too, Fritz Todt, the Autobahn and the financial resources, such as they are, of the Berlin Reichsbank make themselves felt. Back of this civilian energy

(*Continued on page 34*)

*If Germany motors east along the Czecho-slovak corridor to Rumania and the Ukraine*

# The Four Ukraines

## By LUDWIG LORE

THOUGH the Munich Conference is still headline material, the promises made on that historic occasion are all but forgotten. Today even Prime Minister Chamberlain realizes that Sudeten Germany was not the last of Hitler's conquests. In a paralysis of inaction western Europe is standing by, waiting to see where Germany will next strike, continuing the program Hitler outlined in "Mein Kampf."

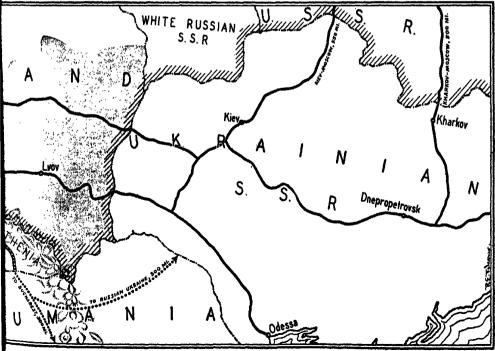
At the moment Hitler himself is deep in the systematic preparation of his next expansionist campaign. The method is the one he has used with such unvarying effect in the Saar, in Danzig, in Austria and in Sudeten Germany. Why risk a war with its grave uncertainties when nationalistic propaganda can be relied upon to turn the trick?

This time, to be sure, the prize is a pearl of great price—nothing less than the great, rich granary of eastern Europe, that region which, split up between Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Rumania and Soviet Russia, is known geographically and ethnically as Greater Ukraine.

The Ukrainians are a Slavic people, so closely related to the Russians that the early Czars refused to recognize them as a separate nationality. As late as 1863 a Czarist Minister of the Interior rejected the demands of a group of Ukrainian nationalists with the words "there never has been a Ukrainian language. It does not exist; it never will exist." In 1905, after the first Russian Revolution, the Czarist Academy of Sciences recognized the Ukrainian tongue as a separate language. In the general readjustment that followed the Revolution, Ukrainian nationalist propaganda received a powerful impetus.

By far the larger part of the Ukrainian population—about 30 millions—live in what is generally known as the Soviet Ukraine, the southeasternmost state of the U.S.S.R. Poland has a large and troublesome minority of six million Ukrainians who occupy nearly one-third of her territorial area. The Rumanian minority is much smaller, numbering a bare half-million. In Czecho-Slovakia there are some 900,000 who live in the Carpathian mountain region. Up to Munich they were known as the Ruthenians. At the request of Berlin, they are now officially referred to as Carpatho-Ukrainians.

These minorities are not altogether the product of the World War treaties. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy had a strong Ukrainian population whose struggles with the Poles it tacitly encouraged—Austria's German rulers knew that they owed their supremacy to the disunity of the national units

Current History Map

...are the road routes she might take with her new and highly mechanized automotive army.

that made up their patchwork empire. Ukrainian nationalism did not become a force, however, until after the March Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

The overthrow of the Czarist regime offered the Ukrainians the chance for which they had been waiting. They proceeded at once to the organization of the Centralna Rada Ukrainiska (Central Ukrainian Council) in Kiev which drew up a program demanding complete territorial, linguistic and cultural autonomy in accordance with the principle of "self-determination of nations" espoused by President Wilson as one of his 14 Points. The Provisional Government in Petrograd wisely gave far-reaching guarantees, with the result that three months later the Council called on its followers to support a free Ukraine ruled by a Ukrainian Parliament within the Federation of Russian Republics. The Kerensky government recognized the demands at once, but put off the calling of a Parliament until after the convocation of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

WHEN the Bolshevists took power in Russia after the November Revolution, the Centralna Rada issued another manifesto, this time in the name of the "Ukrainian People's Republic," in which it proclaimed its allegiance to a "Federation of Free and Equal Peoples." The newly created Soviet government replied with a declaration recognizing the complete autonomy of the Ukrainian state.

On January 4, 1918, a manifesto established the independence of the Ukraine and recommended to the ministers of the popular government that it make peace with the Central Powers and adopt defensive measures against the Soviet Union. On February 4 the new Republic signed a separate treaty —the so-called Bread Treaty—with the four Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk. Petlura, the head of the government, was removed from office, and in his place General Skoropadski was put into power. His rule, which lasted from April until the end of 1918, was backed up by a German army of occupation.

The overthrow of the German imperial government brought this brief interlude in Ukrainian history to a sudden end. The German army withdrew, Skoropadski was deposed, and several warring groups took up the fight for power—the Ukrainian nationalists under Petlura, the western Ukrainians of Galicia, and the Bolsheviks who proclaimed a Soviet government in Kharkov. In the end the state fell into two parts. The larger returned to Russia and became the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic; the smaller, comprising Galicia and some of Wolhynia, became part of Poland, to be still further divided by the arbitrary rulings of the post-war treaties—which gave Carpatho-Ukraine, or Ruthenia, to the Czecho-Slovaks and Bessarabia to the Rumanians.

ANNEXING the Ukraine to Germany by force of arms would be a task that not even Hitler would care to tackle under present conditions. The experience of Czecho-Slovakia has shown, however, that a vassal state, if sufficiently terrorized, can be used to excellent advantage, and what could be simpler? To annex all the Ukrainias, Germany would have to fight not only Russia, but Poland and Rumania as well, perhaps even France and Great Britain. Much simpler to let the Ukrainians create an independent and united Ukrainian state. With this end in view, Berlin is organizing what corresponds in every detail to the Henlein movement in Sudetenland. The foundations for such a movement were laid years ago by the Baltic German Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, author of the Nazi neo-pagan classic, "Myth of the 20th Century," editor of Hitler's *Voelkischer Beobachter* and master-mind of foreign policy in the German National Socialist Party.

Dr. Rosenberg is the man who put anti-Sovietism into the Nazi platform. He was born in Reval, Estonia, and studied in Riga, Latvia, when these countries were oppressed minorities under Czarist rule. He was among the first to welcome the German army of occupation when it marched into the Baltic provinces at the beginning of the World War. When he came to Munich in 1919, he identified himself with Hitler's Nazi movement at once, and has been one of its most powerful leaders ever since.

One of Dr. Rosenberg's chief functions in the National Socialist Party has been the organization of nationalist units for propaganda in the various Slavic states. Most important of these groups is the "Rond," a league of more than 5000 Russian emigres which was disbanded by Hitler in 1934 because it might "afford protection to anti-Fascist enemies," but was reorganized in 1937 under strict National Socialist control as the recognized representative of the Ukrainians in the German National Socialist Party. Its central office—a suite of ten rooms with a staff of 30 officials and foreign agents—is located in Charlottenburg, Berlin. The incidental work of the organization is done by students of Ukrainian extraction under the direction of a Nazi group leader as their contribution to the Nazi labor service. They are to carry on anti-Soviet propaganda in working-class districts, and are used as guards in concentration camps. They live under a strict military regime. Their reading is supervised, even to the books they get from the libraries, their letters are censored, they live like prisoners in Nazi barracks. After a three-year period of probation they are accepted as members of the "Rond" and enter into active service. Many of these graduates go into Poland and the Soviet Union as spies and propagandists with false passports. A secret circular of the "Rond" relates that "190 students were sent into the U.S.S.R. and 65 into Poland in the last two years. Of these, five were detected by the Soviet police . . ."

As in the case of Austria and Sudeten Germany, Ukrainians long in the Reich are organized into a Ukrainian Legion under the direction of German army officers. After Munich, the Legion was transferred to Carpatho-Ukraine where its barracks and drill-grounds enjoy the full protection of the new Czecho-Slovak government. According to latest reports there are about 7000 of these blue-grey uniformed "Siczy" (sharpshooters) in the Czech Ukraine.

The first move in the direction of a "liberated Ukraine" was made immediately after the Munich agreement. At the time, Berlin's insistence on autonomy rights for the half million Ruthenians in Czecho-Slovakia attracted little attention. But the fact that a little peasant country has become the fountain-head of a stream of separatist propaganda for a Ukranian national state, tells the rest of the story.

IN the early years of the Hitler regime, Berlin took pains to create the impression that Poland would share in the benefits of a Ukrainian nationalist coup. In fact, it was the hope that Germany and Poland would carry on a united campaign against the U.S.S.R. for the possession of the Soviet Ukraine that persuaded Poland's Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, to support the foreign policy of the Third Reich.

What has happened since Munich has put a different face on the whole Ukranian question. The Ukrainians, insofar as they are politically interested at all, are demanding independence, and are openly hostile to Poland. As for the Germans, the Ukrainians are convinced that they are using them for their own purposes. One Ukrainian nationalist leader confessed not long ago that "it should be a simple matter to shake off German domination. After that, there will be no obstacles in the way of an understanding with Warsaw."

Meanwhile, however, Warsaw and Moscow are the chief victims of a furious "Greater Ukrainian" campaign. The Polish government is answering with a wave of government terrorism. One government newspaper, replying to charges of government brutality against the Ukrainian minority, recently called to mind that German sources financed anti-Czech propaganda in Sudetenland. "Because she tolerated their propaganda, Czecho-Slovakia is today a shadow of her former self. Concessions to these elements merely encourage greater outrages. Poland is determined to learn from their experience."

The nationalist movement of Poland's Ukrainians is not of recent date. In February, 1938, the Ukrainian National Party submitted a resolution to the Polish government calling for absolute autonomy for the Ukrainians in South Poland, an independent Ukrainian Parliament, and a Ukrainian army. Only under these conditions, party leaders declared, would they be content to remain a part of the Polish nation.

Up to that time the Ukrainian Party had been a government party, but Mudjrt, its official leader, explained that three years of vain endeavor to bring about a more equable relationship between the Polish government and the Ukrainian minority, had produced no tangible results. "I warn the Polish government," he declared, "not to continue its irresponsible course, lest the Ukrainians in Poland be forced to appeal to a friendlier power for protection. Europe is in a desperate situation. We Ukrainians have nothing to lose and much to win. It would be a misfortune for Poland to become involved in a war as long as the Ukrainian question is not settled." Thus did Henlein speak just before he declared open warfare on the Czech government in Prague. Can we doubt what motivated the party's sudden change of front?

Warsaw pondered long and seriously before it replied to this challenge. Eleven months later, on December 21, the government finally notified the Ukrainian deputies in Parliament that it had investigated the whole problem of Ukrainian autonomy and had come to the unanimous decision that the proposal must be rejected, since to do so would involve a change in the Polish constitution. To initiate such a change, they would need the support of at least one-fourth of the members of Parliament. The 16 Ukrainians admitted that getting the required 52 signatures would be out of the question, and the matter was dropped.

Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union

*"What An Entrancing View!"*

But the movement itself is not dead. On the contrary, Daniel Skoropadsky, the son of the ex-general who now lives in Berlin, recently organized a new group for the express purpose of arousing sentiment for a free Ukrainia wherever Ukrainians live. He worked in the United States, where there is a large Ukrainian population, for almost a year, always well supplied with funds. With half a dozen paid agitators he addressed countless small meetings, and directed the work of the American-Ukrainian press—all in the interest of a vigorous anti-Russian, anti-Polish campaign.

On December 20, 1938, the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States met in convention at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City. The congress listened to delegates who claimed to represent the four great European minority groups, who told them that only a free Ukrainia could save Europe from another war. It was decided to make the United States the center of world propaganda for Ukrainian independence, and plans were made for the raising of an enormous fund to carry on the work.

The significance of the Ukrainian issue can hardly be overestimated. Already it has produced a complete reorientation of foreign relations in eastern Europe. It has forced the prospective victims of German aggression to patch up the antagonisms of generations, in a common front against impending Nazi aggression. With the renewal of the Russo-Polish non-aggression pact and the publicity that attended it, Warsaw has served notice on Hitler that she is fully prepared, if need be, to upset the whole diplomatic and physical balance of power in eastern Europe. The fact that it was Poland who made the advances, should give Germany, who is obviously the focal point of this alliance, pause for thought. Colonel Beck, who was visiting Berlin during the first days of January, may have given detailed information to his colleague Von Ribbentrop on that occasion.

Poland is by no means guiltless of the situation in which she finds herself today. Three months ago she strengthened the hand of predatory Berlin in Czecho-Slovakia. That she was betrayed for her pains, does not detract from her responsibility. She contributed to Hitler's rise to world power by her indirect support of the Nazi regime during the last four years. Her short-sighted foreign policy permitted Hitler to establish a military hegemony over all of eastern Europe; indeed, aided and abetted him in that undertaking.

If Hitler is to be checked in his eastward march, it will be by the new bloc—Poland, Russia and Rumania—that has come into being as a result of the Czecho-Slovakian crisis, and which may be extended to include the Baltic and perhaps—with some encouragement from Great Britain—the Scandinavian countries.

If the Reich government decides to back a Ukrainian putsch, Poland will undoubtedly be the first to suffer. There is no mistaking the meaning of the masses of war material that are being piled up along the East Prussian frontier. Danzig and the Corridor are a constant thorn in the side of German nationalists. To the Fascist imperialists, Poland is the barrier that keeps Germany from the Baltic Sea and Memel in the northeast, and from Ukrainia and the Black Sea in the southeast of Europe. As long as the Polish fleet lies in the harbor of

(*Continued on page 46*)

## Mars Motors East

(*Continued from page 30*)

stands the ominous figure of the old Prussian General Staff.

A *German* super-highway, according to the new plans, is to cut straight through little Czechy, north to south. It will start at Breslau in German Silesia and drive straight down the map to German Vienna, thus bridging Germany's great eastern gap. This road will skirt, en route, the Czech city of Bruenn. It will mean that Silesian and Austrian garrisons can be quickly mobilized up and down the eastern front, or pushed into the long runway of Czecho-Slovakia for a drive toward the Orient, or the Polish and Soviet Ukranian regions. Also, of course, from a commercial point of view the Breslau-Vienna parkway will prove itself a godsend.

Germany will pay for this highway, and will have complete judicial sovereignty over it, enjoying full extra-territorial rights. It will be a German corridor through the Czechs, similar to Uncle Sam's Canal Zone which cuts arbitrarily through the so-called Republic of Panama. And just as Panama's presidential cabinets had better be pro-American, so too the present Czecho-Slovak cabinet is markedly pro-German. German citizens will need no passports in the projected Czech corridor, nor will there be any customs inspection for loaded trucks and lorries.

But this is only the beginning of Todt and the Autobahn among the Czechs, Slovaks and Carpatho-Ukrainians. Down the whole length of Czecho-Slovakia the Prague government plans to run another super-highway, from west to far east. It will give jobs to an estimated 50,000 to 100,000 workmen, and—except for iron ore—all the necessary materials are at hand. Completion may take five or six years, but if Todt takes an active part in the job it will go through considerably faster.

Says the *Prager Presse* enthusiastically: "The first steps to execution of the project, which are being taken immediately, show the path which the Second Republic of Czecho-Slovakia wishes to tread. For the new highway from west to east will be the first big modern motor road in Central Europe, and will thus link up the Republic with the great traffic network which surrounds it."

To put things as simply as possible, German troops can motor into Czecho-Slovakia by the Breslau-Vienna corridor project, and then can chug along east on the full-length Czecho-Slovak high-speed route. This leads straight to the Rumanian frontier. Rumania is the goat, due to her rich oil wells and poor geography. For southeast through Rumania lies the way to the Black Sea and the important coastal city of Odessa in the Soviet Ukraine: a primary Nazi objective. In short, all roads lead to the Ukraine—with its wheat,

*Motor-minded and military-minded, Adolf Hitler plans an army on wheels*

its minerals and its seething, under-surface discontent.

If a Russo-German war comes, automobiles will play an important part: tanks, armored cars, trucks, staff-carriers, gun-tractors, and the like. Both the Red and German armies know this, and are preparing for it. Infantry will be motorized for speedy transport, and supported by light whippets and steel-plate juggernauts. Artillery will be hauled by machines, or loaded on them. Field-kitchens will be motor-drawn.

The Nazis fully understand that Mars is now in the motor age. The entire German automobile industry has been totalized for military needs, with an accompanying standardization of trucks and passenger cars.

All German truck manufacturers now will produce three uniform standard models: 1½-ton, 3-ton, and 5-ton machines. "In each category Colonel von Schell will select the model best suited for its dual military and civil functions," trumpets Berlin.

This process would seem to eliminate capitalist competition, and Germany still claims to be capitalistic. But the government has an answer to that. The various concerns will present competitive plans for each standard model, and the winner will be allowed to charge the other companies production royalties. This means a clean-up for the initiator of each standard truck type. No fancy gadgets or swanky bourgeois refinements will be tolerated in the passenger cars. Instead of 135 different automobile models, as at present, there will be 15 types only, all designed for military as well as private use. The manufacturers will be forced to maintain each model for several years, and to combine speed, simplicity and ruggedness. The big Mercedes six-wheeler—Hitler entered Vienna in one of these cross-country sport cars—is a favored "Schell" type. Motorcycles are also a popular German weapon, and there is so large a stock of them that the entire army could be moved on two wheels if it were desired. Germany has three armored, mechanized army divisions totalling perhaps 30,000 men, and is believed to be forming one more. Up to this year she had only a single brigade of horse cavalry. This, primarily, was to keep the rough-riding younger sons of the East Prussian Junkers happy. However, additional horse cavalry is now being created for use on the flat steppes of the East.

The German army today consists of 42 fairly good first-line divisions, very short on artillery; six poor divisions from the former Austrian army; two good reserve divisions in East Prussia; and 38 reserve divisions lacking artillery, motor transport, and suitable staff officers. This reaches a total of perhaps a million men—"too many Viennese chocolate-soldiers, not enough Mecklenburg giants," as a home critic put it. The essential weakness in reserves is accounted for by the fact that the Reich was forbidden to utilize conscription between 1919 and 1935. In the latter year it was readopted, for a two-year period, plus a preparatory six-months labor service on public works like the Autobahn.

But if Germany heads toward the Soviet Ukraine, and the Ukrainian minority of Poland, in a prospective automobile war, what of the motorization in the Russian Red Army—"the bear that walks like a man, with its head shot off," according to one wit. Certainly the brains of the Red Army, due to Stalin's purgings, are in the grave.

(*Continued on page 49*)

# Government by Test-Tube

## Kansas' idea for a laboratory to try out its laws has caught on and has been copied by six States

### By FRED C. KELLY

SEVERAL years ago, wiry, energetic Sam Wilson, manager of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce, brought his fist down on his desk and addressed a little group of callers. "If an automobile company operated the way a State legislature does," declared Sam, "you'd see cars broken down all along the road; they'd put out a new-fangled engine without first making sure it would work. That's the way we now make a law—on guesses or opinions, with no facts. No one knows if it will work, or *how*—and yet laws are the things we live by—and sometimes they determine if we shall live at all. I say a proposed law should be treated as scientifically as the materials they test in the Bureau of Standards."

Wilson set influential people thinking, the idea took hold, and in 1933 Kansas stepped out with a new device to take the guesswork out of law-making. So sensibly contrived was this device that it has since been copied in Illinois, Nebraska, Kentucky, Connecticut, Virginia and Michigan. The idea is being considered for the State of Washington; Brookings Institute has recommended it for Iowa and Oklahoma. Mexico, Chile, and other Latin-American countries have adopted it.

Obviously Kansas has "got something." It's simple enough, too. Called the Legislative Council, it consists of two well coordinated parts: a group of regularly elected members of the State legislature who determine by contact with the public what new law-making is needed or demanded; and a permanent staff of independent research experts who study, without political bias, all previous human experience that might apply to an immediate problem. The elective part of the Council consists of ten members of the Senate, 15 from the House, and the presiding officers of the two houses. No one locality has more than its proportionate share of members, and political parties are represented in the same proportion as in the legislature. The research part of the Council is headed up by the best

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How did Sam Wilson of Kansas persuade his native state to take the guesswork out of law-making?

How many states have followed the example of the Kansans?

Why did the Kansas legislators reject what seemed to be a highly productive "top-tax" on beer?

What enabled the Sunflower parliamentarians to go on vacation two months ahead of their envious Missouri neighbors, both starting even?

Why can wonders in legal research be accomplished for only an annual $20,000?

*These questions are answered in Mr. Kelly's article.*

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legislative research brains available. The Council assumes no powers of the democratically elected legislature; it merely supplies factual knowledge by which the legislature may act intelligently. When the Kansas legislature passes a law it now knows not merely that the law is workable, but exactly how it will work.

To understand that all this is really revolutionary, we must note what happens in most other States, where legislatures meet with no plan or program ready. Between legislative sessions—usually held every other year—pressing problems have accumulated. Hastily-considered laws are jammed through as remedies, without much knowledge of their probable effect. Moreover, studies show that about half the members of an average legislature are serving for the first time. Assuming that at least three terms are necessary to gain a decent amount of experience, surprisingly few could meet that test. During the period of Democratic supremacy in the Indiana House, from 1931–35, only five Democrats had been in three previous sessions. In Iowa, a few sessions back, the opposition party (Democratic) included only one man who had served even two previous terms. Important committee chairmanships in most States must go to men of scant experience. The legislative procedure is necessarily amateurish.

Kansas feels that by means of its Council, hit-or-miss methods have been largely eliminated. By having the law-making process practically continuous, instead of semi-annual and spasmodic, a sifting out of non-essentials is constantly going on. It is possible to concentrate on what is really important. Legislative members of the Council decide what jobs the researchers should tackle; the experts then go ahead to gather and analyze the facts.

THE Council meets quarterly for two or three days. During this time any legislator, the Governor, or any ordinary citizen, may make suggestions. Each proposal is referred to a special committee, though it may first have brief consideration by the whole Council. The committee receiving it may promptly eliminate the project by an unfavorable report, but if the idea has merit it is passed to the research staff for an analysis of the facts. By the time a quarterly meeting is over, the Council has usually weeded out impractical proposals, or impossible solutions to problems, and the experts are ready to devote further study to projects that give promise.

Through the Council, the need for a law is quickly translated into the framing of a workable one. At one meeting, for example, a farmer reported that bindweed was damaging crops and asked for a law to check it. The research staff was asked to get the facts. Researchers soon found out just how the weed spreads; the percentage of farms infested; and costs of eradication by various methods. Having all the facts, the legislators had to decide only if they desired a law at all, and whether the campaign on the weed should be voluntary or compulsory. Thus they were able to come to a decision, and did, almost immediately.

Another simple example of substituting facts for guesses had to do with the "habitual criminal" act—requiring life imprisonment on conviction of a third penal offense. There had been many rumors of much injustice in the operation of the act—men locked up for life because of a series of relatively minor offenses, and others escaping penalties for crimes much worse. Nearly every legislator had his theories, but no one knew the facts. The research staff collected data on every prisoner in the State penitentiary. It was then possible to show how many had evaded the spirit of the law and how many might have been punished unjustly. Without such painstaking digging for facts, no intelligent reconsideration of the existing law could have been made.

On another occasion, a legislator was insistently pushing a scheme to obtain more revenue by a higher tax on beer. No arguments moved him. But the research staff, with figures received from other States, showed conclusively that where the levy on beer was moderate, it provided more revenue than if the rates had been higher. Similar sets of figures promptly overcame theories long held in favor of a dozen other impractical means for raising more revenue.

All kinds of pet projects are quickly dropped when a sponsor learns that a similar idea was tried and discarded elsewhere years ago; or that hundreds of pages of research material available for study show most of the arguments to be on the other side. This clarifying of facts and prompt elimination of unwarranted proposals have saved much actual money and conserved a tremendous amount of time, enabling legislators to center their attention on projects of genuine importance. In 1937, for example, the legislatures in Kansas and the neighboring State of Missouri convened at about the same time, and faced similar problems. The Kansas legislature finished two months ahead of that in Missouri. Within twenty-four hours after the opening of one Kansas session, it was possible to take up any one of 42 outstanding subjects on which all the fact-finding had already been done. There was no need for long committee hearings; every bit of information they could have produced was sent in a report to every member before he left home. In such complicated legislative jobs as a social security bill, a school bill and a State police bill, the preliminary work of the Council advanced their consideration by at least two years.

*The State Capitol of Kansas, at Topeka. Kansas was the first State to take the guess-work out of legislating.*

Ordinarily the Council does not recommend what laws should be passed, though it sometimes does prepare bills in tentative form. It simply says to the legislature: "Here are the facts about questions almost sure to be considered. You can now act as seems wise." By offering facts rather than mere opinions or theories, it has avoided most of the antagonisms that sometimes arise when so-called experts are called in.

Besides aiding the legislators, this work of the research unit serves to make knowledge of impending bills common property all over the state long before a law could be passed. The research reports, summarized for easy reading, are sent not only to legislators but also to thousands of citizens who have asked for this service. Newspapers use them for editorial discussions. Legislators have a chance to learn from constituents what *they* think should be done. Another result is that lobbyists and pressure groups are placed at a disadvantage, since both legislators and the public already have the facts on both sides.

Much of the success of a legislative council seems to depend on a wise choice of research director. At the head of the staff in Kansas is Frederick H. Guild, professor of political science at the University of Kansas at the time of his appointment, who had worked in the legislative field since his graduation from Brown University a quarter of a century ago. The director's chief assistant, Mr. Strain, was previously research director for the State Chamber of Commerce, and has taught political science. There are three other research assistants—young men selected for their academic training—besides stenographers, calculating-machine operators, accountants, and clerks, a total, except at peak loads, of less than a dozen. Considering the results already obtained, the research costs are low, only $20,000 a year, or less than is spent on research by scores of small business corporations.

Why, one asks, if a State council is a good idea, would it not also be desirable for the Federal Government? The answer is that it doubtless might be. Many Congressional committees have large clerical staffs to enable them to perform important research work between sessions, but there is no central body to gather facts for legislation not foreseen by Congress.

The Kansas experiment has done much to minimize such mistakes as arise from remediable ignorance. It has created in the minds of both legislators and voters an unwillingness to decide policies without full knowledge. Here perhaps may be the greatest benefit of all: to know that facts are not to be established merely by following the latest rumor or by listening to political orators. Kansas has made a contribution to the success of the democratic idea by making a democracy more workable. Law-making by something approaching scientific precision is a step forward. Probably a Legislative Council should be standard equipment in every State of the union.

# The Meaning of Lima

## Secretary Hull's handling of the Argentina problem was the highspot of the Conference

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

ASIDE from what he himself likes to call "The Intangibles," Secretary Hull went to Lima with two very definite proposals in mind—proposals which he proceeded to sponsor the afternoon of his arrival. First and foremost, he sought unity of viewpoint among the twenty-one nations on the subject of trade and commerce. No one knew better than he that most of the Southern republics depend for their very livelihood upon the sale of their products abroad. Such countries as Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Venezuela and Cuba could not exist without their foreign markets. And interestingly enough, the markets for Argentine meat and grain, Chilean copper and nitrate and Venezuelan oil are found in Europe and not in the United States. In fact a great portion of the raw materials of several of these countries are sold in Germany and Italy, or in one way or another, pass through the hands of German and Italian traders.

For these reasons, business men and public officials in a number of Latin American countries find themselves targets for Fascist and Nazi propaganda. By means of devious trade methods, Nazis are able to bring pressure to bear upon governments and peoples that might eventually force them into a more "friendly" attitude toward totalitarian doctrines and perhaps bring them into the orbit of German and Italian influence. Mr. Hull was determined to obtain agreement upon a resolution endorsing his democratic trade policies, the chief cornerstone of which is the principle that those who subscribe to such a policy agree not to show more favors to the commerce of one country than to another.

In his second proposal he hoped to get the other twenty countries to join the United States in a bold declaration pledging themselves to stand together against the isms of the old world—Nazism, Fascism and Communism. Once they had passed these proposals, Mr. Hull reasoned that anything else accomplished at Lima would be all to the good.

Without a hitch every delegation readily agreed to the economic resolution. In fact it was voted upon and announced the very first week. Eighteen of the delegations also readily signified their willingness and intention to join in a declaration against all alien and subversive encroachments. Many of them were even willing to name names, openly defying the Rome-Berlin axis. However, Argentina and her next door neighbor, Uruguay, held out against such a drastic measure.

THE delegates from Argentina, the most highly developed and progressive of all the South American countries, insisted they were for American solidarity, all right, but they did not see the reason for putting it in writing. As one eminent Argentine journalist expressed it, "We don't wish to offend openly and in writing countries upon which we are so dependent for trade—for the sale of our meat and grain from which comes the livelihood of the Argentine people.

Of course it must be remembered that these two countries are far more European in blood and culture than any of the other Southern republics. Half the people in both countries are either of Italian birth or of Italian descent. And although they have always been the most nationalistic of all the peoples of the entire Continent, the most ready to condemn Yankee imperialism, or the interference of one country in the affairs of another, they feel much closer to Italy and the old world than to the countries of this hemisphere.

Anyway, whether sincere in their protestations of Americanism and the wish to travel exclusively with the countries of the new world, they left the impression among scores of delegates from other Latin American countries, as well as most impartial observers, that they entertained pro-European, if not pro-Italian or pro-German leanings.

"I don't think," said a prominent Peruvian, "that the Argentines would for a moment tolerate Fascist or Nazi interference or influence in their political or economic affairs. But unfortunately their every action, at least in the early part of the Conference, and even beforehand, leaves them wide open to the charge."

The Argentine press, as well as numbers of Argentine personalities, gave the impression, long before the conference convened, that they would object to United States influence at Lima. There were editorials and public speeches warning President Roosevelt against visiting the Peruvian capital, although it had long been the hope of the Peruvian government that he would do so.

Because of certain remarks in some of the President's speeches, Argentine officials claimed to believe that Mr. Hull would propose a military alliance among the American republics, an idea which had never crossed the Secretary's mind. If they were actually sincere in such a belief, there is little doubt that it was the result of clever Fascist and Nazi propaganda. For representatives of the press of both these Fascist countries had long been engaged in a crusade to discredit the good neighbor policy of the United States and divide the Americas.

Apparently with no thought of the inconsistency of his attitude, his countrymen having inveighed against the very thought of the President of the United States making a visit to the conference, the Argentina Foreign Minister, Dr. Jose Maria Cantilo, paid an ambitious and conspicuous state visit to the Peruvian government. He travelled on board a new battleship, and arrived in Lima just ahead of the official delegations from the other countries. This spectacle was given tremendous play by both the German and Italian press.

Proving further their well laid plans

to forestall the strong stand which they had reason to believe Secretary Hull would urge on the Conference, the Argentines sent out a draft of a resolution of their own in advance of the convening of the Conference. The United States delegation received a copy of it aboard the ship enroute to Lima.

This resolution made no mention of solidarity, proposed no steps against subversive influences, or the intention to defend American sovereignty against encroachments from non-American sources. It merely called for a periodical meeting of ministers of foreign affairs, supplementing the Buenos Aires Convention on Consultation, which was adopted at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace in 1936. The consultation provided by the Buenos Aires Convention had to do only with "the peaceful solution of difficulties," that might arise between two or more of the "American nations." It did not take into consideration any possibility of interference or encroachments from outside the hemisphere.

And the new resolution proposed by the Argentine delegation stated that "whereas, apart from the system of consultation stipulated in the Convention signed at Buenos Aires, for the maintenance or re-establishment of peace, it is mutually advantageous to establish a more effective contact in the event that situations should arise the scope of which may not be contemplated in that Convention," and so on, and that "the governments represented at the Eighth Inter-American Conference recommend that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics when they deem it advisable, hold meetings in the various capitals of those republics, in rotation and without giving form of character to such meetings."

From this proposal, it was perfectly apparent that what the Argentines hoped to accomplish was the adoption of a few pious words concerning cooperation in the new world, enough to save face with their neighbors, and at the same time to be able to say to any European countries that inquired into the situation, "We have not been partial as between nations of Europe and those of America." By implementing the Buenos Aires Convention only to the extent of providing for the periodical meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and making the reference to non-American states, they could say to Europe, "In our foreign relations we treat European countries and our American neighbors exactly alike."

But such were not to be the results of the Conference. Because such were not the sentiments of the vast majority of the delegations. Not only was the United States delegation determined to have something more definite and more forceful, but so were those of Brazil and Cuba, of Haiti and Columbia, of Chile and Peru, and the others. Great was the surprise of the Argentines to find that eighteen of the twenty-one countries were outspoken against any such mealy-mouthed statement as that submitted by the Buenos Aires Foreign Office. Even the nineteenth, Uruguay, privately expressed disapproval of it.

N. E. A.

*That Quiet Guy in the State Department*

And here followed one of the wisest pieces of statesmanship that will ever be recorded in Pan-American history. Except for the wisdom and judgment of Cordell Hull, the fire eaters would have been rewarded by dramatics aplenty. When it was found that eighteen and possibly nineteen countries were lined up together on a strong and forthright declaration of solidarity, Mr. Hull could easily have forced such a declaration through the Conference without the other two nations, thus isolating Argentina and her little neighbor. It would have been a grand story. It would have made great headlines. And Mr. Hull would have been a more thrilling hero. But on the other hand the Americas would have been split. The Fascists could have said, "We told you so. It is the old trick of the Yankee—imperialism, rule and ruin."

Mr. Hull chose to practice cooperation and American solidarity. Not for one moment did he play the game of the sharp trader, the strong man, the imperialist, the European type of leader. He chose to be patient and appear to be losing. He chose to let the Argentines appear to be dominating the Conference. He made no speech, gave out no statement. Meantime the Fascist press did say he was losing; that the Argentines were dominating the Conference; even a large segment of the American press joined the chorus.

What the gray-haired Tennesseean was actually doing was burning the midnight oil, working behind the scenes. He knew that the Argentines knew they couldn't afford to stand out against all the balance of Latin America. He knew they would make concessions, but being the proud sensitive people they are they could not afford to lose face. He helped them to save their face. Meantime they began hurriedly to mend their fences. However he left it to Peruvians, Brazilians and others to press forward his claims.

Presently, the Argentines made another proposal of their own. They took ideas from all the previous drafts of the resolution on solidarity, those of the United States and several of the other countries, and incorporated them into a draft of their own. When Mr. Hull read it he agreed at once to accept it, because it contained ninety per cent of what he had first proposed, including the Argentine proposal for the periodical meeting of ministers of foreign affairs.

The new proposal, and the one which was finally adopted, said that, "The peoples of America have achieved spiritual unity through the similarity of their republican institutions, their unshakeable will for peace, their profound sentiment of humanity and tolerance, and through their absolute adherence to the principles of international law, of the equal sovereignty of States and of individual liberty without religious or racial prejudices;

"That on the basis of such principles and will, they seek and defend the peace of the continent and work together in the cause of universal concord;

"That respect for the personality, sovereignty, and independence of each American State, constitutes the essence of international order sustained by continental solidarity, which historically has found expression in declaration of various States, or in agreements which were applied, and sustained by

new declarations and by treaties in force;

"That the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held at Buenos Aires, approved on December 21st, 1936, the Declaration of the Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation, and approved, on December 23, 1936, the Protocol of Non-Intervention;

"Therefore the Governments of the American States declare:

"First. That they reaffirm their continental solidarity and their purpose to collaborate in the maintenance of the principles upon which the said solidarity is based;

"Second. That, faithful to the abovementioned principles and to their absolute sovereignty, they reaffirm their decision to maintain them and to defend them against all foreign intervention, or activity that may threaten them;

"Third. And in case the peace, security or territorial integrity of any American Republic is thus threatened by acts of any nature that may impair them, they proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, coordinating their respective sovereign wills by means of the procedure of consultation, established by conventions in force and by declarations of the Inter-American Conferences, using the measures which in each case the circumstances may make advisable. It is understood that the Governments of the American Republics will act independently in their individual capacity, recognizing fully their juridical equality as sovereign states;

"Fourth. That in order to facilitate the consultations established in this and other American peace instruments, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, when deemed desirable and at the initiative of any one of them, will meet in their several capitals by rotation and without protocolary character. Each Government may, under special circumstances or for special reasons, designate a representative as a substitute for its Minister for Foreign Affairs."

To Cordell Hull it did not matter whether the form of the Declaration came from Argentina or from someone else, so long as the substance was what he wished. To the self-effacing Secretary of State, it was of little concern whether he got the credit for writing "The Declaration of Lima" so long as it was written.

As a matter of fact, he proposed that it be known as "The Declaration of Lima." And when the Conference was over he was called the "Father of American Solidarity." Every delegate gave him credit for the one big accomplishment of the Conference. As final evidence of its regard the Conference selected him to respond to the farewell address of the Peruvian President at the State Banquet in the magnificent Government Palace on the night following adjournment.

Although the "Declaration of Solidarity" will be regarded as the most conspicuous accomplishment of the Lima Conference, there were other and equally significant developments. The Declaration of American Principles, a re-statement of the various peace instruments that have been adopted at previous Conferences, is an important landmark. These instruments provide that "The non-intervention of any State in the internal or external affairs of another is inadmissible; that all differences of an international character should be settled by peaceful means; that the use of force as an instrument of a national or international policy is proscribed; that relations between States should be governed by the precepts of international law; that respect for and the faithful observance of treaties constitute the indispensable rule for the development of peaceful relations between States." This Declaration was also fostered by Mr. Hull and the American delegation.

*Argentine Foreign Minister Jose Maria Cantilo addresses the Lima Conference. Through Cantilo's efforts Secretary Hull's plan for a continental defense strategy was shelved.*

With Asia aflame with war and bloody conquest; with the Near East, even the Holy Land itself, in revolt; with a martial cyclone raging in historic Spain, and the dictators of Europe bragging and bullying their neighbors, this congress of American leaders offered a splendid opportunity for strengthening the bulwarks of peace and neighborliness within this hemisphere. Knowing fully well that all the subversive influences of a Europe gone mad were already at work south of the Gulf and the Rio Grande, most people looked to Lima as a city of hope, a city where new world statesmanship might be able to forge instruments of defense against the onrush of destructive forces from without.

When Dr. Carlos Concha, Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, mounted the rostrum on the afternoon of December 9th to declare the Congress open for business he faced more newspaper correspondents, radio commentators, writers and observers than had ever before attended such a gathering.

Although, as in most such conferences, enthusiasm ebbed and hopes ran low during the second and most of the third week, while committees were struggling to harmonize the proposals and viewpoints of the various countries, the conference ended in a veritable orgy of agreements and declarations. In fact, in many ways it was the most successful of all Pan-

American Conferences. At least none before has adjourned amid such outward evidences of good will.

The programs of all Pan-American meetings are planned long in advance with meticulous care. Each country is asked to suggest to the Program Committee what projects and proposals it wishes to have considered. Such proposals are then submitted to all the other governments for comment and opinion, so that whatever is finally included in the official agenda has general approval.

Foremost among the topics agreed upon for discussion and consideration at Lima were the highly debatable projects for an all American League of Nations and an Inter-American Court of Justice. Strangely enough, neither of these carefully planned proposals got to first base. They were passed over, or under (neither of them is likely to be heard from again) with only cursory mention. It is doubtful if Secretary Cordell Hull and his delegation ever gave more than passing thought to the possibility of an American League or an Inter-American Court.

I think that one of the most significant facts about this, as well as previous Pan-American Conferences, is that everything was based upon the principle of unanimity. The decisions and laws of this country are made by the majority, but Pan-American decisions and policies are enacted only after unanimous agreement. Yet in the eighteen days of the Lima Conference the Americas found themselves in unanimous agreement on exactly one hundred and eleven different plans and proposals effecting their foreign policy. On an average of six times every day, including Sundays, the representatives of twenty-one different nations saw eye to eye on matters running the entire gamut of their material, political, social and cultural life.

If my state legislator, or the United States Congress ever presents such a record of collective accomplishment and cooperation, I shall feel that the age of legislative miracles is not altogether impossible. At any rate, the results of the Lima Conference lead me to believe that in their international relations, at least, unity of thought and action among the Americas is already an actuality.

# The Record at Lima

*Excerpts from the address delivered by President Oscar R. Benavides of Peru welcoming the delegates to the eighth International Conference of the American States on Dec. 9:*

Today, in this genuinely American assembly we feel the spiritual presence of all the States beyond our continent.

They are interested in observing how we here affirm and increase the political and juridicial cohesion of the twenty-one peoples who have organized that they may follow together the uncertain stages of the future in a caravan united by similar sentiments and directed by an undivided collective conscience.

We know that sociological gravitations, political concepts, international traditions and groupings create different sets of conditions in different continents. This, however, cannot disturb our mission even when it obliges us to be on our guard.

Because of this, America, even though it must think of its security, which is a primary obligation, defends its moral unity above everything else. The Americas desire to be strong in order that they may be respected, but there is not and cannot be any continental imperialism either in the political, economic or spiritual sense.

As the qualified spokesmen of your nations, you undoubtedly know very well that it has been impossible to express our continental solidarity in juridicial formulas but rather on a basis of the moral concept that constitutes that solidarity. In this those formulas have been and always must be based.

I invite you to make a new effort toward the affirmation of this moral solidarity and for the preservation of the existing system of international pacts, which has made so much progress in recent years, thereby guaranteeing relations of our States and respect for their sovereignty.

*Excerpts from Secretary Hull's speech of Dec. 10:*

Unfortunately, in recent years, powerful forces in some parts of the world have challenged the validity of the primary and basic principles upon the foundation of which we and the rest of mankind have been building the edifice of our social organization and of our international life.

The right of each nation to manage its own affairs free from outside interference; recognition of the sovereignty and equality of states irrespective of size and strength; respect for the pledged word and the sanctity of treaty obligations—these and numerous other basic principles must be the governing rules of international conduct if peace rather than anarchy is to prevail and civilization is to advance.

Our conference must extend and make more secure the basis of sound and healthy economic relations among nations.

*Excerpts from the address of José Maria Cantilo, Foreign Minister of Argentina, before the Conference on Dec. 10:*

American solidarity is a fact, which no one doubts, and which no one could doubt. For this we do not need any special pacts. A pact is already made in our history.

We are resolved to resist with the same tenacity, either by preventive measures or by combined direct action, everything that implies a threat against the American order, to every infiltration of men or ideas that reflect or tend to implant in our soil and in our spirit concepts foreign to our ideas, ideals that are antagonistic to ours, regimes that menace our liberties, theories that threaten the social and moral peace of our people or political fantasies that cannot prosper under the sky of the Americas.

History as well as geography imposes on the Latin peoples of this continent the spiritual unity found in our association in the same original culture and in our neighborliness. Also our history as well as our geography makes us one with the United States, whose policy was to safeguard the early footsteps of these countries and whose friendship, symbolized today in the noble figure of Roosevelt, is a still further guarantee for each one of us.

Argentina believes that each American country, with its own unmistakable identity, should develop its own policy without forgetting, however, the great continental solidarity nor the natural influence of reciprocal interests which group them geographically.

Continental solidarity, but individual policy. The two terms are not irreconcilable. Our continental solidarity must not exclude that which unites us with the rest of the human race and we cannot disinterest ourselves in what occurs outside of America.

Just as the United States maintained the Open Door policy in China and were led to interest themselves in the Hawaiian Islands and later, after the war with Spain, to obtain the cession of the Philippine Islands, in other words to maintain a policy that was not exclusively American, so the interests that the River Plate countries, including Argentina, have in European markets weigh on their national and international policies.

We feel ourselves closely associated with Europe by the immigration we have received from her . . . by European capital, which has developed our agricultural and . . . other industries.

From Spain we received our blood and our religion. From France and Great Britain as well as from the United States we received the doctrinal direction of our democratic institutions. French culture has contributed largely in the formation of our intellectual life while Italy and Germany have contributed to important aspects of our evolution. European influence predominates in our universities and in our schools.

*Excerpts from Secretary Hull's address broadcast Dec. 13 to the United States from the Pan-American Conference:*

Let me express first the clear impression I already have gained from my conversations with my colleagues of other countries—that there exists between us a measure of moral and spiritual unity far greater than ever before.

That excessive short-sighted nationalism which always existed to a great or lesser extent seems definitely to have subsided in the face of a grave world situation.

Taking the situation as it existed, the Montevideo conference of 1933 contributed much to a solution of these difficulties. Agreements signed there condemned the use of force as an instrument of national policy and placed the American republics solemnly on record in support of a world order based on law and justice.

They also recorded the intention of these republics to work toward the elimination of excessive barriers to commerce and to seek to develop trade on a basis of equal opportunity, which is the best basis for mutual economic benefit and freedom from arbitrary dictations and discriminations connected with other types of trade agreements.

Now, at this meeting at Lima, we have undertaken to discuss implementation of agreements already reached, and to provide further effective measures for consultation and cooperation in all matters of common concern.

I am absolutely convinced that every one of the American republics desires to live in peace and work in friendly cooperation with every other nation in the world.

We do not seek to impose our form of government or our institutions upon other peoples. We do believe international relations can be conducted on the basis of peace and international law and order, an appreciation of each other's problems, and recognition that the welfare of peoples is the primary concern of governments.

*Excerpts from the address by Secretary of State Cordell Hull at the plenary session of the Conference on Dec. 24:*

Let us not minimize the true value of the accomplishments of this conference. Our deliberations have added, to our common continental faith, new substantive principles and new procedure of consultation.

These deliberations took form in the declaration in this conference of the principles of the solidarity of America, the Declaration of Lima. Closely associated with it are two vigorous resolutions, one offering sweeping condemnation of racial and religious bigotry and intolerance everywhere; the other condemning in this hemisphere the collective political activity of groups of aliens.

It can be accurately stated that the declaration which the conference approves today, while not dramatized or amplified as to details, contains the substance of the various other proposals advanced by a number of us during the conference.

We have spent long and profitable days in intimate exchange of views. We have discussed at length the policies and purposes that animate our governments. We have come to know each other's hearts and minds.

Out of these exchanges has come this declaration, this common formulation of our common policy. Its formulation illustrates the use and meaning of the conference method. We have proven our ability to use this method successfully and to find thereby the phrases and instruments suitably expressive of our common aims.

Already the tasks ahead are all too plain. We still must seek untrammeled freedom of economic life so that men and nations freely exchanging the product of their hands and heads can attain their greatest economic well-being. We still need a world in which universally there is recognized the system of order under an international law so much respected that force is not needed, just as force is not needed to maintain the several sovereignties of the friendly nations here represented one against another.

There still is needed the moral crusade whereby the soul of every one, even the humblest of our citizens, may be liberated and raised to its greatest capacity so that each of the many millions on our continent may find his greatest opportunity to serve his country, his fellow-men and his God.

*Excerpts from the address of Dr. Carlos Concha, chairman, closing the Conference on Dec. 27:*

The critical conditions through which the world is passing today imperatively demand that the Americas, watchful of their common interest, should advance toward realization of solidarity and that they should halt not with merely setting forth the undeniable historical fact that every act capable of disturbing the peace of the hemisphere affects each and every one of the nations which form that hemisphere.

It was urgent that we make an effort to give structural form to our announced solidarity, and realization of this duty contributed greatly to the importance and exceptional value of this Lima assembly.

Having signed the declaration of Dec. 24 [on American solidarity], we have cause to boast that we have not betrayed the confidence of our people, that we have not been indifferent to the voice of geography and history, and that we have insured great progress in the tightening of our American community.

After today we can affirm with absolute justification that that association has ceased to be merely a generous aspiration but has been converted into a living force that can be called upon to function whenever outside activities threaten our vital interests.

# WPA: A Community Appraisal

## Hundreds of individual communities have surveyed and reported on the work of their local projects

By ROSCOE WRIGHT

*The editors have asked the Works Progress Administration to prepare an article giving an official appraisal of its work to date. They learned that an appraisal is now being made, not by the department itself, but by community groups throughout the country which have been asked to conduct surveys and give their candid opinions of the work being done in their own localities. Roscoe Wright, an official of the central Washington bureau of the WPA, tells in the accompanying article what the surveys have shown to date.*

BECAUSE of the wide range of conflicting opinion concerning the WPA, we who are on the inside of it have long felt that the program ought to be appraised by some objective outside agency.

Concerning a program so large and so widely discussed, there should be available to any interested citizen or group a broad cross-section of specific outside judgments which would show how well or badly it has served the purpose of providing jobs for the unemployed, and to what extent it has or has not provided communities with useful public improvements and services.

A national appraisal of the WPA Work Program, based upon its accomplishments, community by community from coast to coast, was obviously the way to answer such questions independently. It should, of course, be made by people outside the WPA.

There have been, here and there, local surveys or summaries of WPA work, it is true. Some have been of excellent quality, but all have been limited in scope. For example, a survey of the Federal Arts projects, and another cross-section survey dealing with WPA workers, their efficiency and employability, have been conducted by the magazine, *Fortune*. This work has been praised as a scientific "spot-check," but it covered only about a dozen communities. There has never been a comprehensive outside appraisal of the Work Program.

***Two Nashville, Tennessee, ladies piece quilts on a WPA project while the forelady looks on.***

Now such an appraisal is nearing completion. It is being conducted by representatives of eleven national organizations such as the American Society of Planning Officials, the American Public Welfare Association and the United States Conference of Mayors.

A little more than a year ago, these organizations launched the first United States Community Improvement Appraisal. They include (in addition to the three already named) the American Engineering Council, the American Institute of Architects, the American Municipal Association, the National Aeronautic Association, the National Education Association (Department of Adult Education), the National Recreation Association, the United States Bureau of Public Roads and the Works Progress Administration.

As can be seen, these organizations represent various shades of economic and social thinking, which should guarantee a well-balanced judgment, fairly representative of the American people as a whole.

The National Appraisal Committee selected by these agencies is still working, and will review some 7,897 local surveys before submitting its final report. Only a general outline of the plan of procedure and some of the striking highlights of the local and State appraisals, all of which are now completed, can be given at this time.

The plan of the appraisal is simple. In each of the 42 States which agreed to cooperate, the national sponsors selected a State sponsor of appraisals. This sponsor was usually a State-wide organization, such as the State Planning Board, the League of Cities, the State University, etc. In some States several sponsors were named.

Each State organization then took two primary steps. First, it invited all mayors, executive heads of coun-

ties and heads of State departments to report fully and frankly to it on their entire experience in the use of the unemployed on public works. Second, it appointed a State Appraisal Committee to check, review and evaluate the local reports after they were made.

The quality of the personnel on these State committees was important, since in a sense they acted as judges of the validity of the reports by local officials. A national tabulation of these 42 State Appraisal Committees reveals that they included:

Sixteen presidents of universities or colleges; 34 members of university and college faculties; 37 presidents or other representatives of State-wide organizations of women (club federations, women voters, etc.); 70 presidents or other representatives of State-wide, civic or business organizations such as Chambers of Commerce; 25 ministers and representatives of welfare organizations; 56 State officials; 107 county officials; 24 editors and publishers; 3 representatives of labor organizations; and 28 miscellaneous persons, including bank presidents and others prominent in business or community life.

The State committees received detailed descriptions of projects within the communities studied, together with reports on the progress of the work, the efficiency of workers, the value to the community as a whole of completed projects and the effect upon the unemployed of being put to work instead of being given a dole.

The detailed studies were made in every case by those within the community who had first-hand knowledge of the work being done. From the studies emerged the answers to a dozen questions uppermost in every mind which seriously considers the problem of unemployment and relief, to wit:

1. Were the improvements and services provided under the Work Program badly needed and of benefit to the communities?

2. Has the Work Program covered the field of needy employables?

3. Has work relief maintained the skills and employability of the project workers?

4. What has been the quality of workmanship?

5. Are the public facilities constructed under the Work Program of permanent value?

6. Have the non-construction activities been worthwhile?

7. What has been the effect of the Work Program on the fiscal condition of governmental subdivisions?

8. Has public health been improved?

9. Has the program developed long-range community planning?

10. Has work relief advanced the community and State improvement programs?

11. Is work relief better than the dole (a) for the employable unemployed, (b) for the community?

12. What has been the quality of the administration of the Program?

The 7,897 local reports form the basis of both State and national appraisals. They are uneven in their efficiency and clarity, because of the varying ability of communities to obtain technical assistance in their project studies. The smaller communities were represented by lay people, whereas in the larger cities and States, technical help was available—a civil engineer to judge the engineering and construction jobs; a recreation expert to judge the play facilities provided, etc. Several States did not submit reports at all, due to lack of organization or volunteer committeemen to devote their time to the studies involved. The States of Montana, Washington and Minnesota produced outstanding community and State reports, utilizing more technical aid to local as well as State reports. But definitely illuminating documents came also from Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Florida, Louisiana and California, and from many points between.

Despite the unevenness in the reports, the appraisal is by and large representative, and furnishes a better basis than has been available heretofore for a general, if not a scientific, summary of the work accomplished, as well as for an estimate of the efficacy of public work as a means of caring for the fluctuating reserve of employables not absorbed by private industry.

Although the National Committee has not yet submitted its final nation-wide appraisal, a perusal of the nearly 8,000 local reports now being reviewed by committee representatives, reveals certain facts. One fact is that the day of talk about "boondoggling" is past. The heyday of the "boondoggle" joke was in the earliest period of work relief. Opinions will vary, of course, as to how much truth there was in the joke then. But if the projects of those days were hasty and ill-conceived, those of today are not found to be so. It may be that mistakes have been remedied, or that hasty judgments were unjust. How much was fact and how much was fiction in the talk of boondoggling is now a matter for antiquarian research.

The communities of America see nothing funny about their WPA projects today. Each road, each schoolhouse, hospital, park, playground and public service that goes to make up

*No, this isn't a new parlor game, but WPA workers inoculating Kentucky flood victims against typhoid.*

the total sum of 200,000 miles of streets, roads and highways constructed and repaired; 23,000 schools and hospitals built or improved; increased playground and park facilities provided; millions of garments made for the destitute poor and for victims of disasters; music for the multitude; literacy for over a million who could not read and write—each of the separate local items, as they appear in the community reports, is taken with the greatest seriousness.

This is conspicuously true of virtually all of the thousands of community reports that I have been privileged to read. The National Committee met in Washington recently for a round-table discussion prior to tackling its final task, and I cannot forecast what its report will say. But I can speak of the local reports from my own knowledge of them. I can say that work relief, as the producer of community improvements and services on a large scale, and as a means of giving bona fide work—not tinkering—to the unemployed, has met with the approval of practically all of the communities which have sent in reports.

And how many communities does that mean? Averaged out, it means more than 150 communities for every State in the nation.

These reports make many suggestions for the improvement of the work program in various respects. No one thinks it is perfect. For that matter, neither do we. And we regard this mass of constructive suggestions for improvement of the program as one of the most valuable outgrowths of the survey.

There is a wide divergence of opinion in the local replies to some of the questions—the widest, perhaps, in answering the question: Has the Work Program covered the field of the employable unemployed? In some communities, the answer was an unqualified "yes;" in others an equally emphatic "no." Some said "yes, at times; but no, when seasonal employment was slack." Added up, there were far more "nays" to this question than to any other.

There was some difference of opinion as to the quality of WPA workmanship, but the vast majority took an affirmative tone in discussing this point. "Yes," said the bulk of the reports, "WPA workmanship is as good as the *average* workmanship on similar jobs done under private contract." Those reporting adversely said for the most part that it was "as good as could be expected under the circumstances"—having in mind the necessity for utilizing labor in need of retraining and rehabilitation.

*"Now," says Walter Donaldson, "I'm not cheatable any more." Claude Heater, teacher on a WPA adult education project, shows Donaldson how to figure.*

Sometimes there was very high praise for WPA workmanship. This may surprise some people. But in the depression thousands of highly skilled persons were thrown out of employment; and there was no valid reason for supposing that, given a chance, they could not do good work. They have done good work, according to the communities in which that work has been accomplished.

The construction program, which employs 74 per cent of all WPA labor, is generally more popular than the projects which provide intangible assets, the local reports reveal. Practically every State reported that its construction program—the roads and highways, the airports, schools and court houses built or repaired—represents valuable and permanent civic assets to the communities.

Non-construction activities—public health, library extension and recreation services, education, the sewing projects, hot lunches for school children, the four Federal Arts projects designed for employment of needy persons with special talents—had the definite general approval of two-thirds of the State committees reporting.

I believe every citizen sincerely interested in solving America's No. 1 problem—unemployment—will be interested in the verdict of this first United States Community Improvement Appraisal. We in the WPA do not expect that, as summed up in national form, it will be altogether favorable. It will put a finger on our weaknesses. But in doing so, it should help toward a better job.

Over one-third of the entire WPA program is devoted to roads, streets, bridges, and related facilities. The mileage of roads and streets, newly built or improved by the WPA, would reach eighteen times around the globe. Nearly every American community has requested WPA projects of this type.

Such work is highly desirable from an employment standpoint. About four-fifths of those the WPA must employ are manual workers, unskilled or semiskilled. Road building is a type of work they can do. Moreover, road work can be spread widely through farm areas to employ rural workers, and expanded or contracted to meet seasonal conditions such as the harvest. In many areas, such work has been virtually suspended during peak harvest seasons, to supply field workers, and resumed after the harvest layoffs.

Farm-to-market or secondary roads, falling outside both the Federal and State highway systems, have been the chief beneficiary of the WPA road program. Over 39,000 miles of such roads have been newly constructed—enough to span the country twelve times—while the mileage of existing rural roads improved (140,000) would reach five times around the globe.

To hundreds of thousands of farm families, these improvements mean the certainty that the doctor can reach them in time of crisis, the assurance that perishable crops can move to market when ready, reliable mail and school bus service and, in general, a wide new social vista. Education, improvement, and higher land values are the byproducts of getting the farmer out of the mud.

—*Inventory: An appraisal of the Works Progress Administration.*

# The Myth of Economic Matriarchy

## The facts do not support the assertion that America's wealth is rapidly passing to women

### By CLARISSA WOLCOTT DELANEY

BACK in the eighteenth century polite writers referred to them as "females." Fifty years ago the press spoke of them, with Victorian delicacy, as "ladies." But the frank modern generation calls them simply "women."

Such fashions in vocabulary are symbolic of woman's slow climb to equality with men in most countries of the world. Today 150 million women share with their erstwhile lords and masters the privilege of voting. France, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Italy, Japan, Egypt, Persia, Argentina, Colombia and Bermuda are the few leading nations which still make the casting of a ballot a strictly stag affair. In the United States, Great Britain, Turkey and Sweden, on the other hand, women play important roles in political life, and to a lesser extent in the economic sphere.

But of all the world's women, the American is still the most privileged. Perhaps it was the scarcity of women in the frontier communities when this nation was young that caused American men, in the words of European observers, to "place their womenfolk on a pedestal and worship them." Perhaps it was the courage and self-reliance of the pioneer woman who shot Indians and game, built new communities and raised families shoulder-to-shoulder with her husband, that led the new states to grant her the right to vote, and elect her to school boards and legislatures and even gubernatorial chairs. Today, thanks to the Nineteenth Amendment, American women share with men a large, if hardly equal, role in the political life of the nation.

In our economic life as well, American women play no mean role. Economists, historians, members of the advertising fraternity have all taken their pens in hand during the past decade to portray the great and rapidly increasing economic dominance of women. Seventy per cent of the wealth of the United States, they tell us, is in the hands of women. By the year 2025, their argument proceeds, all the wealth of the nation will be their hands if the present trend continues. Women, it is said, already spend 80 per cent of the national income, even buying a great deal of clothing for their husbands and sons. The Advertising Federation of America has declared that advertising shows recognition of the fact that women are the potential buyers of consumers' goods.

THE notion that America is well on the road to an economic matriarchy seems to have been first advanced in a report issued back in March, 1929, by Lawrence Stern and Company, a New York and Chicago brokerage house. Based upon statistics of the Department of Labor, of the Treasury Department and upon certain corporation reports, the report flatly stated that "41 per cent of the nation's wealth was controlled by women" and that, judging from statistics, all wealth would be in feminine hands by 2025 A.D.

The report pointed out that in 1929 women were beneficiaries of 80 per cent of the $95,000,000 worth of life insurance policies then in force. They paid taxes on three and a quarter billion dollars of the annual income; they comprised a majority of the stockholders of the largest corporations; women millionaires were as numerous as men; women were receiving 70 per cent of the estates left by men; and 64 per cent of those left by women. Moreover, 8,500,000 women were gainfully employed.

This thesis of economic matriarchy was further developed by Cathrine Curtis, national director of an organization called Women Investors in America, Incorporated. "Women," Miss Curtis declared in an article in the September, 1935, issue of *Nation's Business*, "own three-quarters of America's wealth and hold one-quarter of its jobs. Sixty-five per cent of the savings accounts, totaling $14,242,-800,000 were in women's names, she said. They held 48 per cent of the stock of all railroad corporations, worth $4,800,000,000; 44 per cent of the homes and farms, and 11,000,000 gainful jobs. Where she obtained these figures, Miss Curtis did not say.

Let us take a critical glance at Miss Curtis' figures. The face value of the life insurance held by women in 1935 did aggregate $100,000,000—but the actual present-day value in cash turn-in is but $25,000,000. Nor does the cash surrender value in all—or even most—cases belong to the beneficiary.

Probably the only serious and scholarly investigation the subject has ever received was made by Mary S. Branch at the University of Chicago in 1934; it was later published in the *Industrial Arts Index*. Miss Branch examined the amount of women's income and their ownership of property. Federal income tax reports for 1928 were used as the principal criterion of income, supplemented by reports from three Wisconsin counties in 1930.

Her study of the 1928 Federal income tax returns convinced Miss Branch that women owned 28 per cent of all income reported that year. But before taking these figures too seriously, one must remember that only approximately 3.3 per cent of the population filed income tax returns that year. Married men earning up to $3500 were exempt from filing returns—and the average annual wage of all persons employed in 1929 was less than $1500. Unmarried women had to report any income greater than $1500. It is impossible to determine what proportion on joint returns of married persons is actually the income of the wife. Of persons reporting more than $5000 income, 38 per cent were women. Thus, while it is extremely dangerous to generalize from this insufficient evidence, it does seem reasonable that in all classes the average amount of per capita income is greater for men than for women.

This conclusion is borne out by income tax returns for the State of Delaware. While the number of women filing returns about equalled the number of men, approximately 75 per cent of the women reported income under $100. Ninety per cent of the women reported income of less than $1000, but only 35 per cent of the men were in that class. Only eight per cent of the women were in the income class above $1000, but this class included 62 per cent of the men.

An analysis of the stockholders of 55 corporations disclosed that while women averaged 43 per cent of all their stockholders, they owned only 22 per cent of the total shares.

An extended analysis of one-tenth of the policies of the Great Northern Life Insurance Company showed that 69 per cent of the total beneficiaries named were women, 21 per cent were men and 10 per cent institutions. From 1911 to 1931, 77 per cent of the beneficiaries paid were women and only nine per cent men. But all the estimates of life insurance aggregates are misleading, because most of the insurance policies in force—the record for 1934 was 70 per cent—are industrial and pay amounts so small that they are just enough to cover burial and medical costs and last debts.

It is true, therefore, that many income tax returns are filed by women; that a good deal of the stock of large corporations is owned by women; and that the beneficiaries of most of the insurance outstanding are women. But women's stake in taxes, stock and insurance, judged purely on a dollars-and-cents basis, is only a fraction of the total amounts involved.

Nor does the notion that women's ownership of wealth is rapidly increasing, stand up under close examination. On December 31, 1900, women comprised 53 per cent of the stockholders of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. In the 32 years following, this figure was increased by only 2.3 per cent. To analyze her few sources and reach an inconclusive result, Miss Branch went to a prodigious amount of work and trouble.

One thing is certain—in spite of all the chatter about women's control of wealth and women's business acumen, only one of America's great fortunes has been amassed by the efforts of a woman. She was Hetty Green, the greedy, penurious eccentric who left $67,385,447 when she died in 1916. But Hetty Green, significantly enough, had inherited $1,910,000 to give her a good start on fortune's path.

The magazine *Fortune* once estimated that 22 women besides Hetty Green were worth $25,000,000 or more. The others were heiresses all—ladies like Josephine Hartford, Barbara Hutton Haugwitz-Reventlow and Lorraine Manville Dresselhuys—whose careers are characterized by luxury and spending, yachts and castles in foreign lands, extravagant entertainment and personal adornment. And many of the wealthy heiresses and widows, it should be remembered, bequeath what is left of their fortunes to sons.

The notion that advertising's primary appeal is to women will not stand up under very close scrutiny. Even the most superficial sort of investigation challenges these conclusions. In the *Saturday Evening Post* for March 5, 1938, 10.37 pages of advertising copy seem directed to women, almost an equal amount of 10.875 pages to men, and the balance of 32.87 seem indistinguishable in sex aim. The issue of a week later, March 12, 1938, had 4.37 pages directed to women, 15.18 pages to men, and 11.31 pages indistinguishable. The February, 1938, *Cosmopolitan* shows 20.33 pages directed to men, 10.55 pages to women and eight pages indistinguishable. The March issue of the *Farm Journal,* which includes a women's section, discloses a similar distribution. Two full evenings spent listening to radio advertising on national networks led to the conclusion that its appeal was directed in equal measure to both sexes. If, as is often said, women spend the family income in large part, it seems that men tell them what to buy.

On the basis of my own study of the problem—and considering the manifold aspects of the problem, I readily admit that it is a superficial one—I would suggest that women own perhaps 20 per cent of the wealth and income of the United States. If it is true that women in the United States exert too much power and influence in our cultural and social life—if it is true, as foreign observers are fond of telling us, that women wear the pants in America—one must look beyond the economic sphere for evidence.

## The Four Ukraines

(*Continued from page* 33)

Gdynia between Koenigsberg and Kiel, Germany's naval strength can be challenged with impunity. Not long ago Berlin tried persuading Warsaw to move into Lithuania, in the hope that she would give up the Corridor in a diplomatic deal for German backing. Indeed, Germany's high-pressure propaganda in and about Memel may be an indication that she still entertains the forlorn hope of finding a peaceable answer to her Corridor claims.

That Germany should be deeply interested in an autonomous Ukraine, is easy to understand. In the first place, a Ukraine controlled by the Reich would open the road to the Soviet Union, and bring Hitler a great step nearer to his ultimate goal—the final destruction of the Soviet government.

Meanwhile, however, there are more immediate and equally important considerations. Soviet Ukraine with its most fruitful land in all Europe and its population of 30 million souls is, from an economic point of view, one of the most important territorial units on the European continent. The country is so rich in every conceivable product that Germany would be more than willing to leave well enough alone and leave Poland, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia their respective Ukrainian minorities—if that were possible without completely alienating the nationalist feeling of the Ukrainians themselves.

Were Germany to succeed in turning the Ukraine into a vassal state, she would have at her disposal what could be developed into the richest source of every conceivable raw and manufactured product in all Europe. In other words, mastery over Soviet Ukraine would make the Third Reich independent of all the rest of the world and master of its own destiny in the truest sense of the word. Such is Hitler's goal.

Germany has reached the turning point in her history. If she succeeds in this, the greatest of all her schemes of aggression, she will be able, with the aid of her authoritarian allies, to challenge the other great nations of the world for supremacy.

# Cultural Barometer

V. F. CALVERTON

At eighty-two, George Bernard Shaw continues to be news. He is one of the few authors of pre-War derivation whose influence and prestige have not been eclipsed by the mischievous and mercurial procession of events of the last two decades. He has yet to cease writing, although a decade ago he warned the world that he was rapidly growing senile and should not be held strictly accountable for any outcropping aberrations of personality. Shaw has always been a wise fox and his defense plea saved him from annihilation by the critical werewolves and vampires. The result has been that no matter how dull or unexciting his plays have been, in these latter years of his life, the critics have viewed them with a kindly tolerance, "pulled their punches," smiled benignly, and said little. Obviously the less they said the better. Shaw knew that—and they knew it. It was an open conspiracy.

Today, however, Shaw has made a "come-back" in a new field—the cinema. Not so many years ago, the Mephistophelian wit declared that he would never allow his plays to be filmed. His contempt for the cinema was so great that he viewed the suggestion that he have his dramas filmed as nothing short of sacrilegious. But now his *Pygmalion* has been filmed. by Shaw himself. More than that, it has been filmed in a form which, though brilliant and memorable, is considerably different from the original.

Unlike Sinclair Lewis, who abominated more than one of the film versions of his novels, Shaw is immensely pleased with the changes made in his drama in adapting it for film production. No doubt the main reason Shaw is so pleased is that he himself made many of the changes, and supervised their introduction into the cinema version. More than that, he has now declared that he is willing to film all his plays if the public demands it. No drama could be more timely in that respect than "Major Barbara," with its munitions-motif, and no one could do a better film version of it than the author himself. At least half his plays, and most especially *Man and Superman*, are eminently adaptable to the movies, and it is to be devoutly hoped that the veteran playwright will spend the next few years tackling that job for which no one is better fitted than he.

*Caricature by Conrado Massaguer*

***George Bernard Shaw whose "come-back" in the cinema Mr. Calverton discusses this month.***

### *Shaw Goes WPA*

At the same time that Shaw's excellent film version of *Pygmalion* is being exhibited, two of his other plays have been having a most inspiring run in two Federal Theatres in New York City. The first, *On the Rocks*, has been running for many months, attracting a steady audience even during the summer; the second, "Androcles and the Lion," appearing at the Lafayette Theatre in Harlem with a Negro cast, is already a remarkable success and represents one of the best productions this play has ever received.

*On the Rocks* is an outstanding play. As the work of an octogenarian it is well-nigh incredible. Few octogenarians at any time in the history of literature have been able to produce anything nearly so good or so significant. It is not a great play; yet it has in it more "meat," more substance, more challenge, than a dozen plays produced on the New York stage by dramatists markedly younger. If the play itself is not always dramatic, if in places it halts, hesitates, stumbles and stutters, it is not because the author is not a good dramatist but because he is more interested in ideas than in drama. Most of the critics who have castigated the play because of its lack of dramatic intensity and continuity fail to realize that few of Shaw's plays have ever been different in that respect. With the exception of *Saint Joan* Shaw revealed little interest in the ordinary and customary regulations of theatric technique.

### *Shaw as Thinker and Prophet*

From the very beginning of his career as a dramatist, Shaw has been interested in the theatre only as a vehicle for ideas. Like Voltaire, he considered the stage an intellectual *agora*, a meeting-place in which the great challenging messages of the day could be thrashed out, clarified and solved. As a place of amusement or amatory entertainment, it did not interest him.

Whatever Shaw's final place in the history of the drama will prove to be, one thing is clear. He is the most lucid-thinking, the most logical, the most shrewd, the most penetrating, and the most intelligent man that has ever turned his pen in the direction of the stage. His only competitor in the modern age is Voltaire, and Voltaire never succeeded at being extraordinarily intelligent in his dramas. Shaw never failed to be intelligent in anything he wrote. Often he was uninspired, dull, tedious, even jejeune, but never unintelligent. He saw through the shadow and sham of things, saw to their roots, and saw with a clarity which was miraculously pristine. He lacked the organizational genius of an Ibsen or a Chekov, was without the mystic insights and subtleties of a Strindberg, but he possessed something which none of them possessed—sociological penetration and profundity. What he was unable to cap-

ture in the emotional realm, he compensated for in the cerebral. He never caught those winged moments when men find in love a solution for the cosmos or find in the cosmos a solution for life. He never felt the concern for origins and ends, for birth and death, for sacrifices and farewells, heartbreaks and restorations, that gave to Shakespeare's dramas and poetry the twinge and ache of eternal things. He never concerned himself with emotions that outlive empires and ambitions which outlast regimes and systems.

Shaw was not that kind of dramatist—and therein lies his weakness and his strength. He just wasn't interested in the things that dramatists of the past were. He was interested in something else: the world of social change, social action, social challenge. He wanted to dramatize that world instead of the world of individual change, individual emotion, individual challenge. And he did.

### *A Great Social Dramatist*

All Shaw's plays carry within them that seed of newness. They are concerned with social, not individual problems. They seek to show how the individual is strengthened or weakened, inspired or corrupted by the exigencies of society and not by those of the individual. The result is, we can get a better picture of the society in which we live and have lived through Shaw's plays than through those of any other dramatist of our time.

What we can't get from Shaw's plays are those intricate, psychological revelations which we do discover in the plays of more individualistic dramatists. All we need do is to consider the love-motivation which has been basic to the overwhelming majority of plays of the last three hundred years. Shaw is not interested in it—more, he avoids it, shuns it as if it were something evil or toxic. He is baffled and bewildered whenever he is confronted with what should be a love scene, and inevitably "muffs" it or, tongue in cheek, turns it into something else. He simply cannot handle the love-motif. It isn't that it eludes him as it does some dramatists and novelists—H. G. Wells, for instance—but that he is emotionally unequipped to handle the theme.

Shaw has never developed in an erotic sense. He remains to this day a Puritan whose knowledge of sex and love is derivative rather than experimental. He can describe people in love, but can never convey the emotion. It is simply beyond him. If one turns to his *Man and Superman* for example (which, incidentally, would make a delightful and excellent film), that inadequacy is immediately obvious. The play revolves about the love-theme, and advances the thesis that it is the woman who pursues the man and not the man the woman. But there is not one genuine love-scene in the whole unduly protracted drama. There is hilarious fun, a kaleidoscopic race of amusing and risible episodes, with the characters juggled about like the manikins at a Punch and Judy show, but nowhere is the love-emotion sensed or felt. If this were true only of this play, it would prove little. The fact of the matter is it is equally true of all Shaw's plays.

### *A Classicist, Not a Romanticist*

In short, Shaw is a classicist, not a romanticist. He takes his cue from the Greeks rather than from the moderns. Euripides, it must not be forgotten, was condemned when once he resorted to the maudlin theme of describing a woman in love. Hetero-sexual love was not an exalted concern of the Greeks. Their dramatists preferred to deal with the conflicts of the gods, struggles with the elements, skirmishes with fate, battles with aliens, attacks upon the futility of the race.

Beneath all this, as Shaw himself declares, is his belief in Marxism. Marxism in Shaw's hands becomes a tool, not a religion. He has never been a dialectical materialist. Dialectics do not interest him. But he has believed since the early years of his life that Marx revealed more of the truth about society, its organization and motivation, than any other thinker. Never once has he deviated from that conviction. Many of his best plays, and certainly most of his "Prefaces," which often are better than the plays themselves, are based upon the Marxian conclusion. The result has been that Shaw in most cases has been far sounder in his attitudes toward life, in his sociological deductions, than any other dramatist of our time.

### *Thomas Mann as a Social Thinker*

In that respect Shaw stands out in marked contrast to Thomas Mann, who when he writes upon social problems, as lately upon the theme of democracy, is so impossibly footloose that he can't find the ground for fear of it. He confuses his subjective emotions with his objective aspirations, with the result that no one can disentangle what he means. Shaw recognizes the economic basis of democracy and the particular social conditions necessary to protect and perpetuate it; Mann has no conception whatsoever of the importance or the nature of such factors. Like most Germans who are more mystical than scientific, he conceives of democracy as some spiritual force or objective and believes that men can preserve it by willing it so. No doubt the fact that he is still an adolescent in politics—he always boasted in the past that he would have nothing to do with politics, that politics was alien to his nature, that he as an artist was *a-political*—explains a good deal of his failure to say anything intelligent or sensible on the theme. At the same time, however, it is well to bear in mind that no matter how sophisticated Mann might become in the political realm, he would never be able to contribute anything significant to it until he disencumbered himself of the mystical baggage which clings to his mind. Shaw is free of all that and it has been this freedom plus a clear-cut understanding of society that has made it possible for him to write as he has, be as he is, even in his eighties.

It is to Shaw's credit also that he not only recognizes a calamity when it is upon him but also can foresee it long before it arrives. Shaw denounced Hitler a number of years before the house-painter came into power because he saw what the Nazi ideology spelt in terms of disaster. Thomas Mann, during those early Hitler years, kept silent. He did not praise Hitler, but neither did he condemn him. And what is more, for at least a year after Hitler's triumph, Mann, in voluntary exile, still persisted in refraining from making any overt attacks upon the Fascist regime. It has been only in the last four or five years that Mann has recognized the menace that Fascism represents and openly come out against it, flaying it with a whip of nine tails tipped with fire.

For Mann, Fascism resulted in an awakening of his political sense, a development of his social outlook. Shaw did not need to be awakened. He has been awake to the nature and danger of such phenomena since he was a youth, and more than once, with the clairvoyance of a prophet, has warned the world of what was to

come unless we learned in time how to combat it.

In appreciation of Mann's new and challenging defense of democracy as well as for his genius as a novelist, he has been elected an honorary corresponding member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters. Van Wyck Brooks, in a letter urging Mann's election, stated that "he is defending the basic ideas of our civilization perhaps more powerfully than any other writer. Moreover, he has paid us a very great compliment in coming to live in this country."

Other authors, however, notably James Farrell, have attacked Mann for the vagueness of the defense "of the basic ideas of our civilization" which he made in his manifesto "To the Civilized World." Farrell refused to sign it because "it is too vague. Written in the language of incantation and exhortation, it is full of luminous abstractions. It lacks clarity of thought and a clean straight-forward style of presentation. It contains no analysis of the social, political, and economic background of German Fascism. . . . It does not even name Hitler and Fascism. It erects a devil-theory of Fascism. This is both inadequate and dangerous." Farrell then goes on to say that he is "bitterly opposed not only to Hitler's totalitarianism, but to all totalitarianism, including that of Stalin and Mussolini" and condemns Mann because he singles out Hitler's totalitarianism as the only one to assail.

Farrell, who is better known as a novelist than as a polemicist, has written his reply to Mann in the best polemic style. It rings with sincerity and challenge, and is crystal-clear in its logic. It asks for what Shaw has always asked when faced with crucial issues, namely, clarity, conciseness and concreteness. It is reason, not mysticism, which is needed at such times, analysis not sentiment, fact not fiction.

### *German Exiles*

Thomas Mann is only one of a multitude of exiles from Germany. In fact it can be said without exaggeration that Germany leads the world in the number of its citizens who in the last six years have exiled themselves from their native land. A quondam competitor was Russia, from which most of the old aristocracy exiled itself after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. But whereas most of the exiles from Russia were aristocrats, most of the leading exiles from Germany are artists and thinkers. Most of the radicals, socialists and communists, continued to live in Germany even after Hitler achieved power, and some of them constitute today part of that underground movement which has attracted so much attention in recent years. It was the writers, the actors and directors, the painters and sculptors, the musicians who made their exit almost *en masse*. The result has been inevitable. Germany, which since the close of the World War, led the world in literature, music and the cinema, has now become one of the most unproductive and uncreative of nations.

An abbreviated list of the artists who have deserted Germany since the

*When Alfred A. Knopf, the publisher, recently visited Thomas Mann at his new home in Princeton, N. J., he took this informal photograph of the distinguished German exile.*

advent of the Hitler regime will illustrate just why the country is so barren of progress today in the cultural field. Among the writers are Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann, Klaus Mann, Ernst Glaeser, Ludwig Renn, Erich Maria Remarque, Bruno Frank, Vicki Baum; among the actors are Elizabeth Bergner, Fritz Kortner, and Peter Lorre; among the directors, Pabst, Berger, and Lang; among the musicians, Bruno Walter, Klemper, Eisler, Weill, Rathaus.

Since it was these artists who were mainly responsible for the renaissance in German culture after the War, it is natural, in fact inevitable, that what promised to be a rebirth has ended up in being a stillbirth.

## Mars Motors East

(*Continued from page* 34)

Nevertheless, the industrial brains of the Soviet Union have kept buzzing along automotive lines. Here new models in cars and trucks have been introduced to counter the threat from Todt and Schell. The Stalin plant at Moscow, for instance, is preparing for mass production of a seven-seater open car, plus a six-passenger closed job dated 1937. This new machine has a radio, heater, folding top, and luggage compartment, and can do 75 miles per hour.

Russia's automobile industry dates back to 1924, when the Stalin plant turned out ten 1½-ton trucks, largely by hand. Today this auto factory employs 40,000 workers, and occupies 1,000 acres of ground. It hopes to enlarge to an annual capacity of 100,000 3-ton trucks and 16,000 passenger cars. It turns out a 27-passenger streamlined bus, excellent for military purposes, with even bigger and better buses in the offing.

The Molotov works, largest in all Russia, manufactured 130,000 machines last year, including 17,000 passenger cars. The Molotov and the Stalin, combined, accounted for 200,000 machines and $70,000,000 worth of spare parts.

Russia's Ukrainian and Manchurian fronts are 8,000 miles apart, and rail communications are defective. Hence automobiles are prime necessities for the Red Army. The Trans-Siberian railway has been double-tracked, it is true, and there is a new Baikal-Amur rail line in the Far East. But it is on the strategic auto routes of the West that the Red Army primarily depends for defense against Hitler. It could hardly take the offensive in its present state, according to competent military critics. It creaks when it laboriously moves, hence the speed-up in automobile production.

Not all automobile races are held on the Indianapolis motor speedway. There the Fiats, Peugeots, Sunbeams, and Stutzes used to race one another before perhaps 100,000 people. The *new* automobile contest may be a road race of Mercedes against Molotov, with a higher death rate than the Indianapolis "500-mile" ever saw. As its audience, cheering or booing loudly, may sit the two billion inhabitants of the globe.

# The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

THE Archbishop of York (Anglican); the Archbishop of Westminster (Roman Catholic); the Rev. James Bond (moderator of the Free Churches in England); and Joseph Hertz (chief Jewish Rabbi of England) were the speakers at a recent mass meeting held in Albert Hall, London, to protest against the persecutions of minority groups, especially Jews, by the Nazis. This was the first time in many years that the leaders of the largest faiths in England had spoken from the same platform. The three largest political parties were also represented by speakers. On the same day Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders held a similar meeting in Paris. Persecutors and detractors of the Churches and of religion in general are learning that, instead of killing religion, their efforts are stimulating a deeper realization of the common brotherhood of all true believers.

The Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints), are carrying out a well-planned missionary program in England. Sixteen athletic young men from Salt Lake City, Utah, who recently won the championship of the British Baseball League, and whose prowess at basketball is almost legendary, have been asked by the Norwich authorities to coach the Norwich Youth Movement and to help form teams in the district. By day they are basketball coaches; by night they travel around the district holding meetings, preaching, organizing community hymn singing.

These sixteen young athletes, aided by the British Government's "Keep Fit" program, hope to increase the present membership of their Church of 6,000 to 16,000. Physical fitness is a part of the Mormon religion. No true Mormon would dream of smoking or of touching any form of intoxicating liquors. Besides these sixteen young athletes, there are Mormon missionaries all over England who score excessive alcohol consumption and preach their creed of brotherly love and Anglo-American friendship.

All England is divided into fourteen districts, and each district is subdivided into branches. Each of the seventy-two branches is plentifully supplied with missionaries. This methodical campaign has resulted in a steady growth of the number of Mormons in England. During the last fifty years some 85,000 English Mormons have emigrated to Salt Lake City, spiritual home of the world's 800,000 Mormons, actual home of 700,000 "true believers."

Through the efforts of some Moslem emigrants in Argentina, an emissary named Michel Kuzma has been sent on a tour around the world to incite Moslems of all lands to closer unity. Preparations are being made for holding an all-world conference, at which it is proposed to discuss the following points: Arabic nationality in the bond of union between all Arabs, who are one in language, education, environment, geographical position, suffering and desire; work for political freedom; relief of the Arabic nation economically; raising of the standard of living; means of uniting scattered Arabs and asking emigrants to unite in helping their nation economically, educationally, socially and politically.

From the Catholic periodical *Dobryj Patyr* published in Stanoslawow come the following world statistics of Christians united with Rome. (This does not, of course, include the actual membership of the Roman Catholic Church):

| | |
|---|---|
| Ukrainians | 5,350,000 |
| Rumanians | 1,400,000 |
| Bulgarians | 6,000 |
| Georgians | 10,000 |
| Greeks | 3,000 |
| Italo-Greeks | 70,000 |
| Yugoslavs | 45,000 |
| Melkites | 140,000 |
| Armenians | 132,000 |
| Maronites | 375,000 |
| Malankarese | 20,000 |
| Chaldeans | 72,000 |
| Malabarese | 580,000 |
| Copts | 35,000 |
| Abyssinians | 34,000 |
| Total | 8,272,000 |

The number of United Ukrainians is divided as follows: Four million live in the three dioceses of Galicia. Over 600,000 live in Czecho-Slovakia (in two bishoprics) and 100,000 in Rumania. In America the United Ukrainians have over half a million (two bishoprics). There are also Ukrainian communities in Brazil, the Argentine and Austria. In Germany (not counting seasonal workers) there are about 20,000.

According to statistics published from Roman Catholic sources, Catholic missionary activity is showing considerable progress on all fronts. Whereas in 1927 the number of the faithful coming under the jurisdiction of the "Propaganda Fide" was 14 million, it has risen today to 21 million. Especial success has crowned missionary activity in "the dark parts of the earth," where the number of converts has grown in ten years from 3 million to nearly 7 million. In the Belgian Congo, for example, there were in 1927 about 563,000 Catholics; today there are 1,700,000 and over 1,000,000 catechumens. The mission field in India has borne even greater fruits. Ten years there have seen 172,000 Catholics increase to over 3,000,000. The available statistics show that the Roman Catholic Church has gained an annual total, through its missionary work, of some 681,000 converts.

The training of the indigenous clergy has been taken over by the Papal Works of the Holy Apostle Peter. At present it is maintaining 269 small seminaries, with 12,536 students, and 87 larger seminaries, with 3,433 students. The majority of these seminaries (124 seminaries with 5,556 students) are in China, Mongolia and in Manchuria. Africa comes next with 101 seminaries and 2,454 students. The figures are much lower for Indo-China and Siam, Japan and Korea, Oceania and Asia Minor. Europe has at present nine seminaries with 114 members. A similar number of students in America are distributed among four seminaries.

# THE GOVERNMENT

## Summary of activities and work of the various Federal Government departments and agencies

### *Advisory Council Report On Social Security*

*A summary of the final report of the Advisory Council on Social Security, appointed by the Senate Special Committee, made public on Dec. 18, follows. Dated Dec. 10, the report was signed by J. Douglas Brown, chairman, and 24 committee members.*

#### *A. Recommendations on Benefits*

I. The average old-age benefits payable in the early years under Title II should be increased.

II. The eventual annual cost of the insurance benefits now recommended, in relation to covered payroll and from whatever source financed, should not be increased beyond the eventual annual disbursements under the 1935 Act.

III. The enhancement of the early old-age benefits under the system should be partly attained by the method of paying in the case of a married annuitant a supplementary allowance on behalf of an aged wife equivalent to 50 per cent of the husband's own benefit; *provided*, that should a wife after attaining age 65 be otherwise eligible to a benefit in her own right which is larger in amount than the wife's allowance payable to her husband on her behalf, the benefit payable to her in her own right will be substituted for the wife's allowance.

IV. The minimum age of a wife for eligibility under the provision for wives' supplementary allowances should be 65 years; *provided*, that marital status had existed prior to the husband's attainment of age 60.

V. The widow of an insured worker, following her attainment of age 65, should receive an annuity bearing a reasonable relationship to the worker's annuity; *provided*, that marital status had existed prior to the husband's attainment of age 60 and one year preceding the death of the husband.

VI. A dependent child of a currently insured individual upon the latter's death prior to age 65 should receive an orphan's benefit, and a widow of a currently insured individual, provided she has in her care one or more dependent children of the deceased husband, should receive a widow's benefit.

VII. The provision of benefits to an insured person who becomes permanently and totally disabled and to his dependents is socially desirable. On this point the Council is in unanimous agreement. There is difference of opinion, however, as to the timing of the introduction of these benefits. Some members of the Council favor the immediate inauguration of such benefits. Other members believe that on account of additional costs and administrative difficulties, the problem should receive further study.

VIII. In order to compensate in part for the additional cost of the additional benefits herein recommended, the benefits payable to individuals as single annuitants after the plan has been in operation a number of years should be reduced below those now incorporated in Title II. If the national income should increase in future years, these reductions may not be necessary.

IX. The death benefit payable on account of coverage under the system should be strictly limited in amount and payable on the death of any eligible individual.

X. The payment of old-age benefits should be begun on Jan. 1, 1940.

#### *B. Recommendation on Coverage*

I. The employes of private nonprofit religious, charitable and educational institutions now excluded from coverage under Titles II and VIII should immediately be brought into coverage under the same provisions of these Titles as affect other covered groups.

II. The coverage of farm employes and domestic employes under Titles II and VIII is socially desirable and should take effect, if administratively possible, by Jan. 1, 1940.

III. The old-age insurance program should be extended as soon as feasible to include additional groups not included in the previous recommendations of the Council and studies should be made of the administrative, legal, and financial problems involved in the coverage of self-employed persons and governmental employes.

#### *C. Recommendations on Finance*

I. Since the nation as a whole, independent of the beneficiaries of the system, will derive a benefit from the old-age security program, it is appropriate that there be Federal financial participation in the old-age insurance system by means of revenues derived from sources other than payroll taxes.

II. The principle of distributing the eventual cost of the old-age insurance system by means of approximately equal contributions by employers, employes and the government is sound and should be definitely set forth in the law when tax provisions are amended.

III. The introduction of a definite program of Federal financial participation in the system will affect the consideration of the future rates of taxes on employers and employes and their relation to future benefit payments.

#### *Provisions for Prompt Payments*

IV. The financial program of the system should embody provision for a reasonable contingency fund to insure the ready payment of benefits at all times and to avoid abrupt changes in tax and contribution rates.

V. The planning of the old-age insurance program must take full account of the fact that, while disbursements for benefits are relatively small in the early years of the program, far larger total disbursements are inevitable in the future. No benefits should be promised or implied which cannot be safely financed not only in the early years of the program but when workers now young will be old.

VI. Sound presentation of the government's financial position requires

full recognition of the obligations implied in the entire old-age security program and Treasury reports should annually estimate the load of future benefits and the probable product of the associated tax program.

VII. The receipts of the taxes levied in Title VIII of the law, less the costs of collection, should through permanent appropriation be credited automatically to an old-age insurance fund and not to the general fund for later appropriation to the account, in whole or in part, as Congress may see fit. It is believed that such an arrangement will be constitutional.

VIII. The old-age insurance fund should specifically be made a trust fund, with designated trustees acting on the behalf of the prospective beneficiaries of the program. The trust fund should be dedicated exclusively to the payment of the benefits provided under the program and, in limited part, to the costs necessary to the administration of the program.

IX. The consideration of change in the tax schedule under Title VIII of the law should be postponed until after the rates of 1½ per cent each on employer and employe are in effect since information will not be available for some time concerning (a) tax collections under varying conditions, (b) effective coverage under taxes and benefits, (c) average covered earnings, period of coverage, time of retirement and average amount of benefits, (d) the possibilities of covering farm labor, domestic employes or self-employed persons, and (e) the possibilities of introducing new types of benefits.

### *Problem of Timing Contributions*

X. The problem of the timing of the contributions by the government, taking into account the changing balance between payroll tax income and benefit disbursements, is of such importance as to require thorough study as information is available.

XI. Following the accumulation of such information, this problem should be restudied for report not later than Jan. 1, 1942, as to the proper planning of the program of payroll taxes and governmental contributions to the old-age insurance system thereafter, since by that time experience on the basis of five years of tax collections and two years of benefit payments (provided the present act is amended to that effect) will be available. Similar studies should be made at regular intervals following 1942.

### *Recommendations of the Transportation Board*

*Herewith is part of the official summary of the conclusions reached by the committee appointed by the President on Sept. 20 to consider the transportation problem. Members of the committee were: M. M. Clement, Carl R. Gray, George M. Harrison, B. M. Jewell, Ernest E. Norris and D. B. Robertson.*

*National Transportation Policy.* Adoption by the government of a definite national transportation policy providing for fair, impartial regulation of all modes of transportation. So administered as to preserve the inherent advantage of each.

*Jurisdiction of Interstate Commerce.* Responsibility to be placed in the I. C. C. to administer all regulatory provisions with respect to rates, services, valuation and accounting as to all modes of transportation, together with powers of investigation limited to its jurisdiction.

*Revision of rate-making rule.* Repeal of the present provisions of Section 15a of the Interstate Commerce Act and substitution therefor of a new rate-making rule applicable to all modes of transportation, with suggested wording of the rule.

*Long-and-short haul clause.* Repeal of the so-called long-and-short haul clause of Section 4 of the act.

*Reparation.* Amendment of Sections 8 and 16 of the act relating to reparation in accordance with recommendations heretofore made by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

*Interstate rates.* Extension of the power of the commission with respect to intrastate rates in connection with general readjustments of interstate rates.

*Transportation board.* A new and independent agency to be created, charged with the duty of investigating and reporting to the Congress concerning the relative economy and fitness of the several modes of transportation and the extent to which any of them is now being subsidized, with its recommendations for further legislation; thereafter to be charged with responsibility for administering as to all modes of transportation regulatory provisions relating to certificates of convenience and necessity covering new construction or operations and abandonments of facilities or operations, and the approval of the issuance of securities, consolidations, mergers, leases, acquisitions of control, interlocking directorates, etc., and to exercise all functions of a research or promotional nature relating primarily to any mode of transportaion now vested in other agencies or bureaus.

*Tolls for use of improved waterways.* A fair and reasonable system of tolls for commercial use of certain inland waters, the elimination of the Inland Waterways Corporation and disposal of its properties.

*Taxation and other governmental impositions.* Legislation, national and State, relieving the railroads of certain unjust tax burdens and providing that government bear the expense of eliminating grade crossings.

*Reconstruction of bridges and other facilities.* Adoption of policy that whenever, in connection with the improvement of navigable waters or the carrying out of flood-control or similar projects, a railroad is required to alter or reconstruct bridges or other facilities, it be reimbursed by the government for all costs in excess of any direct benefit accruing to it.

*Land-grant rates.* Repeal of the reduced rates provisions of the so-called land-grant statutes.

*Reorganization court.* Establishment of a single court vested with exclusive jurisdiction over matters connected with railroad reorganizations and composed of judges selected with especial reference to their experience in and qualifications for this highly specialized service. The Federal district courts to retain jurisdiction over all matters not connected with reorganization. The Interstate Commerce Commission to be relieved of all responsibility in railroad reorganizations.

*Consolidation plan.* Repeal of provisions of the act which make the commission responsible for the prescription of a general plan of consolidation for railroads, thereby restoring to the carriers all initiative, but requiring approval by the Transportation Board of any proposed consolidation; such approval to be granted or withheld in accordance with the consideration set forth in our recommendations, including protection of the public interest and a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interest of employes affected.

*R.F.C. loans.* Legislation enlarging the powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase or guarantee obligations of any one to make loans to railroads or to receivers or trustees thereof and modifying the requirements with respect to the ap-

proval by the Interstate Commerce Commission of any such purchase, guarantee or loan.

### *Recommendations of the Naval Board*

*The following is a summary of the report recently made by the Naval Board, of which Rear Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn is president. The report was submitted to Congress on Jan. 4 by Secretary of the Navy Swanson:*

Twenty-five air bases should be constructed, as indicated on the accompanying map. The fifteen points at which bases should be established at once are:

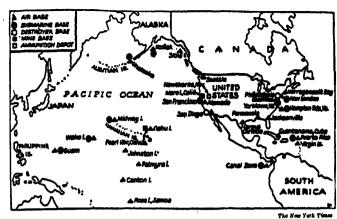
Chesapeake Bay base, Hampton Roads, Va.; Southeastern base, near Jacksonville, Fla.; Pensacola, Fla. (Expansion of existing training station); San Juan, P. R.; Coco Solo, C. Z.; Sand Point, Seattle, Wash.; Sitka, Alaska; Kodiak, Alaska; Ford Island, Pearl Harbor, Hawaii; Kaneohe Bay, Oahu Island, Hawaii; Midway Island, Pacific; Wake Island, Pacific; Johnston Island, Pacific; Palmyra Island, Pacific, and Guam, Pacific.

Construction of the first fifteen bases because of their strategic importance is deemed necessary of accomplishment at the earliest practicable date, and without regard to the expansion contemplated by the act of May 17, 1938.

The location of a base of any sort in any specific port or harbor within the continental limits of the United States with a view only to the local defense of such locality, is not in accord with sound naval policy as applied to the conditions confronting the United States.

The development of naval operations has brought it about that our area of naval coastal defense must extend from the continental limits to a line many hundreds of miles to seaward, and over any direction of hostile approach. The location of air bases within continental limits should be determined by the requirements of defense over broad regions rather than specific localities.

It is not too much to say that if all the planes now authorized were in hand by the time action can be taken on this report, they could be operated at only a fraction of their potential value, and would suffer a large measure of deterioration or obsolescence before adequate shore facilities could be provided.

The New York Times

*This map shows the naval defense bases which Secretary of the Navy Claude A. Swanson has recommended to Congress.*

The navy has prepared a program that calls for an additional 1,000 planes, the increase to be accomplished at the rate of 200 a year over a period of five years.

A base at Quonsett Point in Narragansett Bay is a vital link in the Atlantic chain. This base is necessary to protect the great industrial region of which New York is the center. It would have facilities for two airplane carrier groups, two patrol plane squadrons and facilities for plane and engine overhaul.

The channel would have to be dredged to permit the berthing of the aircraft carriers Lexington, Saratoga, Yorktown, Ranger and Enterprise, and the Wasp, the last still in the construction stage. Quonsett Point would be the main northeastern base.

The Chesapeake Bay base would have facilities for two carrier groups, expandable to four, and four patrol squadrons, expandable to six. The Jacksonville base in the St. John's River at Camp Foster, five miles south of Jacksonville, would care for two carrier groups, expandable to four, and four patrol squadrons, expandable in an emergency to six. The bases at Corpus Christi, San Juan, Coco Solo and St. Thomas would be vital links in the Atlantic chain.

Naval air bases in the Alaskan area will be essential in time of war. Such bases are necessary links in the patrol of the Eastern Pacific and for the defense of Alaska and the Pacific. Alaskan air bases must be designed primarily to serve patrol planes. From a strategic point of view, the area of greatest importance is in the Aleutian chain of islands.

In addition to the question of strategic value, however, there is a controlling feature of the Alaskan situation which governs the effectiveness of air operations and which determines the choice of location and characteristics of naval air bases in this region. This controlling feature is weather.

The weather conditions of Alaska are so changeable and so severe that the most careful consideration must be given to operating conditions, living conditions and maintenance problems. Consequently, in spite of their favorable strategic location, the board does not favor the Aleutian Islands as a site for the main Alaskan base.

The importance of a secure defense of the Hawaiian Islands need not be emphasized in this report. So long as the United States retains command of the sea between Hawaii and the mainland, the Island of Oahu may be considered practically impregnable against hostile occupation. It is only, however, as a secure base for naval operations that the islands possess a great strategic value, either in the defense of the mainland or defense of possessions to the westward. In time of emergency it will be necessary to throw into the theatre of operations large number of planes in excess of normal complement.

There is but one site in the Hawaiian Islands that possesses the requisite natural features for a major naval air base, namely, Ford Island, within the limits of the Pearl Harbor Naval Reservation. There are, however, two other locations in the islands suitable for developments as auxiliary bases, Kaneohe Bay, Island of Oahu, and Midway Island.

The present base at Pearl Harbor is inadequate in its present condition to

carry out its mission; needs facilities for two carrier groups, ten patrol squadrons.

The defense of the Philippines involves matters of national policy which take precedence over the military problem involved. The military problem itself is one whose solution requires measures beyond any that could be recommended by this board within the limits of its precept.

Pending settlement of those questions of broad political and military significance which must be considered in connection with Philippine independence, the board recommends maintenance of existing facilities only.

The island of Guam is well adapted for the maintenance of an air force equal to or superior to any hostile force that could be assembled within a 1,200-mile radius; the facilities for a submarine base are excellent.

So long as Guam existed as a strong air and submarine base, hostile operations against the Philippines would be a precarious undertaking. To an even greater extent Guam would greatly impede, if not actually deny extensive hostile naval operations to the southward.

***United States' Second Note to Japan***

*Excerpts from the note presented by the United States to Japan on Dec. 31:*

In the light of facts and experience the Government of the United States is impelled to reaffirm its previously expressed opinion that imposition of restrictions upon the movements and activities of American nationals who are engaged in philanthropic, educational and commercial endeavors in China has placed and will, if continued, increasingly place Japanese interests in a preferred position and is, therefore, unquestionably discriminatory, in its effect, against legitimate American interests.

Further, with reference to such matters as exchange control, compulsory currency circulation, tariff revision and monopolistic promotion in certain areas of China, the plans and practices of the Japanese authorities imply an assumption on the part of those authorities that the Japanese Government or the regimes established and maintained in China by Japanese armed forces are entitled to act in China in a capacity such as flows from rights of sovereignty and, further, in so acting to disregard and even to declare nonexistent or abrogated the established rights and interests of other countries, including the United States.

The Government of the United States expresses its conviction that the restrictions and measures under reference not only are unjust and unwarranted but are counter to the provisions of several binding international agreements, voluntarily entered into, to which both Japan and the United States, and in some cases other countries, are parties.

Whenever any government begins to exercise political authority in areas beyond the limits of its lawful jurisdiction there develops inevitably a situation in which the nationals of that government demand and are accorded, at the hands of their government, preferred treatment, whereupon equality of opportunity ceases to exist and discriminatory practices, productive of friction, prevail.

The admonition that enjoyment by the nationals of the United States of nondiscriminatory treatment in China—a general and well-established right—is henceforth to be contingent upon an admission by the Government of the United States of the validity of the conception of Japanese authorities of a "new situation" and a "new order" in East Asia, is, in the opinion of this government, highly paradoxical.

The people and the Government of the United States could not assent to the establishment, at the instance of and for the special purposes of any third country, of a regime which would arbitrarily deprive them of the long-established rights of equal opportunity and fair treatment which are legally and justly theirs along with those of other nations.

Fundamental principles, such as the principle of equality of opportunity, which have long been regarded as inherently wise and just, which have been widely adopted and adhered to, and which are general in their application are not subject to nullification by a unilateral affirmation.

At various times during recent decades various powers, among which have been Japan and the United States, have had occasion to communicate and to confer with regard to situations and problems in the Far East.

In the making of treaties, they have drawn up and have agreed upon provisions intended to facilitate advantageous developments and at the same time to obviate and avert the arising of friction between and among the various powers which, having interests in the region or regions under reference, were and would be concerned.

This government is well aware that the situation (in China) has changed. This government is also well aware that many of the changes have been brought about by action of Japan. This government does not admit, however, that there is need or warrant for any one power to take upon itself to prescribe what shall be the terms and conditions of a "new order" in areas not under its sovereignty and to constitute itself the repository of authority and the agent of destiny in regard thereto.

This government reserves all rights of the United States as they exist and does not give assent to any impairment of any of those rights.

## CURRENT HISTORY QUIZ

Questions on page 16

1. Germany.
2. Secretary of the Interior Ickes.
3. Poland and Hungary.
4. $5000 and expenses.
5. Italy recently repudiated the 1935 agreement.
6. The man who, under the name of F. Donald Coster, became head of McKesson & Robbins, a large drug firm. Musica recently committed suicide as he was about to be arrested for fraud.
7. Argentina.
8. The cotton crop control was approved, the tobacco and rice crop control voted down.
9. Ex-King Alfonso.
10. Harvard Law School professor who was recently nominated associate justice of the Supreme Court.
11. Burma.
12. Secretary of Commerce.
13. The new premier of Japan.
14. A former governor of Michigan who was recently nominated Attorney General of the United States.
15. The Pathe Film Company.

# THEY SAY

## Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

## The English Are So Tactful

Of the discretion of the English I shall give you an example. A young Englishman, having been invited to a fancy-dress ball by some country neighbors, decided to dress himself as a court jester of Elizabethan times. He ordered a satin costume, half-red, half-green; short tights—one leg red, one leg green; a hat divided into two peaks.

On the evening of the ball he betook himself to his friend's house. Having arrived in front of that door, he sent away the chauffeur; then, a little surprised not to find the house open and lit up, he knocked. The butler came and opened the door, looked at him, said never a word, and conducted the visitor, whom he knew well, into the library, where the family, all dressed in very ordinary clothes, were reading, playing checkers, and in general taking their ease without any visible sign of a celebration.

As the young man entered the room they rose to welcome him. None seemed to notice his strange rig-out, and the conversation began so naturally and so agreeably that the intruder himself soon forgot that he was dressed in green-and-red garments. Towards midnight the lady of the house said to him: "I know you have sent away your car; perhaps you will allow us to offer you a bed for the night. My son, who is about your size, will lend you pajamas." Thus it was done.

The next morning, when the visitor, still dressed in red satin, took his departure, his host accompanied him to the car. There he bowed and said in a half-whisper: "Goodbye. We were very happy to see you, but don't forget to come back in a week's time, because it is next week when we give our fancy-dress ball."

—André Maurois in *Query*, London.

## Mistaken Identity

An important official after some years in Cairo was leaving for England. On the last day his small son asked to be taken to see "Gordon" once again (there is in Cairo a more than life-size statue of General Charles George Gordon riding a camel).

The little boy stood in front of the monument and said with visible emotion: "Goodbye, Gordon, goodbye." His father was much gratified and touched by this evidence of patriotism until, as they walked away, the child suddenly asked, "Daddy, who is that man sitting on top of Gordon?"

Critic in *The New Statesman*, London.

## Germany Trains Its Future Fuehrers

In four towns situated almost in the four corners of Germany the National Socialist régime has set up four special schools in which it plans to train its youngest generation of leaders, its Fuehrers of the Future. The four towns are Croessinsee in Pomerania, Vogelsang in Eifel (10 kilometres from the Belgian border), Sonthoven in Bavaria and Marienburg in East Prussia.

The Party places its confidence in the youth of the country, which it is anxious to bring up in accordance with its own principles and to preserve from all the influences that the Party itself rejects and fights.

With this aim it has organized the "Adolf Hitler Schools," establishments of secondary education in which it will undertake the training of the most promising pupils from all over the country, and from whose number it will later recruit those who have shown a particular aptitude for leadership. As the present ruling class of the nation is eliminated by death, incapacity or hostility to the régime, its place will be taken by the graduates of these "Castles of the Order," who already bear the symbolic name of Junkers and who will form the dominating caste of the future Germany.

The school at Vogelsang was begun in 1934 and will not be finished until 1943, when it will be in a position to receive the 1,080 Junkers who will form the annual contingent of pupils. But the work of construction has been pushed ahead so actively that the school already occupies nearly half of its eventual area, and it was able last year to turn out 500 fully trained graduates.

Between the low, rugged, cold hills of Eifel there winds a little river, the Urf, which has been transformed by a dam into a string of narrow lakes several miles long. The buildings of Vogelsang, often built into the rock itself, will occupy the whole slope of one of the hills, where they are already replacing the woods that once stood there. A swimming pool and a vast gymnasium are in course of construction close to one of the lakes; an airdrome will be laid out on top of the hill; and a village is to be built near by to accommodate the instructors and college personnel.

The students will live in couples in cell-like rooms of moderate size, separated from a central corridor by nothing more than a curtain. For Vogelsang is not a charitable "home" but a boarding-school in which softness is not allowed. It is, as it were, a monastery of the Middle Ages, perfectly in tune with its surroundings; the square tower which rises starkly from the flat, uniform, unadorned horizontals of the college buildings seems to embody the spirit of the place.

In these surroundings the Junkers will spend the second of their four years of apprenticeship (the first will take them to Croessinsee, the third to Sonthoven, and the fourth to Marienburg). Until recruiting for the college is placed on a permanent basis, Vogelsang will receive those who have asked for or accepted nomination to it from the Party and who pass the tests imposed on them.

The most onerous of these tests is perhaps the separation from their families; these men of 25 years of age, most of whom are married or who get married during their period of training, must spend four years away from their homes; they enjoy only short holidays on the occasion of big feast days, holidays totalling no more than two months in every year. During this time they receive pay and allowances sufficient to meet their needs and those of their families in their absence.

They are subjected to constant tests of physical strength and courage,

every student being required, for example, to make a parachute descent at the time of his first airplane flight, and to dive from a height of over 30 feet, whether he can swim or not. Their training is essentially on sporting lines; they must take part in every kind of physical activity—swimming, fencing, athletics, riding, skiing, mountain climbing, etc.

Their education, in the proper sense of the word, lays emphasis above all on biology—and naturally on the racial question—on the philosophy of the National Socialist State, on the Common Law, and on the history of Germany and of the Nazi Movement. Foreign languages, literature and philosophy finds no place.

The object of this education is threefold: to build trained bodies able to endure any kind of fatigue; to impose on their minds all the ideas which constitute the National Socialist world outlook; and to accustom these leaders and administrators of the future to solving by instinct and sentiment, rather than by reflection, the questions which will come to them for solution. There is no intention of giving these students what might be called a liberal education; the intention is to force them into a military mould—to create in them special reflexes which will take the place of conscious thought in all they do.

The library, which is in the course of being organized, contains 3,500 volumes, among which figure the works of Lenin and of the liberal Chancellor, Rathenau; but the library is in no sense the spiritual centre of the college, for individual research is clearly reckoned secondary in importance to the courses given by instructors attached to the school, and to the lectures of other teachers invited from outside to provide their audience with the collection of ideas which they will need in life.

Here is the daily time-table for the students at Vogelsang:

6.00 Reveillé and morning exercises.
6.15 Dressing.
7.00 Roll-call, hoisting the flag, and breakfast.
8-9.30 Communal labor.
10.00 Lectures.
12.15 Roll-call and midday meal.
2.30 Sport.
5-6.30 Communal labor.
7.00 Roll-call and dinner.
10.00 Bed-time.

Opposite the main entrance stands a magnificent statue of a naked man, representing the ideal German and standing on a plinth bearing the inscription *Hier* ("Present"). To the right and left are engraved on the walls the names of the sixteen members of the Nazi Party who were the first to fall in the fight for the new idea. Every student at Vogelsang is held to be taking the place in the Nazi Movement of a dead fighter, and when the names of these men are called out at roll-call their representatives must answer: "We are present for them."

They are members, in fact, of a kind of lay monastery, from which there will issue forth every year the missionaries who are to be the knights errant of the new Germany.

—J. F. Angelloz in *Mercure de France*, Paris.

*Balancing Act* — London Star

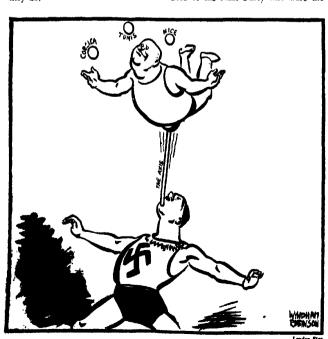
# Japan's Economic Tyrants

Although Japan boasts of having become a modern state after the revolution of 1868, economically she has never really abolished feudalism. Half Japan's population today are peasants, the great majority of whom pay rent in kind to a million or so landowners who provide neither seed nor implements nor capital of any kind, nor even technical knowledge and assistance to their tenants to farm on the most modern lines.

The landowner in Japan is, as in the Middle Ages, an entirely parasitic being who takes from the peasant fifty to sixty per cent of the rice harvest. This has meant that the Japanese peasants have never been able to develop modern agriculture, and have been kept at a dead level of poverty. The majority of them still cultivate the land with the same implements and live very much on the same standard of life as in the medieval period.

Agriculture is therefore extremely unproductive per person employed on the land, although the introduction of chemical fertilizers has made possible a relatively high production per acre. If you take the average production of rice in Japan over the last few years and the average consumption per head, you find that one peasant family—man, wife and children all working together on the farm—produce just enough rice to feed three families.

The peasant, therefore, who cannot make a living from the land, can only exist if he finds a subsidiary occupation. More than two million peasant householders in Japan are engaged in the culture of silkworms, whose produce goes mainly to the United States; but even this is not enough in most cases to produce a living.

Therefore, the custom is for peasants to contract their daughters

to labor almost as slaves in the great factories of the cities. The position of a woman in Japan is so absolutely that of a chattel that her father or male guardian can sign a document saying: My daughter will work for you for two years (or three years, or whatever it may be). I promise that she will cause you no trouble while she is in your employ.

This document is stamped by the peasant, the landowner and the agent, and the girl is carted off like a beast of burden to work in a factory.

The result is that half the industrial working-class consists of girls contracted to labor by their male owners or guardians. Living in a factory dormitory far from their homes and brought up in ideas of submission and obedience, they are the worst paid and the most docile working-class in the world.

That is what has enabled the Japanese cotton interests to conquer the markets of the world, and goes far to explain the total subjection of labor in Japan to the employing class.

The second largest part of Japan's population is a small bourgeoisie, or lower middle-class, consisting of artisans, craftsmen, tiny industrialists, little traders and so forth. These remain only one level higher than the peasantry. They have never been able to expand their businesses, partly because the home market is too narrow, but mainly because everything profit-making in Japan is in the hands of a few families, the gigantic family trusts of the Mitsui, the Mitsubishi, the Yasuda, the Sumimoto and a few others whose names you can count on the fingers of your hands.

Biggest of all these great trusts, the Mitsui are bankers and insurance people; they are the owners of most of the mines in Japan; they own chemical factories; they own some cotton factories; they own the armament factories. At the same time, they profit by handling and exporting the silk spun in the innumerable small workshops and households throughout the country.

The little producer is in the stranglehold of the trusts. When he wants to buy machinery he has to go to the trusts; or when he wants credits. The export markets are also controlled by the trusts, and you can get an idea of the position of the small producer in Japan from the nature of a government bill considered a few years ago for giving relief to small business men and industrialists. The relief proposed

*Il 420, Florence*

***The Axis That Does Not Support But Wants Supporting***

**Britain:** "Why not help me support this axis?"
**France:** "Have patience. There is a strike of carpenters."

was to give them loans at 15 per cent!

Japan is a country practically without a real middle class. In 1931, when she was still on the gold standard, there were only half a million income-taxpayers in the country, though everybody who got more than $600 a year paid the tax. Yet there were at the same time in the country people drawing $500,000, $1,000,000 and $1,500,000 a year. There is thus an extreme contrast of wealth and poverty; and this means that there are also the most acute social antagonisms.

—Freda Utley in *The Lecture Recorder*, London.

## Germany's Mysterious Radio Station

*"Auf wiederhören morgen, trotz Gestapo."* (You'll hear us to-morrow, in spite of the Secret Police.)

That defiant slogan can be heard practically every night at about eleven by any wireless listener who tunes in on short-wave 29.8. It is the regular closing signal of the *Deutsche Freiheitssender* (the German Liberty Transmitter), which starts broadcasting every evening at ten.

The *Freiheitssender* is Germany's opposition radio. It presents a lively problem to the *Gestapo*, whose determined pursuit it has dodged by changing its base of operations every evening (though occasionally it tempts providence by announcing the neighborhood from which it is transmitting).

To tune in to short-wave 29.8 requires some patience. Often it fades out and comes back again on a nearby wave-length; it has to dodge a great deal of interference from the much more powerful Nazi transmitters.

Those who broadcast face certain death if caught; and yet they go on, night after night, addressing millions of Germans spoonfed with Goebbels-propaganda. (But Heaven help any listener who himself gets caught doing so!)

"Cinna" in *Time and Tide*, London.

## An Alsatian Henlein

Nine-tenths of Alsace is faithful to France. During the days of mobilization (in the September crisis) all the reservists presented themselves at their barracks and readily took up arms. For Alsace has no desire to exchange France, who brought her freedom 150 years ago, for the concentration camps of the Third Reich.

The Alsatian extremists have formed an Elsass-Lothringische Partei. At its head is the "Fuehrer" Bikler; its theoretician is a man named Dr. Speizer, and the party program is laid down in its manifesto: "We demand the right of self-determination." The doctor publishes the journal *Strasburger Monatshefte*, which carried such militant slogans as: "We must be Germans in our speeches and our songs, in talking and writing, in poems and prayers. We do not want to be French; we want to be what we were."

The journal also specializes in the German racial theory: "doctors" of various kinds jeer at the French, who, they say, have mingled their blood with that of negroes.

—Ilya Ehrenbourg in *Izvestia*, Moscow.

# CHRONOLOGY

## Highlights of Current History, Dec. 7—Jan. 10

### *Foreign Relations*

DEC. 8—President Roosevelt summons home our envoy to China for consultation as his concern over Japan's course grows.

DEC. 15—Export-Import Bank authorizes a $25,000,000 credit for China to purchase American products.

DEC. 16—Japan is angered by the American credit given China, believing the war will be prolonged by outside help.

DEC. 18—United States-Turkish trade agreement, providing for free exchange, is initialed in Angora.

Secretary of Interior Ickes, in a speech before a Cleveland Zionist group, assails Americans who accept decorations from dictators.

DEC. 22—United States bluntly rejects a protest from Germany against Ickes' speech of Dec. 18. His speech reflected American views, it is said. German press prints blasts against Ickes.

DEC. 24—Nazi press asserts that relations between the United States and Germany are now at their "lowest point."

DEC. 31—United States sends a strong note to Japan demanding the open door and all other rights in China.

JAN. 9—Shipments of aircraft and aerial munitions to Japan were banned by the Government last July, it is revealed in a report to Congress.

JAN. 10—Ambassadors Kennedy and Bullitt tell a Congressional committee that Europe is threatened with war in the Spring. They point to Mussolini's aims.

### *Defense*

DEC. 13—Navy will increase its apprentice forces to cope with the shortage of skilled navy yard workers, it is announced.

DEC. 27—Roosevelt orders air pilot training for 20,000 students in hundreds of colleges annually.

JAN. 3—Navy board advises Congress that the nation needs 41 air, submarine and destroyer defense bases.

JAN. 4—Roosevelt, in his annual message to Congress, offers a defense program against the rising menace of dictators.

JAN. 5—Roosevelt asks Congress to authorize new $500,000,000 program.

### *Labor*

DEC. 13—President Gorman of the United Textile Workers asks the union to vote on its return to the AFL.

DEC. 14—Gorman is ousted from the TWOC council by Sidney Hillman for trying to divide the workers.

DEC. 18—Advisory council on social security urges that program be revised to add 14,800,000 persons and alter financing.

JAN. 3—Supreme Court backs the NLRB in the Ford suit, upholding a lower tribunal's remand order.

JAN. 10—Roosevelt assigns Secretary Hopkins to reconcile labor groups and to study changes in the Wagner Act.

### *Business*

DEC. 9—Anthony Eden, in a speech before National Association of Manufacturers, says the democracies must meet the challenge of a world dominated by force.

Alfred P. Sloan, General Motors chairman, at a Senate hearing, urges a cut in taxes to manufacturers who scrap old plants for new ones.

DEC. 12—Board of directors of McKesson & Robbins, large drug firm, move to oust two officials of the company. They suspect two of the company's crude drug warehouses are myths.

Maritime Board summons Japanese lines on a charge of rate cutting in the inter-America trade.

Patents are used to "stabilize" prices of glass containers, a witness tells the monopoly inquiry.

DEC. 14—F. Donald Coster, McKesson & Robbins president, and George Dietrich, assistant treasurer, are arrested for fraud.

Fidelity Investment Association, big "thrift plan" company, is accused of fraud in an injunction suit.

DEC. 15—Fingerprints show Coster to be Philip Musica, notorious swindler who "disappeared" after 1920.

Secretary of Commerce Roper resigns to reenter private life.

DEC. 16—Coster ends his life by a bullet as authorities approach to arrest him. George Vernard and George and Robert Dietrich, his aides, are unmasked as his brothers and are jailed.

Dr. Robert Hutchins resigns his post on the New York Stock Exchange board in protest against the governor's refusal to reopen the Whitney case.

DEC. 22—Japanese lines submit in the clash over rate cuts on coffee to the West Coast ports.

DEC. 23—Harry Hopkins, WPA administrator, is named Secretary of Commerce.

President's rail relief committee urges the centralization of control of all forms of transportation.

DEC. 29—Joseph A. Sisto is expelled from the New York Stock Exchange. He is charged with stock-juggling.

### *Agriculture*

DEC. 10—Crop referendum favors control of the cotton crop. Control of flue-cured tobacco and rice is voted down.

DEC. 19—Controller General declares illegal the $3,000,000 Farm Security Administration loans for silk mills.

JAN. 2—Head of the FSA farm cooperative at Coolidge, Ariz., quits. He likens the venture to the Soviet's.

### *Law*

DEC. 20—American Medical Association, three units and 21 doctors are indicted as a trust in Washington.

DEC. 23—Governor Stark of Missouri orders the State Attorney General to open a drive against Kansas City crime.

JAN. 1—Former Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan is appointed Attorney General of the United States.

JAN. 5—Felix Frankfurter, Harvard law professor, is named to succeed Justice Cardozo on the Supreme Court. Dean C. E. Clark of the Yale Law School is named to the Court of Appeals.

JAN. 7—Tom Mooney is pardoned by Governor Olson of California and is absolved of all guilt in the 1916 San Francisco Preparedness Day Parade bombing. Mooney says he will work for the "common good."

David Lawrence, Pennsylvania Democratic head, is indicted in an inquiry into the Earle regime.

### *Relief*

DEC. 8—Hopkins plans changes in WPA procedure, he says. He wants a "meeting of minds" with Congress.

DEC. 23—Roosevelt names Colonel F. C. Harrington to head the WPA.

JAN. 3—Senate committee finds that relief funds were used in politics in Kentucky, Tennessee and Pennsylvania.

JAN. 5—Roosevelt asks $875,000,000 for work relief until July 1.

### *Housing*

DEC. 8—USHA has spent all its $800,000,000, Nathan Straus announces as he allots the last funds.

DEC. 13—Roosevelt extends the limit for FHA to insure residential mortgages by a billion to three billion.

### *Power*

JAN. 5—Roosevelt appoints former Senator James P. Pope of Idaho to the TVA board.

### *Treasury*

DEC. 25—Marriner Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve System board, in a sharp letter to Senator Byrd, denies New Deal "waste," and discounts "alarm" over Federal debt.

JAN. 5—Roosevelt offers a $9,000,000,000 budget.

### *Postal Service*

DEC. 27—Postal service was operated at a loss of $43,811,556 in the fiscal year 1938, Postmaster Farley says in his annual report.

### *Political Groups*

DEC. 14—Mayor LaGuardia of New York urges farmer-labor-business solidarity at the New Orleans Farm Bureau convention.

DEC. 17—John L. Lewis opens the Labor League to all "progressives" in a bid to name the 1940 Democratic slate.

JAN. 7—Roosevelt, in his Jackson Day dinner speech, calls upon all Democrats to unite behind the New Deal. He tells those out of sympathy with its objectives to join the Republicans.

### *Religion*

DEC. 11—Cardinal Mundelein asserts that Father Coughlin has no authority to speak for the Catholic Church.

### *Education*

DEC. 12—Right of a Negro to equal legal training in Missouri State schools is upheld by the Supreme Court.

DEC. 29—Three professors at Columbia Teachers College quit the AFL Teachers Union. One charges that it is dominated by the Communists.

## INTERNATIONAL

DEC. 7—Fascisti march in Naples, Florence and Perugia shouting "Long live Italian Tunisia!"

DEC. 8—France increases her forces in Tunis to halt the spread of the Franco-Italian rioting.

Mexico concludes a $17,000,000 oil barter deal with Germany. The German navy is to receive the fuel.

DEC. 11—Nazis sweep the election for a new Diet in Memel.

DEC. 13—German envoy, his staff and Nazi newspaper correspondents boycott a banquet at which Prime Minister Chamberlain rebukes the German press for its attacks on British statesmen.

Marquis of Londonberry, long an advocate of British understanding with the Reich, comes out against German colonial demands.

DEC. 14—Great Britain warns that the Anglo-Italian agreement forbids any attack by Italy on Tunisia.

French Foreign Minister Bonnet asserts that a war will follow any attempt to take his country's territory.

DEC. 15—Chamberlain again dares the wrath of the German press by differentiating, in a speech, between the German people and their rulers.

DEC. 16—Dr. Hjalmar Schacht submits to George Rublee, refugee committee head, Germany's plan for the "ransoming" of German Jews by other nations.

DEC. 18—Poland warns Czecho-Slovakia to curb the Polish Ukrainians' irredentist activity, saying she doubts that Italy backs the German policy in this direction.

DEC. 19—Chamberlain asks Germany's rulers for some "sign" that they desire peace.

Snowstorms bring a record cold to all Europe.

DEC. 21—Slovakia asks a plebescite in the areas ceded to Hungary.

DEC. 22—Italy repudiates her 1935 agreement with France.

DEC. 26—France, in a note to Italy, warns against inviting a third party to mediate their differences.

DEC. 30—Germany plans to equal British submarine tonnage, it is revealed.

Iran again breaks off relations with France, charging slurs on the Shah in newspaper headlines about a cat show.

DEC. 31—Anglo-German naval talks are halted.

JAN. 5—Chamberlain praises Roosevelt's message to Congress. The British prime minister's statement is believed to have been made to meet the charge that he is a Fascist.

JAN. 6—Czechs shell Munkacs, Hungary. Dozens are killed in the fighting. Budapest makes a vigorous protest to Prague.

JAN. 8—Village ceded by Czecho-Slovakia to Hungary is shelled by the Czechs.

JAN. 10—Czecho-Slovakia is warned by Hungary that her troops will invade if her border is again attacked.

Chamberlain, in Paris on way to Rome, assures the French that he will take a firm stand in his talks with Mussolini.

### *Lima Conference*

DEC. 7—Secretary of State Hull, arriving in Lima, visits other delegation chiefs to enlist their support for the "American system."

DEC. 10—Hull and Cantilo, Argentine Foreign Minister, speaking at the opening of the conference, say there is no room in the Americas for totalitarian ideas.

DEC. 14—United States' plan for defense of the Americas is shelved as Argentina drafts an innocuous substitute.

DEC. 16—Hull's policy of no trade restrictions other than tariffs is adopted by the conference.

DEC. 18—Monroe Doctrine will not alter, despite shifts of party in the United States, Alfred Landon declares in a speech.

DEC. 21—Argentina offers her own declaration on American unity, rejecting the draft of the majority of the nations.

DEC. 24—Twenty-one American republics sign an agreement to resist aggression.

DEC. 27—Conference ends. Speakers stress that interdependence does not mean sacrifice of independence.

German and Italian reporters at Lima are not invited to a party given by President Benavides of Peru.

### *Spanish Civil War*

DEC. 15—General Franco restores citizenship to former King Alfonso.

DEC. 23—Rebels launch their delayed campaign in the vicinity of Tremp in Catalonia.

DEC. 25—Rebels drive two wedges into the Loyalist lines, and claim gains on a 30-mile front.

DEC. 28—Rebels push their offensive, but the Loyalists strike back in the Tremp zone. The battle is the greatest in the war.

DEC. 29—Rebels report breaking through near Balaguer in the center and at Granadella on the south.

DEC. 30—Stern resistance slows up tired Rebel troops in Catalonia. Loyalists launch a counter-attack.

DEC. 31—Rebels advance anew. Barcelona is bombed at night.

JAN. 1—Rebels drive Loyalists back on Artesa, a strategic town. They report a gain on the coast.

JAN. 2—Rebels say they are within ten miles of Falset. They are reported held up elsewhere.

JAN. 4—Rebels force their way to Borjas Blancas, 16 miles east of Lerida.

JAN. 5—Loyalists launch a drive in Southern Spain to ease the pressure on Segre as two key towns fall.

JAN. 6—Loyalists report that their fast-moving drive in South-Central Spain has slowed up the Rebels in Catalonia.

JAN. 8—Both sides report new gains. The Rebels advance in Balaguer and the Loyalists in Estremadura.

### *Sino-Japanese War*

DEC. 13—Chinese advance on Hankow. They report the recovery of nearly all the Hunan territory lost since Nov. 12.

DEC. 15—Chiang Kai-shek flies to Siam to prepare defense against the expected Japanese drive on Shensi.

DEC. 20—Japan rushes five divisions to Manchukuo from North China because of their fears of Russia.

DEC. 22—Chinese shift their supply line to Burma as the French prohibit war shipments through Indo-China.

China buy 1000 trucks from General Motors and Chrysler, using her new American credit.

DEC. 26—Move for truce is reported in Hong Kong. A new Japanese drive starts in Shansi Province.

JAN. 1—Arrest of 200 persons in a purge of the Chinese "peace party" is reported. General Wang is dismissed.

JAN. 3—Japanese Cabinet resigns under extremist pressure in a split over the policy in China.

JAN. 4—Baron Hiranuma, Fascist, becomes the Japanese Premier.

### *France*

DEC. 9—Chamber of Deputies votes 315 to 241 to support Premier Daladier's program for national recovery.

DEC. 28—France will double her Somaliland military and naval forces, it is announced. Two warships are on their way there.

DEC. 29—Stockholders of Pathé large film corporation, charge Natan, its head, with fraud.

JAN. 1—Daladier scores a victory on the new 66,000,000,000 franc budget in the Chamber and then sails on a trip to parts of the French empire.

JAN. 2—Daladier is cheered in Corsica. He points to circling warships as a symbol of security.

JAN. 3—Tunisia wildly acclaims Daladier.

JAN. 6—Daladier completes his empire tour with a review of the Foreign Legion in Algiers.

### *Great Britain*

DEC. 21—Government will spend £20,000,000 to reinforce homes with steel against air raids, it is announced.

DEC. 22—Duchess of Atholl is defeated in a Perthshire by-election by a supporter of Chamberlain.

JAN. 1—Sir James Jeans receives the Order of Merit. Four peerages are created.

JAN. 6—Government resuscitates its equalization fund by a record gold purchase from the Bank of England.

### *Italy*

DEC. 14—Vast arms outlay is fixed by Italy in her new budget. A deficit of 4,755,000,000 lire is foreseen.

### *Palestine*

DEC. 18—A priest of the Mosque of Omar is slain by the Arabs in Jerusalem. He had opposed the exiled Mufti.

### *San Salvador*

JAN. 4—President Martinez, backed by German and Italian Fascists, has his term extended six years.

### *Siam*

DEC. 15—The third attempt in four years is made on the life of Premier Songgram. He and his family are poisoned.

### *Yugoslavia*

DEC. 11—Government gets only 58.9 per cent of the vote in the parliamentary elections. The Matchek group gets 40.21 per cent.

# Travel

THE recent Pan-American Conference at Lima, Peru, has focused popular interest in the United States upon life to the south of us. Thereabouts is an endless panorama of local sight and sound which takes us farther from New York, or Cincinnati, or San Francisco, than would Paris or Berlin.

Consider, for example, the blue Caribbean with its flying fish and scattered, romantic islands dotted here and there just beyond the horizon. There is Cuba, with its Casino and its night-life in Havana, and its Hispanic ball game—Fastest sport in the world—which Yankees mispronounce as "hy-ly". The Cuban Capitol is the world's third most magnificent building, exceeded only by St. Peter's at Rome and St. Paul's in London. The natives are friendly and frankly like visiting Americanos of the North.

There is the Panama Canal Zone, and the Republic of Panama. The Zone is a great base for Uncle Samuel's soldiers, sailors, and marines; and pay-day—the first of the month, to be exact—is well worth seeing, and taking part in. Your correspondent knows. Then you fly across the Isthmus to colorful Panama City on the west coast, roughly fifty miles and taking what seems but a few minutes. From the air the shadowy strip of the great Canal gives a magnificent bird's-eye view of what American mechanical genius can provide. The canal is teeming with ships: Yankee, Norwegian, Italian, that of His Britannic Majesty and His Teutonic Fuehrerschaft.

Down below Panama, neat and clean as a whistle, but with all that old-world Hispanic charm of iron balconies and tropical foliage and snappy senoritas, sits vast Colombia, now the most progressive state in South America. At Baranquilla is South America's leading air base, full of huge seaplanes which form a coastal network, and a spick-and-span rest-room where flows so subtle a brand of tropical beer. At Cartagena is the Colombian naval base, the Annapolis of the Republic, with British technicians and ancient forts and monasteries. The Cathedral here is well worth seeing, with saintly colonial bones on display, and crude native religious art that alternates between creeps and exaltation. All along this Caribbean shore roam the shades of

the Conquistadores and the buccaneers; Spanish, Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, polyglot.

Further on is the delightful Dutch oil-island of Curacao, with dykes and windmills, and sturdy Holland marines in straw hats and ribbons. Here are perfumes and liquors and immaculate Negroes, and a model setup of Teutons - in - the - Tropics. The bored Dutch detectives said they had nothing to do, and the comfortable jail housed only one Yankee stowaway.

Nearby lies the Venezuelan mainland. Venezuela means "little Venice"—because some of her aborigines once were water-dwellers along lagoons. Up in the Andes sits Caracas, the capital city. Here are a bull-ring (if you like that sort of thing), all the home relics of Generalissimo Simon Bolivar (the South American George Washington), and incomparable "alpine" scenery along a steep, twisting motor-road up from La Guaira on the coast. Interesting racial mixtures of giants and dwarfs, of reds, whites, and blacks, greet you with grins and more or less open hands.

Porto Rico is a model American dependency which furnished one of our delegates for the Lima get-together. It boasts a beautiful new Supreme Court and Spanish regulars in American army uniforms. The Governor welcomes Yankee tourists in his palace. The climate is ideal. Jamaica is utterly black and utterly British, too. Black militia, black firemen and police; with the Sherwood Forresters from Nottingham kept discreetly on the outskirts of Kingston. Here is the Myrtlebank swimming pool, dozens of cozy bars, beautiful rolling scenery, and the big, bad ghost of old Sir Harry Morgan, pirate extraordinary who once sacked Panama—"his" ruins still stand with gaping, fire-gutted, bare walls,

All these spots, along with jazzy, beach-bathing Nassau; the black "Danish" Virgin Islands; voodoo, "Frenchy" Haiti; tawny, dictatorial San Domingo, with the oldest city of the New World and the grave of Christopher Columbus; Tortuga, home port of the buccaneers; Costa Rica, model white "Jeffersonian" statelet; and many more—*all* are within a week, or less, of New York. They give one the "feel" of Lima—the lure of the mysterious, passionate equator. Try it out, and have a grand boat ride at the same time. Glamor girls come in all colors.

—R. S.

## Ten Important Books

(*Continued from page* 7)

is in every sense a good American progressive.

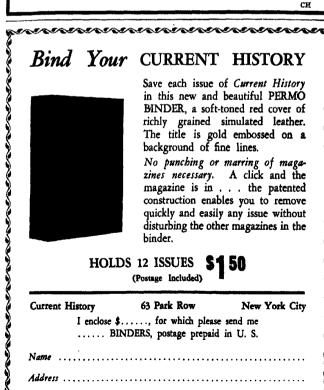
All of these diversified talents find their way into Mr. Frank's new book. Here his economic analysis is acute, and hopeful. His away-from-Europe attitude may be a form of isolationism, but if we follow European patterns we may end up as Europe today finds itself. One Civil War, Mr. Frank believes, is quite enough for the United States. He stands for intelligent social justice, sensible planning, and an avoidance of the suicidal European conception of the class struggle.

### *Unto Caesar*

F. A. Voigt, foreign editor of the famous liberal *Manchester Guardian* of England, has rendered the inquiring public a service in this stout volume. It deals with the dictators. And it deals with them in the best *Manchester Guardian* tradition of objectivity and decency, plus an avoidance of that avid sensationalism with which English literary hacks once treated the first modern dictator, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Mr. Voigt starts, thoroughly enough, with a theoretical study of Marxism and Hitlerism, those antithetical forces which so much resemble one another in practice. From Marx stems internationalism and socialism, and from Hitler stems national socialism. The distinction is a fine one, and the author performs a service in driving his points home.

From Marxism to Stalin, and from Hitlerism to Hitler, are logical steps which Mr. Voigt takes in his stride. Lenin and Mussolini come in for close scrutiny, as do the histories of the Russian and neo-German revolutions. Sanctions, the war in Spain, the aftermath of Versailles, the ethics of liberalism: all receive their due amount of attention, as does the broader aspect of the international situation.

Mr. Voigt has lived in Germany, Russia, and Turkey. He has been arrested, and nearly executed on occasion. He accepts this stoically as part of the journalistic game. Above all, he is a scholar and linguist, and applies "ancient" history to current history in his search for truth.

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# CURRENT HISTORY

## MARCH, 1939

JOSEPH HILTON SMITH, *Publisher*

*Editor*, M. E. TRACY — *Business Manager*, IRVINE HARVEY WILLIAMS

*Associate Editor*, NORMAN COUSINS — *Advertising Manager*, JOHN A. CURTIS

## ARTICLES



## DEPARTMENTS



COVER PHOTOGRAPH FROM WIDE WORLD

Current History, Volume L, No. 1, March, 1939. Whole No. 292. Published monthly by C-H Publishing Corporation, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. Advertising Offices at 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7, in the United States, possessions, Canada, Central and South America and Spain; elsewhere $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new addresses. Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Albany, New York. Entered in Canada as second-class matter. 

## THE ISSUE

● Back in 1936 Roger Shaw ran a nation-wide ballot on the Spanish Civil War for the *Review of Reviews*. The verdict stood 3½ to 1 in favor of the Loyalists. It was a precursor of the recent Gallup poll, which showed a similar ratio. Now Barcelona has fallen, and its capture has been termed the turning-point of the long conflict. Mr. Shaw has written a resumé of the war's history, combined with a personality sketch of Generalissimo Franco, the Rebel chieftain. Mr. Shaw is a staff member of CURRENT HISTORY, the author of *Handbook of Revolutions*, and has lectured on Revolutionary Spain beginning the day that Alfonso abdicated his throne in 1931.

● **Louis Adamic**, a native of Yugoslavia, and now an American citizen, has become one of our leading writers and literary critics. His book, *The Native's Return*, is something of an epic, and the author takes a keen interest in activities of the foreign-born in the United States. In this number he deals with our unmannerly process of naturalization for aliens, and suggests a more dignified procedure for "signing 'em up." His observations in this connection are helpful, constructive, and fill a need. Mr. Adamic's latest book *My America*, was selected by CURRENT HISTORY'S Literary Advisory Board as one of the ten important books of non-fiction in 1938.

● **Carleton Beals**, who writes on the tropical Republic of Colombia, is perhaps North America's leading authority on South America. This is the first of a series by Mr. Beals on the individual nations of the "Latin" continent: data gleaned from the inside—the result of intimate contacts and many years of studious travel. The author's books on Peru, Cuba, Mexico, and Latin America in general, are well known to the Yankee reading public, and for most of us there is no adequate substitute.

● **Lewis Mumford**, philosopher, and political and social scientist, differentiates brilliantly between Fascism and democracy. He speaks for the moderate Left, and does not pull his punches. His definitions of the Hitler-Mussolini product, as contrasted to the system of ancient Athens, J. J. Rousseau, and Ben Franklin, are outstanding, cleancut utterances which extol *our* civilization and bewail the loss of *theirs*. His book, *Technics and Civilization*, appeared in 1934, and has since that time become a standard in its broad field.

● The citizens of America never get tired of reading about the monarchists of France, and the present pretending King and Dauphin (exiled in Belgium) get their share of attention. The wild men of the French royalists are so wild—and brilliant—that their Anointed Ones are shocked and repudiate them. **Robert Strausz-Hupé**, an Austrian with a wide international acquaintance, knows these men and writes of them first-hand. He is considered a special authority on French politics, that merry-go-round of duels, slander, and rough and tumble.

● Rayon has become a major American industry, and merits major attention. Its uses are manifold, and deserve attention. **Howard Stephenson**, a business and industrial writer, goes into it in detail. Mr. Stephenson is a former Scripps-Howard newspaper man, author of several books, and erstwhile editor of *The American Druggist*. He has written previously for CURRENT HISTORY. His subject matter is the only man-made textile in existence, rayon—a lusty infant which, in 1939, is celebrating its youthful 50th anniversary. If chemists have their way, shapely female limbs may soon be swathed in rayon instead of silk, the best advertisement imaginable.

● **Stuart Lillico** comes from Seattle, but has been living for many years in the Orient, where he delved into every aspect of Nipponese and Chinese life. His connections, among others, were with the *Japan Advertiser* and *China Journal*. He has written for CURRENT HISTORY from the Far East for seven years. This month he takes up the China-Japanese war, reviewing the war to date and providing significant military data.

● The American Northwest, as perhaps the most progressive section of the country, is a study in itself. **Richard L. Neuberger**, of the *Portland Oregonian*, is one of its ablest interpreters. He is a frequent magazine contributor and is author of *Our Promised Land*. His current discussion of the Initiative and Referendum, as utilized in Oregon, is pessimistic but instructive. Apparently it works well on paper, but not so well in practice. Mr. Neuberger places the end before the means. Liberalism, to him, is what you do rather than how you do it.

● Albania is the land of the Mountain Eagle, and of "Kentucky" blood feuds extraordinary. **Stoyan Pribichevich**, a native of nearby Yugoslavia, describes its customs and orientations today. He is a lawyer, an adventurous observer and, like Louis Adamic, a convert to America. He has been a Foreign Policy Association expert on Central Europe, and is now writing a book on that tangled area. His American magazine articles have covered a wide range of topics.

NORMAN COUSINS

# The World Today in Books

YOU are in distinguished company if from the first you sniffed suspiciously at what has been advertised as the sweet-scented peace of Munich. Here are three authors, all of them front-line experts, who will certify your suspicions and help crystallize the conviction that what came out of Munich was not "peace for our time" but a period of knife-sharpening and muscle-bulging which would enable the participants, when ready, to stage a much more magnificently-proportioned war than they possibly could last September.

Hamilton Fish Armstrong in his *When There is No Peace*, Vera Micheles Dean in her *Europe in Retreat*, and G. E. R. Gedye in his *Betrayal in Central Europe* all lead up to this conclusion, though each of them employs a different avenue of approach. Mr. Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs* and author of *We or They*, has confined his book to an account and analysis of the immediate events leading up to Munich, including an interpretation of the conference itself. Miss Dean, reserach director of the Foreign Policy Association, goes back to the end of the World War for an interpretative step-by-step story of Europe through Munich; and Mr. Gedye, prominent foreign correspondent of the *New York Times*, draw broad strokes of the shape of things in Central Europe in his semi-historical, semi-autobiographical work.

Of the three books, Mr. Armstrong's is perhaps the most incisive, the most direct; at least, as far as Munich is concerned. *When There is No Peace*, like his *We or They*, is a small book physically, running to about 200 pages. In substance, however, it is far from thin, for it is tightly filled with essential information. Mr. Armstrong never worries about conventional book length; he concentrates instead upon getting down every important fact or explanation in his story in the fewest possible words and with the greatest possible clarity.

Munich, says Mr. Armstrong, was an "armistice." The terms of surrender and "peace" were dictated by one man who, because he played his cards cleverly, was able to get what he wanted and even more without showing his hand. The spoil was part of the territory and virtually all of the independence of what had formerly been a sovereign nation.

How did it happen?

It happened, Mr. Armstrong says, not only because the German ruler prepared his ground thoroughly but because British and French statesmen thought and moved in the best traditions of inertia. For five years Hitler's propaganda machine deftly ground out its "magniloquent lies," paving the way in England and France for what was to follow. And when the crisis approached, Britain's statesmen floundered in their ineptitude and never quite managed to gauge its true meaning or significance. Moreover, both Britain and France were caught short in their military preparations. It all culminated in a political victory for Hitler "without parallel in modern history."

But Mr. Armstrong's conclusions occupy only a minute fraction of *When There is No Peace*, which derives its title from Jeremiah*. The burden of the book is concerned with an interpretative presentation of the facts surrounding the events which culminated in Munich and grew out of it. There are two main currents in the story. The first and most important concerns Germany's own preparations for what was to happen; the second concerns the outer world's and particularly Great Britain's reaction to what Germany was planning and doing. Mr. Armstrong traces both streams from their source and follows them past Munich. He analyzes the technique of Hitler and subjects Mr. Chamberlain's appeasement policy to a searching analysis.

Of considerable value is a 70-page chronology in the appendix presenting a factual day-by-day picture of the Czech-German crisis from February to October, 1938. Anyone interested in preserving a record of the most significant single event in Europe since the end of the war will not want to be without this book.

VERA MICHELES DEAN'S *Europe in Retreat* covers a broader field and goes back farther than Mr. Armstrong's book. For the real beginning of the story of Munich, 1938, she goes back to the Munich of 1923 when Hitler staged his beer hall putsch and to the Versailles of 1919 when Germany was free carving game. It is her belief, and few will disagree, that Hitler and the

* "Saying peace, peace; when there is no peace."—Jeremiah, VI, 14.

**Books Reviewed in This Issue**

| BOOK | AUTHOR | PUBLISHER | PRICE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *When There is No Peace* | Hamilton Fish Armstrong | Macmillan | $1.75 |
| *Europe in Retreat* | Vera Micheles Dean | Knopf | 2.00 |
| *Betrayal in Central Europe* | G. E. R. Gedye | Harpers | 3.50 |
| *The Birth of the Oil Industry* | Paul H. Giddens | Macmillan | 3.00 |
| *Through Embassy Eyes* | Martha Dodd | Harcourt, Brace | 3.00 |
| *Far Eastern Policy of the United States* | A. Whitney Griswold | Harcourt, Brace | 3.75 |
| *A History of Europe* | Henri Pirenne | Norton | 5.00 |
| *Flight into Oblivion* | A. J. Hanna | Johnson | 2.75 |
| *175 Battles* | Roger Shaw | Military Service | 2.00 |

forces he represented grew out of "tendencies" which had been at work in Europe during the post-war years. Similarly, the Munich of 1938 was merely the top note in a chord of diplomatic realignments that followed Hitler's rise to power.

Miss Dean agrees with Mr. Armstrong—in fact, gives greater emphasis to this point—that Hitler's success thus far in "remaking the map of Europe in accordance with his own grandiose architectural plans" was possible because he was able to "outplay the Western democracies at the old game of power politics." In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler generously gave the world a preview of his ambitions for Germany and effectively demonstrated a sense of bluff and bluster which, in practice, worked out just the way he thought it would. Yet leaders of the democratic states, even with these advance blueprints, were slow in formulating a line of action in dealing with him. And when they did, they played directly into his hands. In the beginning, they underestimated him, gave him concessions because they felt he could not last. At Munich, the democracies went to the other extreme: they overestimated him, gave him concessions because they thought he was invincible.

Like many of the Foreign Policy Association publications which she has a hand in directing, Miss Dean's book shows an excellent grasp of the layman's needs. It is clearly and competently written, embraces sufficient background material to enable the average reader to orient himself comfortably, and strikes a balance between interpretation and factual information. The book is topicalized for ready-reference: subdivisions of each chapter are conveniently listed on the contents pages and apply to specific facts and questions, rather than to abstract thoughts. It makes no pretense of being a one-volume history of Europe since the war, but for average purposes it gives a remarkably well-rounded picture of the essential happenings of Europe since 1919.

Both Mr. Armstrong and Miss Dean can disagree with what happened at Munich and remain reasonably calm. But not so G. E. R. Gedye. Dispassionate he is not. He watched the cauldron boil at first hand and came away with fire in his eyes. *Betrayal in Central Europe* is the result not only of Czechoslovakia's death but of the rise of Naziism in Europe. Gedye was there through it all; as foreign correspondent for the world's leading papers, he was close to the raw fibre of history. He saw first Dollfuss go, then Schuschnigg, then Benes. And now—

Now he sees, as Winston Churchill did in his message to America, the "lights of liberty going out and the stations closing down . . ." He sees people handing back without protest the things that are indispensable to their growth and culture and freedom. But, like Churchill, he still feels that something can still be done: "There is time for those to whom freedom and parliamentary government mean something to consult together . . ." Addressing his British countrymen and referring to the Chamberlain regime, he says, too, that "there is still time for the overthrow of this pre-Fascist regime before it achieves full totalitarianism—but only just time."

Gedye's purpose in writing this book was not merely to add to the imposing number of journalistic autobiographies published during the last few years. He does not want people to read the story of his experiences as a European correspondent these last turbulent years

merely because it may be interesting and exciting reading—which it is—but because he has an urgent message. He wants you to feel as he does, after having spent twenty years close to the coils of history, that it is impossible to be dispassionate about Fascism—even if it may be "over there" with an ocean as an intervening cushion. He wants you to realize that it can happen here or anywhere and that the time to attempt to preserve and guarantee our liberties is now, while we still have them, not when it is too late.

N. C.

IN the spring of 1858 "Colonel" E. L. Drake, ex-steamboat clerk, ex-farmer, ex-express agent, arrived in the little farming village of Titusville in western Pennsylvania. The "Colonel" was acting as agent for a Connecticut oil company, and his title had been assumed to impress the natives of Titusville. The greasy, smelly appearance of the stream that meandered around Titusville had long appeared on maps as Oil Creek; but the natives were astonished when Drake proposed to drill for oil in the vicinity, drill in precisely the same fashion as one would for water.

Through fourteen discouraging months, while drillers, dubious of his sanity, failed to cooperate with him, Drake kept persistently at his job. Then, quite unexpectedly, late in August, 1859, one of "Colonel" Drake's drills struck oil. Petroleum was thus "discovered," and another great American industry was born.

Drake's discovery and the colorful decade that followed while Oil Creek was the center of the oil industry are told in *The Birth of the Oil Industry*, a detailed, scholarly book by Professor Paul H. Giddens of Allegheny College.

As Dr. Giddens shows, the existence of oil in America had been noted as early as 1627 by a French missionary who saw an oil spring near Cuba, New York. In 1814 DeWitt Clinton, who always had an eye on the main chance, had urged that petroleum be used to light the cities of the United States. But until the 1850's the economic possibilities of petroleum—save as a cure for all sorts of ailments—remained unrealized. Then the shortage of whale oil for illumination and lard oil for lubrication focussed attention upon the little-used "rock oil" as a substitute.

The heyday years of Oil Creek were vibrant with the bustling spirit of industrial pioneering; and Dr. Giddens has captured most of it in his pages.

He tells the tragic chapters of "Colonel" Drake's later life, how his own oil holdings went dry, and how he was unable ever to find another place for himself in the industry. Drake died a poor pensioner of the State whose industry he helped so much, a man who shook the boughs that the others might gather the fruit. There were the farmers and speculators who prudently saved and reinvested their profits and settled down to live genteelly in Titusville and Oil City.

With the new industry appeared all the frantic speculation in land and oil, all the mushroom growth of rowdy towns that characterized the gold and silver rushes. Following "Colonel" Drake's discovery, all the farm land along Oil Creek was snapped up by eager speculators. In about three months a spot in the wilderness burst into Pithole City, a bustling town of 15,000. A year later oil production had fallen off, and Pithole was deserted.

By 1869, just a decade after "Colonel" Drake's discovery, the center of oil drilling activity had shifted down the Allegheny River. Within a generation the birthplace of the industry was but a pigmy compared with the great new areas in Texas and Oklahoma. But along Oil Creek in those ten years was formed the pattern for oil booms and the oil industry in these later days.

Ida M. Tarbell, author of that classic account of the industry, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, has written the introduction to Dr. Gidden's book. In about 30 pages Miss Tarbell has succinctly summarized Dr. Gidden's whole story.

R.W.

A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD'S *Far Eastern Policy of the United States* is a notable contribution to the study of Yankee diplomacy through forty stormy years.

Mr. Griswold, Assistant Professor of Government and International Relations at Yale, is a studious researcher and capable writer. His work runs to 530 pages, carefully documented and indexed, and with appendices and sources added. Starting with the annexation of the Philippines—that initial step in Republican imperialism—Mr.

Griswold proceeds to examine the Open Door policy. Hitherto unpublished manuscript material appears in this connection, and casts new light upon our attempt to dominate trade in China. Theodore Roosevelt plays his roaring part as a world politico, and the dollar diplomacy of Taft and Knox follow (somewhat less gloriously). Then comes Woodrow Wilson, with his efforts to restrain Japan during the World War. Next is the memorable Washington Conference at which we gained naval equality with the British, and tried to stress the Open Door again. Here we thought we had boxed the Japs, but have since found out differently.

Mr. Griswold also explores oriental immigration to America, the Kellogg Pact and Stimson Doctrine, and the State Department's attitude toward China and Japan in 1931-32 and 1937-38-39. He has utilized its archives, and those of the Library of Congress. This is a volume deserving of the highest praise. It is easily the best one-volume work on the subject.

R.S.

*A History of Europe*, running from the breakup of the Roman Empire down to the Protestant Reformation, is the work of the late Belgian scholar, Dr. Henri Pirenne. It is social, economic, political, and religious in scope. Some 35 years of acute, careful research is packed into it, and it was written under most unusual circumstances:

Pirenne was arrested by the German invaders of Belgium in the "Verdun" year, 1916, and transported to Germany. Here he lectured in a prison camp to the largest audiences of his life: many hundreds of war-weary, mentally starved captives. His lectures were successful—so much so, that the German authorities moved him away to another place of confinement.

It was under these strange conditions, without reference books or original sources, forced even to guess at dates, that he set to work on *A History of Europe*. But he worked rapidly and sketched in East and West, the Dark Ages, the Crusades, the Renaissance, the feudal system, its manners and customs, with an all-embracing, unerring pen.

His study of the rise of the bourgeoisie and the hegemony of the Popes is especially interesting. It is appropriate that this great authority from the University of Ghent, a man of Belgium, although recognized all over Europe,

should have told so much of the life and times of that very greatest of the Belgians, Karl de Groot, whom some call Charlemagne or Carolus Magnus. There was more to the Middle Ages than knightly chivalry and beaded priests—there were traders and tradesmen, great cities, busy cathedral builders, daring shipmasters, heretics and devil-worshippers, as well as the green-bannered hosts of Islam.

S.V.H.

With an attractive style that bespeaks her training as assistant literary editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, Martha Dodd, daughter of the distinguished historian and former ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, tells in *Through Embassy Eyes* of the joys and griefs that come to a quiet professor's family when it is suddenly hurled into the bustling diplomatic life of a great capital.

Miss Dodd, an average middle-class American girl, writes here of the four-and-a-half years spent by the Dodds in Berlin. She recounts with amusing detail the inevitable brushes with newspaper reporters, the problems of house hunting in a strange city, the endless rounds of dull receptions attended by hypocrites and poseurs.

It is in her accounts of the teas and parties that Miss Dodd is at her best. Through sharply perceptive feminine eyes she watched and analyzed "Putzi" Hanfstaengl, Hitler's court jester now fallen from grace, whom she describes as a "jitterbug;" Louis Ferdinand, the very American son of the German Crown Prince; the weak Crown Prince himself, his pushing wife and the sycophants who make up their little court.

Miss Dodd met Adolf Hitler once and observed him often; and her impressions illuminate the personality of the enigmatic Fuehrer. She writes of the dwarf-like Goebbels and his clever wife; of the cruel, obese Goering and his cheerful spouse; of the shrewd Dr. Schacht. She keenly analyzes the members of the press and diplomatic corps in Berlin; often her judgments differ widely from their reputations. By telling of the purge of June, 1934, simply as she watched it happen, she imparts all the terror and brutality behind that notorious episode of German history.

Miss Dodd has set out, she says, to impart to us some of her disillusionment with Germany—the contrast between the romantic, cultured Germany her father had known as a student and

(*Continued on page* 64)

# Neutrality?

DO the American people really want to be neutral in a world which is torn by conflicting ideologies, aspirations and interests? Could they be neutral through any rigid and preconceived policy? Have they been neutral toward the factions in Spain by means of an embargo? Have they been neutral toward the Sino-Japanese conflict without an embargo? If conditions had been reversed, would they have been any more neutral in either case? Is it possible to be neutral by merely treating both sides alike?

Officially our munitions markets are open to any government at peace. Officially Italy and Germany are just as welcome to buy airplanes, tanks, gun castings, etc., as are France and England. Officially Japan has as good a right to buy implements of war as China. Officially there is no war in China because neither nation has declared war.

Regardless of the official situation, our Government appears able to find ways and means of encouraging sales to some countries while it discourages sales to others. By common report, France and England are getting considerable help from us in their rearmament program, while dictatorial states are getting little or none. This may conform to public sentiment, but it hardly squares with our official attitude. By common report, Japan has virtually been stopped from buying airplanes, while the Chinese Government gets a loan of $25,000,000.

Such a state of affairs automatically leads to extravagant rumor, unnecessary criticism and dangerous speculation. Some people are not only wondering whether we are being manoeuvered into a position where we might be compelled to take part in a European war, but are actually asserting as much. Some people are suggesting that our pretended neutrality is simply a smoke-screen behind which a more or less definite military alliance is being forged. Some people are proclaiming that our rearmament program is being deliberately framed to help the so-called democracies against the so-called dictatorships, and many favor it for that precise reason.

What most people would like to know, however, is exactly what the Government at Washington has in mind. They have seen ambassadors called home from various countries, and they have heard the alarming reports made by those ambassadors. They have heard it said that war is virtually unavoidable and that it may occur within a short time. They have heard that tension is growing between democratic countries on the one hand and totalitarian states on the other. They have read and tried to understand the President's recommendation for greatly increased armament. They have observed how a Senate Committee was called to the White House and given information which it was requested not to divulge. Under such circumstances, they naturally conclude that things are going on about which they lack candid information and they suspect that these things might well reach a stage that would call upon them to make unusual and unforeseen sacrifices.

Now, the people of this country do not lack courage or conviction on most of the problems which plague this tortured earth. They are not afraid to undertake what may be necessary for the preservation of their government or the philosophy for which it stands. They want to be sure that the sacrifices are necessary and that the aims involved are reasonably attainable before they get too deep into the quagmire. They do not want another such unhappy experience as they had in the last World War. If they must fight, they want to know what it is about and whether they are pulling someone else's chestnuts out of the fire—not for the improvement of humanity but for the benefit of certain countries.

For this reason, they want their Government to be frank, not only with regard to its objectives but with regard to information which causes it to seek those objectives.

ME Tracy

Des Moines Register and Tribune

Africa, site of Germany's former colonies, may become another "trouble" continent.

CURRENT
HISTORY

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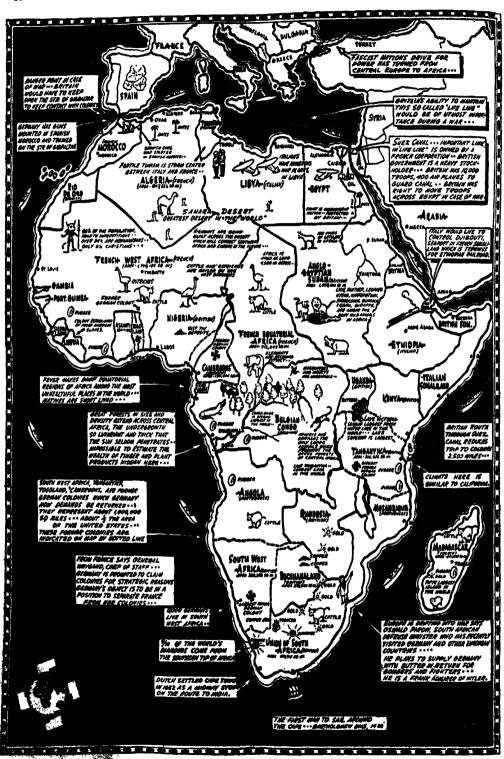

# A Month's History in the Making

THE seventh year of President Roosevelt's struggle to bring about recovery under New Deal formulae opens with increased confusion and stiffened opposition all along the line. While there is little warrant for the idea that anything approaching a coalition between Republicans and conservative Democrats exists, they are finding it easy to cooperate with regard to some of the more important questions. By working together, they were able to cut down the emergency appropriation for W. P. A. from $875,000,000 to $725,000,000. Although this was done with such qualifications and reservations as prevented it from being construed in the light of an out-and-out reverse for the President, it nevertheless evidenced a growing sentiment against unrestricted expenditure. Also, by working together, they have been able to block some important Presidential appointments, and there is good reason to believe that they will be able to block more.

Confirmation of Felix Frankfurter as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; of Frank Murphy as Attorney-General; of Harry L. Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce, was voted by the Senate without serious opposition, but the appointment of Floyd H. Roberts as Federal District Judge of western Virginia was turned down by a majority of 8 to 1. Roberts' appointment goes back to last summer's campaign in which President Roosevelt undertook to reward New Deal enthusiasts on the one hand and punish those Democrats whom he regarded as too lukewarm on the other. Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia were ignored or overruled, while Governor Price and his associates were consulted and heeded. Naturally enough, the two Senators were irritated, and when the question of confirmation came up, they mobilized their colleagues to rise and defend what is commonly referred to as Senatorial courtesy, which means the right by custom of Senators to have a say-so in the distribution of patronage within their respective States.

Roberts' appointment can hardly be regarded otherwise than as part and parcel of that weird crusade by which President Roosevelt undertook to spank the Democratic Party into solid support of the New Deal. It was rejected by the Senate in practically the same proportion that his "purge" was rejected by the people—8 to 1.

*Let the seller beware!*

A GROWING opposition to relief and allied agencies of assistance, as they have been more or less directly controlled by the White House, can also be traced in large measure to last summer's campaign. The tremendous amounts expended just before election, and the way some of the money was used, as revealed by the Shepherd Committee's report, not only gave Republicans and dissenting Democrats a splendid opportunity to find fault, but shocked the country at large. Whatever else may be thought of it, it was a bad political move and could not result in anything except the creation of unfavorable sentiment. There always has been a minority of Democrats who doubted the wisdom of throwing their party traditions overboard for the sake of New Deal experiments. That minority has grown since the middle of last summer. In a similar way, and for similar causes, the Republican minority has been greatly increased in Congress.

The cut for W.P.A., opposition to Presidential appointments, continuance of the Dies Committee, moves to amend the Labor act, a resolution to impeach the Secretary of Labor, several bills designed to turn back a large proportion of relief to the States or local communities, and many other items, leave no doubt that Congress is in a mood to recapture certain powers which it surrendered to the executive during its orgy of New Deal enthusiasm. While last summer's campaign may have started the ball rolling in this direction, failure of the New Deal to bring about any such degree of recovery as was expected and promised can be depended on to give it speed and momentum. When all is said and done, there remains one simple fact: we have not made any such headway toward the rehabilitation of business or the re-employment of people as was hoped and predicted six years ago. On the other hand, Federal taxes have steadily increased; the Federal budget has remained unbalanced, and the Federal debt has been doubled.

The critical character of the situation may have justified all that has been done and the objectives sought may have been wholly good, but the results are disappointing—and not only results but immediate prospects.

As things now stand, the Government finds itself committed to pro-

*A Very Anxious Seat*

grams and measures which promise to keep the Federal budget and the Federal debt rising for several years to come. Of still greater significance, some of these programs would lead to a degree of centralized authority and paternalism that is hardly reconcilable with our political system, if carried to their ultimate and logical conclusion.

ONE thing not only leads to another, but sometimes to results that were unlooked for, even by those who sponsor the parade. Take T.V.A., for instance, which began as a nitrate plant on the Tennessee; which was tied up with flood control to make it legal; which was edged into the power business to make it pay. In the beginning, it was an emergency enterprise for national defense; then it was a fertilizer plant to help farmers; then it was a river regulator to improve navigation; then it was a power plant to be run as a yardstick for rate-making purposes; now it is on the retail side of peddling electricity. Purchase of the Commonwealth and Southern properties in Tennessee must be regarded as an almost inevitable conclusion to the various experiments that were undertaken, one after another. It leaves no doubt on one point, however, and that is that the Government of the United States has gone into the power business, and that a precedent has been set which may cause it to go into the power business in other sections in order to treat everybody alike. Confining Government power business to rivers, dams, and reservoirs might eventually be construed as discriminatory against those sections that have to get their power from coal, oil or natural gas. In order to even things up, the Government may be driven to undertake the production and sale of electricity from such sources. Now, such a course may be justified from existing conditions, but we should not delude ourselves as to where it may lead us, and as to the effect it may have on our whole political system. It represents a fundamental change in our original traditions and concepts of the Federal Government.

APART from those improved economic results which were so confidently predicted five or six years ago, the farm program, the labor program, and the foreign trade program have failed to bring about any such degree of peace, security and general confidence as was prophesied. A large section of labor is not satisfied with the Wagner Act, or the methods pursued by the National Labor Relations Board. A large section of farmers is equally dissatisfied with crop control. Though Secretary of State Hull has worked intelligently and persistently for better markets and more trade abroad, he has found it difficult to overcome the effect of foreign propaganda on the one hand and of domestic experimenting on the other.

Like most other countries, our own is still seriously handicapped by the curious political and economic adventures of a world which has failed to find its balance since the Great War. For twenty years and more, western civilization has suffered from a plague of New Deals which, though called by various names, represents nothing but the floundering of great masses of people who, because of their desperate situation, seek security at any price. They have surrendered nearly everything which was formerly regarded as essential to civilized life, in order to get what seemed to them a guarantee of peaceful existence. They have literally thrown themselves on the mercy of demagogues and dictators in the hope of being liberated from the chaos, confusion and alarms which followed the greatest murder-fest of modern times. They have done all this only to find themselves remobilized as cannon fodder, retrained as killers, retaxed and reoppressed to provide the necessary engines of bloodshed.

We have tried to protect ourselves from being engulfed in the maelstrom by adopting a preconceived and rigid attitude of neutrality, but only to find that there is no such thing. By being neutral, we helped the Nationalists to overthrow the Government of Spain, and Japan to conduct a more effective campaign in China. By being neutral, we have aggravated the timidity of France and England, while we have encouraged the steady advance of the dictators.

The worst of it is, we are not a neutral people. Our convictions are too firmly fixed and our ideals too firmly implanted for an indifferent and colorless attitude toward a world in the agony of transition. To mean anything, a foreign policy in this turbulent era must adjust itself to rapidly changing conditions. There is neither sense nor virtue in the contention that it is good because it is the same that it always has been, or in the notion that it can be fixed with regard to a world in turmoil, no matter what happens, and no matter how our own particular concepts and interests are affected.

Because the foreign policy we have tried to adopt is inconsistent with our character and traditions, it has failed to work as was expected. We could not, and we have not, squared it with public sentiment. Officially, our munition markets are supposed to be as open to one nation as another, but unofficially they are not. We are selling Japan scrap-iron, but not airplanes. We are selling airplanes to France and England, but we are not selling them to Italy and Germany. The plain truth is that we are not as willing to help dictators and aggressors as we are to help democracies,

*Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic and Gazette*

***Relief Pitcher Still Waiting Around***

and no Administration could get away with the idea of treating dictatorship and democracy on genuinely equal terms.

Public opinion in this country can not be stifled with respect to its foreign policy any more than it can be stifled with respect to any other policy, and there is no use trying to write into it attitudes and patterns which do not conform to public sentiment. The people of this country are quite content to see our airplanes and munitions go to France and England; they not only like the increased business it means, but they like the purpose it serves. They realize that France and England are handicapped by lack of armament, and can be intimidated because of this lack. While recognizing the right of all countries to buy arms when and where they can, the American people believe in their own right to sell to those who first apply or insist on such terms as might exclude others.

Controversy over our foreign policy, which arose because of the President's firm denial that he said what he was quoted as having said to a Senate committee, comes as a welcome interlude for just one reason: it may lead to such a clarification of our attitude as is badly needed, not only here but abroad. And abroad things are stirring, with a vengeance, from Nuremberg to Nippon, from Barcelona to Budapest.

*The Balkans: An ethnological map.*

HUNGARY, which is coming more and more into the German sphere of influence in Central Europe, has joined the Anti-Comintern pact—allegedly directed against Moscow and the Reds. The Anti-Comintern comprises Germany, Japan, Italy, and Manchukuo, as well as its new member; and Poland, Portugal, Czecho-Slovakia, and General Franco's Spain have been approached, among others.

This Anti-Comintern claims to be a Red-baiting agency—a sort of Fascist League of Nations—though in practice it harasses the British Empire more than the Soviet Union. If necessary, it might even claim that Stalin is an anti-Semite at heart and that Chamberlain is a Bolshevik, not to mention Winston Churchill and Sir Anthony Eden. Nevertheless, Russia has broken off relations with Hungary, claiming that the land of the Magyars has lost its independence, although Moscow continues its diplomatic ties with Hitler, Mussolini, and the Mikado. Meanwhile, anti-Semitism daily is on the increase in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, not to mention recent pogrom riots in pro-German Mexico, which have brought the unpleasant phenomenon of persecution to the New World. Cuba has affirmed her political solidarity with the Mexicans.

But there was more bad news from the Western Hemisphere. Terrific earthquakes have shaken southern Chile, on the South American west coast, hideously damaging seven cities and reputedly killing a total set as high as 30,000. Chile, called the South American Prussia, now is experiencing a left-wing Popular Front government which has undertaken great reforms. Her new "reform" President is Pedro Aguirre Cerda, who won his office by a few hundred votes only, and hopes to hold on willynilly. The earthquake has not improved his chances, although he personally did rescue work in No Man's Land, and to good effect. Chile, with an economic depression and a population of less than five million, can ill afford Acts of God.

IN THE Third Reich there has come an important domestic "money" shift. The Danish-American-German, Dr. Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht—nicknamed the German Hoover—was removed from his presidency of the Reichsbank, and has been supplanted by Dr. Walther Funk, Nazi Minister of Economics. Schacht is a conservative, a born stabilizer, and a "sound" finance man. Funk, age 48, is a radical Party member, and an expert on barter trade of all sorts. He is the emissary who used little Bulgaria as an experimental laboratory, and has since worked out the practical details which bind Central and Balkanic Europe to the German factories by silken cords of horse-trading. Last year he "purchased" Turkey with a $65,000,000 German credit.

The 62-year-old Schacht has run the whole political gamut in his career. He was a monarchist before and during the World War. After the War he became a leftish democrat, and then a nationalist conservative. Finally he came into the Nazi camp, although he has never felt at home there. Propaganda-chief Goebbels and Police-chief Himmler have always been opposed to him. Schacht is a Freemason, and not anti-Semitic; a moderate, and never a

war-monger. He is a bosom friend of Chairman Sir Montagu Norman of the Bank of England—which has been a handy thing for Germany. It has been expected that the Reichsbank—like almost everything else in Germany—would be nationalized. Of the Nazi leaders, conservative Field Marshal Goering alone will miss the banker with the so-high collars.

THE turning-point of the Spanish civil war came when the rebels captured the loyalist capital of Barcelona. This city is the manufacturing and taxpaying center of Spain, and its now conquered Catalonian province has always been the hotbed of Spanish radicalism. Catalonia under the control of General Franco is an important step toward ending the two and a half years conflict, which has demolished urban Spain from the air and killed off anywhere between one and two million noncombatants.

Strangely enough, "radical" Barcelona cheered Franco's invading Moors, Italians, and diehard Navarrese to the last echo, and Hitler's entry into Vienna last year was repeated on a somewhat smaller scale. Many loyalist prisoners joined the rebel forces and gave pursuit to their own comrades. and 20,000 Franco police began heresy-hunting and mopping-up in the disordered Catalan metropolis. Tarragona, Catalonia's second city, and Gerona fell to the victorious rebels. The dispirited loyalist Parliament had been forced to meet in a dusty dungeon cellar, closely guarded and hidden away, near the friendly French frontier. Its leaders, with the remnants of the "Red" army and thousands of refugees, fled into France, where they have been more or less well received. (*Franco's Big Push* Page 15).

At least they have been better received than 25 unhappy suspects arrested in the Rumanian capital of Bucharest. This group possessed 21 flame-throwers—a military atrocity invented by Germany in the World War, and utilized by the Italians in Spain. With the flame-throwers the Rumanian conspirators proposed to destroy the Bucharest electric-light plant, municipal waterworks, postoffice, radio headquarters, and American-owned telephone building.

The incident—perhaps exaggerated in its transatlantic version—typifies the shaky Rumanian status quo. This Merry Widow state seethes with discontent, is divided between pro- and anti-Germans, and dislikes its comic King Carol and his mistress, pudgy Magda Lupescu. Since it may mark Hitler's next push eastward, all eyes focus on the wheat fields and oil wells of this Latinic land of nearly 20 million, situated on the way to the Ukraine, the Black Sea, and the Orient. (*Rumania's Uneasy Seat,* Page 37).

THE Italian clamor for French colonies and assets continues—for Tunis, shares in the Suez Canal, the Jibuti railway to Ethiopia, Corsica, anything and everything. Prime Minister Chamberlain has travelled to Rome to "appease" Mussolini, but to no purpose apparently. Tall Foreign Minister

Lord Halifax went with him on the trip, and the British pair also visited the spiritual old Pope. (Chamberlain is a Unitarian, while Milord Halifax is very High Church of England. The Mussolinis have been agnostics for three generations at least.) Said the London jobless, by placards: "Appease the unemployed—*not* Benito."

Benito feasted and fiestaed the British visitors for three days, while the Roman populace cheered them. Your Italian man in the street likes Englishmen, politics aside, while he dislikes Frenchmen and Germans both. The Fascist Youth put on displays for their guests, and an announcement declared: "Britain and Italy each understands the other's viewpoint."

Significantly, the Iron Duce showed Chamberlain and Halifax his private collection of arms and armor. Photographs showed the Britishers laughing nervously as they inspected it. Meanwhile, the French have felt relieved, for they feared that the British ministers might try to "appease" Mussolini with choice bits of the rickety French Empire. Mussolini, however, has countered by making a virtual alliance with his old enemy, Yugoslavia—a thoroughly courageous little country, highly military, and supposedly in alliance with France. This maneuver draws the two-fisted Yugoslavs into the Rome-Berlin axis—perhaps eventually into the Anti-Comintern.

HITLER'S much publicized Reichstag speech was a comparatively moderate affair. He stressed colonies, trade, and the Jewish question, but failed to mention his usual bugaboo, Soviet Russia. "No nation is born to be a Have-not, and no nation is born to be a Have," he declared dramatically. Colonies, said he, were important to Germany as a source of raw materials, but were not in themselves a cause for war. "Export or die" was his key to current German economics. As to another World War, if such should occur, he added, it would go hard with the Jews of Central Europe.

In response, Chamberlain addressed Parliament and welcomed Hitler's remarks. He avoided direct mention of colonies, underlined his belief in "appeasement," and condemned "sinister ideas" at home and abroad. Meanwhile, England has continued to speed up aircraft production, and plans to decentralize the British Isles in wartime by a scheme of 12 regions under regional dictators. (*On Record,* Page 53).

IN THE Far East, Fascist Japan advertises a New Order for China, under the sway of Japanese bayonets. The New Order means, in practice, a virtual economic monopoly for Nippon in the fertile fields of the Chinese, and the end of the traditional Open Door so beloved by American and British diplomats and traders. Japan, in effect, stands for a Yellow Asia—for a Monroe Doctrine designed to keep white men out of her new commercial preserve. For Japan—like Germany—must export or die. America, England, and France all have written notes to Tokyo in protest against the New Order, but this triple threat has not worried the militarists of the Mikado, who continue to stress their new-dealing Pan-Asiatic plans. They merely tighten their grip on squint-eyed little Siam, with its sacred white elephants, and thereby think to checkmate British Singapore, if the need should arise. (*Third Phase in China,* Page 26).

# Franco's Big Push

## When the Generalissimo captured Barcelona, it marked the turning-point of Spain's Civil War

### By ROGER SHAW

As some 40,000 panic-stricken refugees last month fled from captured Barcelona and rushed over the more or less hospitable French frontier, a final rearguard action was fought. This skirmish typified the entire two and a half years of Spanish hell. For it involved on the one hand the Eleventh, Thirteenth, and Fifteenth International Brigades, composed of Americans, Central Europeans, and a few Spaniards, and on the other hand General Franco's Navarra Division, made up largely of Italians, partly of Spaniards.

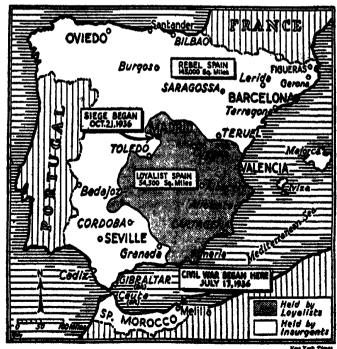
"Partly of Spaniards" tells the sad story. There has dragged on a tedious international war, fought out on Spanish soil, with Germany and Italy ranged actively against a far less active Russo-French combination. Foreign Legionaires, International Brigadiers, North Africans, North Americans, Reds, Pinks, Greens, and Blacks, all religions and anti-religions except the Buddhist: everyone has had a hand. All the newest European military apparatus has been tried out on the Spanish testing-ground—planes, guns, tactics. Between one and two million Spaniards have perished in the process, but no matter.

It started after an election, held in Spain in February, 1936. It was a comparatively honest election, and resulted in a sweeping victory for liberal and radical elements over the clerical and feudal-minded conservative parties. With a Left majority in the Cortes, or Parliament, a policy of internal reform was inaugurated, including subdivision of the great landed estates and a strict limitation of church activities, which formerly had enjoyed a wide variety of monopolies. There were riots and disorders, and persecution of monks and nuns, combined with destruction of church property.

Five months after the election came civil war. In 1861 our own Southern conservatives began the American civil war after having lost an election. In 1936 Spain followed the same historical pattern. General Jose Sanjurjo was to have been the Spanish Jeff Davis—himself an ambitious ex-Secretary of War—but Sanjurjo was killed in an airplane accident just as things were starting. General Francisco Franco, who is certainly no Robert E. Lee, took command of the rebel movement after the fatal crash which finished Sanjurjo.

Franco was in command of the Spanish Foreign Legion and Moorish auxiliaries across the straits in Spanish Morocco when he raised the initial standard of revolt on July 17, 1936. Simultaneously, the army garrisons all over Spain revolted by a prearranged plan. In Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and other larger cities, the loyalist populace defeated the rebel soldiers, but Franco, with his Moors and Foreign Legionaires, crossed the straits dramatically and occupied the cities in southern Spain: Cadiz, Huelva, Seville, Cordoba, and Granada. This sudden move gave the rebels a satisfactory toehold on the agitated Spanish peninsula. With Franco were the grandees, the priesthood, the army officers, most of the regular rank and file, half the navy, half the air force or more, the Nazi-type Phalanx of middle-class Spanish Fascists, and the backward peasants of Aragon and Navarre, called Requetes. All these elements did not agree by any means: the Phalanx was strongly anti-clerical, while the Requetes were very devout. The Mohammedan Moors did not care for Christianity, and the Spanish peasants (remembering their history) did not love the Moors.

From their southern bases, the

New York Times

*This is what was left of Loyalist Spain after the completion of Franco's drive on Barcelona and the surrounding province, Catalonia.*

rebels began to work their way northward along the friendly Portuguese frontier, and captured strategic Badajoz a month after the revolt began. By additional drives on land and sea in the extreme north, rebel troops took Irun and San Sebastian, situated near the French frontier, and began their long series of bombing air raids by peppering Madrid, Spanish capital city in the center of the country. To the southwest, following Badajoz, Franco captured Toledo, rescuing its heroic army garrison which had been besieged by the loyalists in the historic Alcazar for two months. The Toledo operation was spectacular, in that it constituted a siege within a siege: rebels besieging loyalists besieging rebels. On the strength of the Toledo triumph, Franco's military vassals made him Generalissimo, while a Cuban named General Emilio Mola became his second-in-command. The latter—a really able commander—was operating on the northern front.

Late in October, 1936, the rebels began their first great attack on Madrid, while the loyalist capital was moved over to Valencia on the east coast. The rebels actually stormed their way into the Madrid suburbs, but another "Battle of the Marne" miracle took place. The loyalist militia—mostly embattled trade-unionists—held their ground, stopped the advance, and saved the city. These hearties were reinforced by the Austro-Canadian Emil Kleber's polyglot International Brigades: doctrinaire wild men or refugee militarists; everything from Brooklyn Jews to White Russian exiles out of Paris. Their Chato or Mosca aircraft and Christie tanks were Russian-made, but mostly Spanish-operated. Red Russians in Spain were conspicuous by their absence. Commissar Voroshilov, at the Moscow War Office, would not let them go. Meanwhile, Madrid became a second Verdun—but "they" did not pass.

By the opening months of 1937, the rebels had been reinforced up to four Italian divisions of 12,000 men each. The Spanish island of Majorca became an Italian air base, and Italian General Staff members supervised operations in Spain. In February the Italians took Malaga on the south coast by a peculiarly atrocity-studded maneuver. Blame for this, however, goes to their fanatical Spanish camp-followers, full of vengeance, and not to the generally good-natured Italians. In March the Italians attacked Madrid from the north, but met with an epic defeat—another World War Caporetto—at Guadalajara. Here, massed loyalist aircraft routed the helpless Italians, who had been packed into trucks and stuck in the Easter mud. The International Brigades mopped up.

At Guadalajara the Italians, under their General Mancini, consisted of two motorized divisions: Littorio and Third Blackshirt. They totalled 20,000 men. With them they had machine-guns, anti-aircraft guns, anti-tank guns, mortars, field artillery, mountain artillery, deadly flame-throwers, five airplane sections, 60 tanks and 900 trucks. The Internationals were anti-Fascist Italians and French, with some 60 Russian tanks and an armored train. The Russian tanks (ten-tonners) were three times as big as the little Italian Fiats. The latter—baby three-tonners—were overwhelmed, and the rest is history.

New York Times

*Generalissimo Francisco Franco*

In April, 1937, Franco set up a one-party totalitarian state in rebel Spain, and loyalist airplanes sank the rebel battleship *Espana* in a technically interesting bombardment. The loyalists received their sixth new Premier since the opening of the civil war, a scholarly moderate named Dr. Juan Negrin, who succeeded the very radical Largo Caballero. At the end of May, loyalist airplanes bombed the German battleship *Deutschland* at the port of Iviza in the Balearic Islands. By way of Nazi reply, five German warships shelled the Spanish port of Almeria in bloody style. Meanwhile, it was well known that Franco was employing German technicians, agents, and experts, to supplement his Italians, Moors, Foreign Legionaries, and men of Navarre.

During the summer and fall of 1937, the rebels cleaned up the Basque country in the far north of Spain. General Mola had been killed in an airplane accident, like General Sanjurjo, but his lieutenants carried on without him. Italian aircraft proved decisive against the poorly armed and ill equipped Basque militia. Bilbao, Santander, and Gijon fell to the rebels in succession. Bilbao is the ancient Spanish steel center, industrially important, and Old English swords were often known as "bilboes." The loyalist capital was shifted again—this time from Valencia to the Catalonian center of Barcelona, biggest city in Spain and a very modern industrial metropolis.

Barcelona speaks a semi-French called Catalan, contains mills and the famous Hispano-Suiza motor works, and has a population of a million and a half. It is very radical, full of Left socialists, syndicalists, anarchists, Stalinites, and Trotzkyites, all of whom quarrel among themselves. The Catalan State President, Luis Companys, was a republican moderate who had to worry about sporadic anarchist revolts during the course of the civil war. He was finally forced to crush them in a little civil war within a big civil war. The anarchists would do anything except get out and fight Franco, as Companys and Negrin learned to their cost. Meanwhile, Franco hammered Barcelona terrifically with his big bombers, killing more than 1000 civilians in a single day. "Let us give the anarchists a taste of their own bombs," laughed a rebel officer. His teammates did so, daily.

On the eastern front, Teruel changed hands three times without essential result. The loyalists bombed Seville, and one of their destroyers sank the rebel cruiser *Baleares* in a minor naval action. This was in March, 1938. In the same month the rebels started a high-pressure drive toward the east coast, in order to cut loyalist Spain in two and separate Barcelona from Valencia and Madrid. By the middle of April the drive succeeded, and the tired rebels reached the Mediterranean Sea at Vinaroz amid tremendous ballyhoo and acclaim. They now held more than two-thirds of all Spain, and the area under their control was not functioning badly. Issues in the civil war

(*Continued on page* 34)

# The Making of Americans

## Dignified rituals would enhance the naturalization of those proud immigrants about to become citizens

### By LOUIS ADAMIC

My friend Bigelow, well known in the eastern city where he lives, and an American of pre-Revolutionary stock, had just served as a witness at the naturalization of his friend, Dr. Kraus, a refugee scientist from Germany. "I've never seen anything so sloppy!" Bigelow exploded. "It was like getting a liquor permit or a driver's license. No dignity. No suggestion that the citizenship which these immigrants sought had any cultural or spiritual value. I was ashamed before Dr. Kraus and within myself as an American.

"Though the courtroom was already crowded with aliens and their witnesses, attendants kept herding more in—*herding* is the word—arranging them in alphabetical order. To the bored-looking judge it was obviously something to get over with by lunch time. The oath of allegiance was administered by an unshaven man in a sort of rat-tat-tat manner, in a language which might have been English.

"Dr. Kraus came up. Rat-tat-tat, and we were shunted to the rear, just in time to hear a bewildered ex-alien inquire, 'When do I become a citizen?'—and the response, 'Whatsamerra wichya? You just became one!' Finally, looking at his clasped hands, the judge made a speech in a low, spiritless voice—the same speech he had delivered scores of times before, a string of hollow phrases. And so to lunch, the United States having acquired a bunch of new citizens.

"Think of it!" Bigelow went on. "To most of these people the attainment of American citizenship was a fine and glorious dream that took years to reach fulfilment. And to have that dream come to its final realization in this banal, dismal, ill-tempered display of bad manners, squalor and boredom! What I want to know is: Was this typical of naturalization in the country generally? If so, who is to blame—government officialdom, the courts, or you and I?"

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How many aliens are being naturalized annually?

What government department is in charge of naturalization?

What part do federal judges play in the process of naturalization?

How long does it take to become a United States citizen?

What is the attitude of many aliens toward the "banal, dismal, ill-tempered" ceremonial?

How many persons attended Cleveland's picnic for new citizens last Fourth of July?

What novel plan does Harold Fields, of the National League for American Citizenship, advocate for naturalization?

*These questions are answered in Mr. Adamic's article.*

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Bigelow's experience, while not typical, is unfortunately not unique. The blame cannot be put on the Immigration and Naturalization Service, nor on the Secretary of Labor and the President, nor too severely on the courts. Naturalization is a long-neglected problem, worthy of scrutiny at a time when American citizenship is more and more precious to growing numbers of people. Despite reduced immigration, more than 150,000 aliens are being naturalized annually, and close to a million have declared their intention to seek citizenship.

The Constitution gives Congress power to "establish a uniform rule of naturalization." The basic act under which aliens now are naturalized says that "the Immigration and Naturalization Service, under the direction and control of the Secretary of Labor, shall have charge of all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens." Reading on, however, we find that the act does not mean that at all.

Final naturalization procedure is by law made the "exclusive jurisdiction" of the federal courts and those state courts of record which want to assume that jurisdiction. The Secretary of Labor has no control over these courts. The judges are free to make the naturalization ceremony dignified and inspiring or hum-drum and sloppy. This legal set-up splits responsibility and is to blame for much of the haphazardness.

There are now slightly more than 200 federal courts which naturalize approximately two-thirds of the applicants for citizenship, and about 1,800 State courts which naturalize the other third. After witnessing naturalization proceedings or ceremonies lately in several courts, and comparing notes with people in various parts of the country who share my interest, I can say that of these 2,000 courts a few score are nearly everything one can desire with respect to making naturalization dignified. About a thousand, including some of the federal courts which turn out the highest number of new citizens, are so-so—at best marked by a cold business-like efficiency. The rest swing somewhere between "pretty bad" and "awful."

In most cases, the judges who permit careless naturalization procedure in their courts are not to be blamed too harshly. Many judges are overburdened with their regular duties. To nearly all of them naturalization is a side line which comes up in the midst of a crowded calendar. Some naturalize thousands yearly, and it is understandable if they look upon the nervous and nondescript aliens before them as though they were unimportant units in some mass-production process calling for brusque efficiency rather than gracious and patriotic ceremony.

When the alien decides to become a citizen he must show that he is in the country legally. Thus even before he can file his "declaration of intention" and get his "first papers" he must seek from the Naturalization Service a certificate of arrival that is issued only after careful checking of the records. His declaration of intention then is recorded in court by the clerk, largely on the say-so of the Naturalization Service.

Not less than two nor more than seven years later, the applicant can apply to the Naturalization Service for second papers. Some time after he files this petition, he and his two witnesses appear before a naturalization examiner who questions all three as to his fitness to be an American citizen. If the applicant passes this examination and is to be naturalized in a federal court, he is passed on to the so-called "designated examiner"—designated, under the law, by the judge whose time and energy do not permit him to examine carefully all applicants in person.

This examiner recommends to the court whether the applicant ought to be made a citizen. Most federal judges rely upon the examiners entirely, and on the day of naturalization the judges serve merely as a front for what has been decided weeks before. An alien recommended by a "designated examiner" becomes a citizen in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. Actually, therefore, examiners are often more important in the making of new American citizens than are the judges. There are now about 150 of them distributed through the twenty-two naturalization districts. The great majority are excellent, well-trained men who take their jobs seriously and conduct the examinations of applicants in a conscientious, efficient manner.

THE Naturalization Service as a whole is in better shape than it ever was. But it has no control over the judges nor over the manner in which naturalization proceedings or ceremonies are conducted in courts. The extent to which an individual examiner can influence the judge depends on both of them and on all manner of circumstances in the local courthouse and the community. Examiners are urged by the central office in Washington to co-operate with the courts toward making naturalization ceremonies as dignified and beautiful as they ought to be.

The naturalization ceremony need not be wretchedly squalid, despite inadequacies of the present system. In some places it is conducted with dignity and beauty. A few years ago, for instance, Judge Robert A. Inch of the federal court in Brooklyn undertook to inaugurate more inspiring ceremonies. In this he had the active

***Dr. Harold Fields, who is affiliated with the Board of Education, New York City, and who is Executive Director of the National League for American Citizenship***

support of his colleagues—Judges Grover M. Moskovitz, Marcus B. Campbell, and Clarence S. Galston—who take turns with him in conducting naturalization ceremonies.

There idea was not to kill but kindle more warmly the well-nigh religious light in the eyes of many aliens as they approach naturalization. Their courtroom was large and pleasant, without unnecessary noise and the would-be citizens were considered important persons in the drama. The climax came when they were grouped by nationalities and asked to renounce allegiance to their old countries and to swear loyalty to the United States. This done, the several groups converged into one group, all Americans now, in front of the judge, who then delivered a brief address in which he went into the meanings of American citizenship, congratulated both the country and the new citizens on the step they had just taken. It was a pleasure to watch their faces.

In Cleveland I visited the federal court where Judge Paul Jones conducts the naturalization ceremony with fitting dignity. A strikingly handsome man in his lower fifties, a former football star over six feet tall, his very presence creates an atmosphere of dignity and respect. He knows the naturalization laws as well as the examiner; and in contested or dubious cases he is solicitous of the applicant's rights and devotes time and patience to a hearing of his cause. In contrast to the cold, challenging attitude that in many a court makes the applicant feel almost like a law-breaker, Judge Jones shows kindly and democratic interest.

Cleveland is fortunate, too, in having its Citizens' Bureau, partly supported by community funds. The Bureau holds excellent courses in citizenship in a score of neighborhoods, and an annual Fourth of July picnic to give the new citizens public recognition. Last year, 5,000 attended the picnic. Mayor Burton and other prominent citizens spoke. The next day, as usual, the Cleveland *Press* issued a special edition including the rosters of the new citizens since the previous picnic and of the recent graduates of the Citizens' Bureau courses who were now available for naturalization.

A NOTEWORTHY naturalization ceremony was held last year in South Bend, Indiana, under the chairmanship of Judge Dan Pyle. The previous month, 350 aliens had been examined and sworn in; now a great, well-publicized occasion was made of giving them their final citizenship papers. One of the city's large auditoriums was jammed. The band from nearby Culver Military Academy played. Many foreign-born wore their native costumes, with representatives of each national group carrying a flag of his old country. The judge made a brief speech, outlining the progress of naturalization in St. Joseph County, of which South Bend is the seat. District Director Fred J. Schlotfeldt, of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, who had had a hand in arranging the affair, was present.

The new citizens received their documents, whereupon Colonel Ralph H. Mowbray, educator and leading citizen thereabouts, delivered an address, the keynote of which was: "We need you. You can help us. The more you feel a pride in what you have been and what you can be, the more you can contribute to your adopted country, and the more you can help make America the best country for all of us." In conclusion, while the band played a few bars of each national anthem, the foreign flags were taken to the platform and exchanged for

American flags; "The Star-Spangled Banner" was played, and the new citizens filed out amid the cheers of the community.

Elsewhere I find organizations which feel about naturalization in courts as does Judge Pyle, and try to do something about it. Here and there the American Legion, or one of the service clubs, or the local school system or public library, sponsors a dinner or reception for new citizens. In the spring of 1937, a civic group in Omaha, Nebraska, which included the local naturalization examiner, sponsored an impressive Reception for New Americans. On the printed program appeared the names of the newly naturalized. Some towns form similar committees, usually headed by the mayor, which issue to the ex-aliens embossed documents welcoming them to citizenship.

All of which helps a little. Certainly all of it is well-intentioned. But all of it, also, is sporadic and haphazard.

The core of the trouble unquestionably is the split of the naturalization function between the Naturalization Service and the courts. Most persons with whom I have talked in recent months, who are deeply interested in naturalization problems but are neither judges nor Naturalization Service officials, favor taking naturalization out of the courts, which now have "exclusive jurisdiction," and placing it entirely in the hands of the Naturalization Service. The most ardent advocate of this idea is Harold Fields, of the National League for American Citizenship. His plan would facilitate the uniformity in procedure that is called for by the Constitution. It would center responsibility. It would relieve the crowded courts of an extra chore and permit them to function better in their regular duties.

MR. FIELDS would create the Constitution-required uniformity, which would lead to desirable results. Now there is no uniformity, not only in court ceremonies but in the interpretation of the law by judges and in the purpose of the questions which applicants are asked. Quoting Mr. Fields: "A case involving rape was held by one judge not to have come within the province of immoral conduct"—which is a bar to naturalization under the law—"even though the crime took place within the five-year period for naturalization; in another state immoral character was construed to cover a single traffic violation." The thousands of judges never meet to gain unanimity in, or compare notes on, naturalization matters. Some are poorly grounded in naturalization law, yet they frequently overrule the examiners who are experts in it.

Under the present set-up of two departments, neither subordinate to the other, there is no sense or center of responsibility for decisions. This leads to confusion. Responsibility could well be centered in the Naturalization Service with its assumption of full administrative authority in naturalization. There would be unanimity; definition of "moral conduct" and other such vital phrases would be agreed upon.

Arguments against this idea exist, though they seem to me to be weak. It is said, for example, that the courts now annul the bureaucratic character or tendencies of the naturalization examiners, tendencies common to all permanent government administrative employees and bureaus. If naturalization is taken out of the courts, it is said, it will become a bureaucratic business, shot through with petty abuses and unnecessary strictness toward the would-be citizens. Also, the very idea that mere clerks should have the power to create citizens!

Personally, I suggest that Congress might well consider the creation of well-paid naturalization judgeships—a corps of specially qualified men who are interested in, and expert in, naturalization and have some idea as to the value and significance of American citizenship. They would, perhaps, be nominally attached to the Naturalization Service, but under no rigid administrative control of the Commissioner or the Secretary of Labor. Yet they would consistently co-operate with the rest of the Service toward bringing about uniformity and unanimity. Restricting themselves to judiciary or formal functions in naturalization, these judges would travel from place to place conducting the final naturalization ceremonies with impressive formality.

But there is no reason why we should tolerate the present appalling condition while a new system is being perfected. There are many organizations in this country which profess to be interested in a higher type of citizenship. Let them welcome the new citizens with a gracious and colorful ceremony that would make the bestowal of citizenship seem impressively significant. A citizen is either an asset to his country or a liability—there is no compromise status.

Most new citizens want desperately to be assets. It would be such a little thing, but it would help so much, if we could send them forth with their final papers with a feeling that they are important to us, instead of in the mood of bewildered disillusionment in which so many of them go forth now.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION:
COLOMBIA IS CONTAINED IN THE AREA BOUNDED BY LATITUDE 12° N.—4° S., AND LONGITUDE 67° W.—79° W.
South America
NEW YORK 1800 MI.
POLITICAL DIVISIONS:
COLOMBIA'S STATES FUNCTION IN MUCH THE SAME MANNER AS OUR OWN
BOLIVAR
NORTE DE SANTANDER
ANTIOQUIA
SANTANDER
BOYACA
ARAUCA
CHOCO
VICHADA
META
VALLE DEL CAUCA
CAUCA
HUILA
VAUPES
NARIÑO
CAQUETA
PUTUMAYO
AMAZONAS
Santa Marta
COAL
GOLD
Barranquilla
COPPER
BANANAS
SUGAR
CATTLE
COTTON
OIL
IRON
TOBACCO
PANAMA
CATTLE
GOLD
RICE
TOBACCO
BANANAS
GRAIN
COTTON
COFFEE
COTTON
COPPER
PLATINUM
OIL
COFFEE
RICE
GRAIN
Medellin
COFFEE
IRON
CATTLE
COAL
VEG. IVORY
SUGAR
COAL
GOLD
EMERALDS
PANAMA 350 MI.
GRAIN
COAL
SUGAR
IRON
Bogota
SAN FRANCISCO 3400 MI.
PLATINUM
CATTLE
BANANAS
EMERALDS
Buenaventura
GRAIN
SUGAR
COAL
COPPER
IRON
COFFEE
COFFEE
CATTLE
GRAIN
PANAMA HATS
COFFEE
GRAIN
GOLD
COPPER
Tumaco
COPPER
GOLD
CATTLE
QUININE
RUBBER
JUNGLE
N
0
100
200
300
Scale of Miles
TOPOGRAPHY:
COLOMBIA'S THREE GREAT CORDILLERAS ARE HER MOST VALUABLE ASSET—AND HER MOST SERIOUS LIABILITY
COLOMBIA
A Resource Map of our Southern Neighbor
R. E. Falconer

# Colombia: Again the Good Neighbor

## She veered to the Left, then to pro-Germanism, but now seems to be back on the middle road

### By CARLETON BEALS

COLOMBIA, after radical experimentation and flirtation with the totalitarian powers, is now happily back in the fold of American State Department influence, pan-Americanism, democracy, and safe investments.

Up until quite recently Colombia—whose population is fourth largest in South America, whose shore-line shelters the Panama Canal—seemed to be deliberately tying itself to the Nazi swastika. American investors have had uneasy years of late, for it seemed that Colombia was embarking upon a program of economic nationalism perilously close to that of Mexico. But four recent events have dramatized the fact that those days are definitely over.

On November 23, 1938, a pact was signed under the terms of which the United States will provide instructors for the Colombian air force and navy.

A day later Colombia broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. Following the detention of a Colombian legation secretary by the German secret police for photographing atrocities against the Jews, Minister Rafael Jaramillo left the Reich in a rage.

Even before this, Colombia had backed President Roosevelt's protest against Jewish and Catholic persecutions. Subsequently at the Lima Conference, Colombia plumped ardently for a Latin-American league and continental armed defenses under United States leadership. It backed all of Secretary Hull's proposals and set a stony face against the numerous projects that annoyed him.

Nowhere does the United States now enjoy a better press than in Colombia. Most newspapers and magazines of the official Liberal Party now in power—*El Tiempo, El Liberal, El Espectador, El Gráfico, Cosmos, La Razón*—joined in the chorus of praise that greeted the government's announcement of the contract for the American military missions.

What four recent events are indicative of Colombia's new friendliness toward the United States?

Is Colombia progressive or backward in social legislation?

Who owns Colombia's extensive airlines?

Who is Eduardo Santos?

Has Colombia had a peaceful or a turbulent political life?

*These questions are answered in Mr. Beals' article.*

The only journal to urge caution was the semi-independent *El Gráfico*, which recalled the disagreeable alienation of Panama, warned that the republics to the south were but "twenty Ibero-American horses that Uncle Sam may ride"; that "beside the [American] apostles stand the business men"; that Roosevelt is "not eternal"; and that American office-holders "of another type" likely would bring "unpleasant surprises." But, *El Gráfico* went on, as long as the good-neighbor policy prevails Colombia should go along wholeheartedly—with deeds, not merely worthless speeches in international congresses—by the side of the United States.

The only extremely sour comments on the new American military tutelage came from the Conservative Party press, largely under the thumb of feudalistic landholders and the Catholic hierarchy. *El Siglo* was most outspoken. It admitted the need for technical assistance, but argued that such missions should be brought in from countries with which Colombia has "more affinity of spirit." Italy and Germany have far better aviation facilities than the United States. Moreover, the United States is not even "first in the domination of the sea." Far worse is the danger from American culture, which consists only of teaching people to shave, bathe and use sanitary toilets. It provides automobiles, elevators, "senseless movies," but with respect to "universal ideas," only "insufferable mediocrity." We North Americans are, it seems to *El Siglo*, enemies of the "Christianity that radiates from Rome." We represent "Luther against Christ." Our amorous and literary attitudes are compassed by Anita Loos' book, "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes."

Such divergence of opinion indicates the reality of Colombia's freedom of press and expression. In fact, compared to most of her sister Latin-American republics, Colombia is a shining light of civil liberty and free suffrage.

Good-neighborliness probably should not rest so much upon military missions as upon knowledge and understanding. But though Colombia with a population of eight and one-half million is fourth in South America, few Americans know much about it. The first mainland region settled in the New World, and the cradle of Latin-American liberty under the leadership of the great Bolivar, Colombia for centuries was the cultural leader of Latin America. Some of its institutions of learning were founded before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth. It has produced more than its share of the outstanding literature and scholarship of the Spanish-speaking New World; but it is doubtful whether the notable names of Mutis, Caldas, Isaacs, Silva, Rivera, Vargas Vila, Marroquín mean much to us North Americans. For the twenty-two months prior to November, 1938, the *New York Times Index* lists (aside from accounts of efforts to collect the Colombian debt) only twelve items about the country.

But if our interest is scant, the press of Colombia bubbles constantly about all things American. The leading daily, *El Tiempo*, owned and formerly edited by the present President, Eduardo Santos, is published in Spanish and retains a somewhat rancid English

format; otherwise it is predominantly an American newspaper. Page after page is filled with United Press news and American feature articles. Amid them are to be found Walter Lippmann's profound comments, Ripley's "Believe It or Not," a whole page of American funnies, a page and a half of ads for American (and a few Mexican) movies, many advertisements for American products.

The only persistent German advertising is that of the Hamburg-American Line, which last year introduced into the Germany-Colombia service a new crack electric-driven, air-conditioned liner, and several small ads for typewriters, office equipment, paper and cement-mixers. On rare occasions there are page write-ups of the wonders of Mussolini or the Third Reich—accounts that smack of subsidized propaganda.

In the past *El Tiempo* was sharply critical of American policies, very doubtful of the Hull reciprocity treaty. It berated us for our failure to satisfy recent demands made by Panama. But today *El Tiempo* is almost as pro-American as a D.A.R. publication.

COLOMBIA's gradual change of attitude toward the United States, since the days of the so-called Rape of Panama, when Teddy Roosevelt was calling it a miserable pithecoid community, is remarkable. Though a recent Colombian orator averred that nine-tenths of Colombia's population are poets, and though her intelligentsia affect to be interested only in culture and spirituality, over the past few decades dollars, trade and political solicitude have worked wonders in transforming this southern country's opinion of us.

Kladderadatsch, Berlin

*The South American lama pays his respects to Uncle Sam.*

When the Panama Canal was opened in 1914, the first ship to pass through carried nitrates for war-mad Europe. As Colombia lies athwart the Canal at the top of South America, with ports on both the Pacific and the Atlantic, its long economic isolation was necessarily broken. Over night the country was plunged into the hurly-burly of the modern world. The World War accelerated its economic transformation; the post-War years speeded it up still more.

IN American eyes Colombia was no longer a pithecoid community. Not that we bothered about her culture. But to make it possible for American capital to exploit her oil, gold, coal, iron, platinum, emeralds and other raw products, to grow bananas and run her public utilities, the United States Government, belatedly admitted that it had done her wrong in seizing the Canal Zone. We proffered her $25,000,000 as a sort of heart balm. After proper concessions had been made to American capitalists by the Colombian Government, the first installment of this gift-money finally became available four or five years after the World War.

Following 1914 American trade and capital expanded rapidly south from the Caribbean. In 1912 there was only $2,000,000 of American capital invested in Colombia. By 1930 there was $272,000,000. The United States then was taking 61.4 per cent of Colombia's exports and providing 41.42 per cent of her imports; by 1938, 53.7 and 50.2 per cent, respectively.

Two Standard Oil of New Jersey subsidiaries, the Tropical Oil Company and the Andean Corporation, and other powerful American oil and steamship companies have acquired vast tracts of petroleum acreage. Colombia's oil fields are still scarcely tapped, although by 1929 production exceeded 20,000,000 barrels. The United Fruit Company contracted for nearly all banana exports. In 1936 more than 8,000,000 bunches were shipped out of Santa Marta. Concessions of iron, coal, lumber, limestone and platinum were secured. Railroads passed into American hands. The Electric Bond and Share Company became powerful. Loans multiplied. Lindbergh made a good-will flight. Pan-American Airways became a leading international carrier. The Great White Fleet, the Grace Line and other steamship companies built up a lucrative freight and passenger trade. Thus Colombia was tied into the American orbit with strong economic bonds.

In due time the usual dreary scandals came to light, involving several leading financial institutions in the United States. Improper loan manipulations, diplomatic coercion in behalf of concessionaires, filth in the sales of armaments were unearthed in various Senate investigations. Thanks to discreet pressure from our State Department, which refused to permit Minister Jefferson Caffery to tell of his activities, the public never learned the whole truth about any of these things.

And then, in 1929—so dependent had Colombia become upon the American market—the country went into an economic tail-spin.

Unlike most Latin American countries, Colombia weathered the storm without serious political disturbance. The country's long tradition of peace was maintained, and in 1930 political power was passed on in fairly democratic fashion to the Liberal Party, thus terminating fifty years of Conservative Party rule.

The Liberal Party administrations followed a New Deal pattern, with heavy stress on economic nationalism. Having no more foreign credits, Colombia set up rigid exchange and trade controls. Severe restrictions were put upon capital outflow. American loans went unpaid. American investors could not get full profits out. All financial arrangements had to pass through the government Instituto de Coordinación de los Cambios.

THE situation was ideal for the totalitarian powers, for barter and bilateral trade. In 1933 Japan, for the first time in history, established a legation in Bogotá. Germany flooded the country with blocked marks, and Colombia's surpluses of coffee, cotton, vegetable ivory and rubber began to move. For a time Colombian coffee was shipped first to Hamburg and then to New York.

Heavy German investments were made in oil, banana lands and other enterprises. New German immigrants arrived. Aviation particularly caught the eye of the new arrivals from the Reich. SCADTA (Colombian-German Aerial Transport Company) is the oldest commercial line in existence; with new Nazi impetus behind it, it expanded its activities. Today it flies the greater share of the country's more than 4,000 miles of air routes. In proportion to population, Colombia now probably has more miles of com-

mercial aviation lines than any other country in the world. Even the remotest pueblos are served.

Besides economic nationalism and these new relations with the totalitarian states, the economic crisis resulted in increasing labor militancy and punitive action against United States companies. "Anti-imperialism" became the new slogan. Labor leaders were sent to Mexico in droves to study the labor movement there. Severe and bloody strikes occurred in banana and oil fields and in mines. American overseers had to flee the country. Student riots occurred. President Francisco López (1934-38) was faced with startling peasant revolts.

UNDER Conservative Party rule, Colombia had been one of the first countries in the world to provide old-age pensions, workers' compensation and the eight-hour day. She had been one of the first to ratify the Geneva labor codes. Even so, further land and labor reforms now had to be invoked to please the populace.

After consultation with the peasants and the Conservative leader, Laureano Gómez, President Lopez put into effect a moderate land-distribution system. He took steps to placate labor. Reforms culminated in the 1936 constitutional revisions, which placed social needs above private interest and made possible government ownership of, or participation in, all industrial and agricultural activities for the establishment of quotas, prices and wage levels.

Education was taken entirely out of the hands of the Catholic Church, which ceased to be the official state religion. For the first time education for women was provided in secondary schools and universities. Vocational education was expanded. These and other religious and educational regulations aroused Catholic fears. Considerable property was hurriedly transferred to American Catholic corporations; for instance, the Candelaria church to the American Endowment Fund, Inc.

The banana industry was sternly regulated, and a United Fruit representative, arrested for wholesale bribery and stealing of judicial documents, was deported. American public utilities found themselves hedged by new tax, rate and wage regulations. The President declared that Colombia was taking steps to acquire all railroads. Economic control over the national resources was the goal.

This was also the aim of a further program promulgated on July 18, 1938. It called for self-sufficiency in foodstuffs—expansion of rice, wheat, corn, vegetable and similar cultivation; conservation of forests. Colombia has more acreage than the United States. It called also for scientific exploitation of tropical resources—rubber, coffee, cocoa, copra, bananas and medicinal herbs.

The United States strove tirelessly to break down this new-found Colombian independence. American business fought to get loan payments resumed, to unfreeze exchange, to get profits out, to set aside labor legislation and social controls. The State Department worked hard and efficiently. A new trade treaty was negotiated; exchange restrictions were partly broken down.

But the real chance for American influence to reassert itself came with the election of Eduardo Santos, who became President in August, 1938. Before taking office he journeyed to this country and was royally entertained by Washington officials and the business interests affected. The Pan-American Society gave a banquet in his honor at the Starlight Roof of the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York City. The guests at the main table, besides government officials, were high officers of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Electric Bond and Share, the Pan-American Grace Airways, the Texas Oil Company, the United Fruit Company, W. R. Grace and Company and the Standard Oil subsidiaries.

PRESIDENT SANTOS, formerly critical of the United States, was converted to a new view of our lofty purposes, our nobility of outlook, our complete disinterestedness and unselfish concern for Colombia's welfare. A new friendliness, based on better business and American governmental assistance, blossomed rapidly. Exchange restrictions were further modified. New steps were taken looking toward debt payment. Columbia swung around from controlled to stabilized currency—quite a step toward restoring the work done by the Kemmerer financial mission at the time of our payment of the conscience-salving $25,000,000. Labor and the peasants are once more being sternly dealt with.

American army planes flew south to participate in the inauguration of Santos as President. Our diplomatic representation was raised to ambassadorial rank, and Spruille Braden, long interested in mining activities and other business in Latin America, was appointed American ambassador to Colombia. With Braden in the post, the best interests of American investors should now be well safeguarded against trends toward national economic self-determination.

Guerin Meschino, Milan

*LIMA: Checkmate to the President*

THE extent to which American diplomacy and American business have worsted all competitors (including England, which has seen trade difficulties with Colombia multiply) is revealed by our new air and naval missions. In Colombia there has been laid another stone in the State Department's new structure of continental defenses under American leadership. This is to be further rounded out by an American G-man police mission to help Colombia run her secret service, control smuggling, check-up on foreigners and so-called subversive elements.

Colombia, after her short Odyssey of political and economic independence, is safely—and to all appearances, quite happily—back in the Caribbean orbit of American influence. Now, with the country well tended by American agents, if we can provide enough credit and buy enough goods—and both things seem likely—we need have little fear of successful totalitarian invasion there. A new dawn of American financial penetration is apparently at hand. Once more Colombia has become safe for American capital and democracy. It is back on the good old prosperity roost.

# America at Armageddon

## Our American heritage, threatened by barbaric forces, is on a vital battleground of history

By LEWIS MUMFORD

To understand the growing popularity of Fascism, one must indeed understand the weaknesses of our contemporary civilization. During the last two centuries Western Civilization, developing too quickly, too ruthlessly, under the tutelage of the inventor and the capitalist, has often demanded sacrifices out of all proportion to its visible benefits. In precisely those points where it has achieved a certain equilibrium, its results have proved unsatisfactory in many respects to the common man. Each day brings with it a burdensome routine. The anxious efforts at punctuality, the necessity for speed and machine-like efficiency in production, the need to suppress personal reactions in an impersonal process, the painful sense of universal insecurity and impotence that an ill-organized, socially irresponsible system of production has brought about —all these things have created a deep malaise. Automatism and compulsion become pervasive. The human personality becomes dwarfed. Totalitarian dictatorships, in one sense, only mobilize this sense of defeat and direct it to their own ends as an attack on civilization itself.

There are two ways of meeting this situation. One is to alter both the goals of living and the means employed; to put social service above private profit, and collective advantage above individual power; to shorten the number of monotonous hours; to provide variety in work and autonomy in every department where it can be introduced; to enlist an active and intelligent cooperation within the office, and the factory, and the farmstead, instead of permitting the absolute dictatorship of the financial system. In short, to substitute cooperative processes for the parasitic and predatory ones that have so long dominated machine industry and its subsidiary occupations. All these means involve drastic changes in the existing institutions—particularly in mitigating the absolutism of private property and in redistributing the annual income of the community. They also involve deeper psychological understanding, far more expert administrative and legislative skill, than either business or politics can show today.

The Fascist means of meeting this situation is to accept the automatisms that capitalist industry has created—to accept them and make them more universal. Instead of regimentation, a greater amount of it; instead of higher wages and shorter hours, lower wages and longer hours; instead of a larger proportion of consumers' goods and less instrumental goods, just the reverse of this; substituting guns for butter, battleships for bread, bombproof shelters and trenches for housing. In short, Fascism doubles the bitter dose to make it more palatable, as a person sometimes presses against an aching tooth in order to relieve the pain.

The Fascist solution leaves our entire mechanical apparatus momentarily intact. Indeed, its armaments are needed in order to make more effective the Fascist's deliberate mobilization of ferocity. Eventually, however, Fascism must destroy not alone our highest mechanical and scientific achievements, but the more general sense of order upon which they are founded. Fascism distinguishes itself from earlier forms of despotism, which grew out of more primitive means of aggression, in that it proudly associates itself with this deliberate return to barbarism. The marks of Fascism, as a system of ideas, may be briefly summed up:

First, *glorification of war:* war as the permanent state of mankind and as the perfect medium for Fascist barbarism. The belief in war as an attribute of all virile nations is a primary mark of Fascism. It is bellicose even when it is chicken-hearted. War remains the basis of the state. The drilling of the soldier is a holy duty; for the aim is to make a whole population obedient to command, like an army. Life for the Fascist reaches its highest point on the battlefield, or, failing that, on the parade ground.

Second, *contempt for the physically weak.* Whereas Christianity made the meek, the humble, and the weak the very basis of its system of love and charity, Fascism does just the opposite. The weak are either to be exterminated, or to be used as the objects of sadistic sport.

Third, *contempt for science and objectivity.* Because Fascism is based upon a system of shabby myths and pseudo-scientific pretensions which would disgrace the intelligence of a well-educated schoolboy, it must reject science. Science is a means of arriving at results by methods of measuring and testing, that all other men in full possession of their senses may, with similar preparation and discipline, follow. It leads to action on the basis of proved knowledge, rather than action on the basis of mere dream-fantasy and irrational impulse. Fascism, on the other hand, rests upon an addled subjectivity. What the leader desires is real. What he believes is true. What he anathemizes is heresy. To see things as they really are —which is another phrase for objectivity—is the last thing that a dictator would have happen, for it is the danger of all dangers to the system of illusions upon which dictatorial power is established.

Fourth: *hatred for democracy.* Despotism is, as Aristotle knew, a bastard child of democracy. Even now, through its absurd plebiscites, Fascism occasionally goes through the motions of casting a ballot, though the population has lost the right of election. By playing on the more infantile illusions of the masses, the Fascists hope to stave off the development of popular groups that will challenge their power. But democracy, in the sense of responsible popular control and popular initiative, is the chief obstacle to smooth Fascist leadership. Hence Fascism uses de-

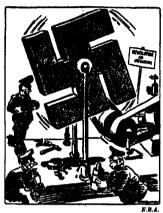
mocracy's own healthy skepticism as to its weaknesses and mistakes as a weapon for undermining its own self-confidence. The essential difference between democracy and Fascism, as concerns mistakes, is that Fascist governments have the privilege of covering them up. By definition, the leader can make no mistakes.

Fifth: *hatred of civilization.* If fraud is better than honesty, if propagandist lies are better than objective truth, if arbitrary force is better than rational persuasion, if brutality is preferable to mercy, if aggressive assault is preferable to cooperative understanding, if illusions are better than scientific facts, if war and destruction are better than peace and culture—then barbarism is better than civilization, and Fascism, as the systematic inculcation of barbarism, is a great gift to humanity. Fascism, both by its proclamations and its actions, leaves no doubt as to its source or its preference. Though whatever energy Fascism exhibits is due to the fact that it still can live parasitically upon the remains of civilization, its own specific contributions are barbaric ones.

Sixth—and finally: *Fascism crowns its imbecilities, its superstitions, and its hatreds with one mastering obsession: delight in physical cruelty.* Barbarism is the easy way of life. One has only to let go: to shout when one is angry, hate aggressively when one is frustrated, destroy when one is puzzled. In return for this letting go, one must take orders. But this, in fact, is another kind of letting go—permitting the leader to do one's thinking and give the answer to questions that would otherwise have involved thought, conflict, responsible decision. Fascism therefore calls to those who have not yet emerged from infantilism, and to those who would like speedily to return to it. It is the way of regression. Civilization, on the other hand, is the hard way. It is the way of disciplined growth. It involves efforts besides which the Fascists' repetitious drills and routines, however strenuous, are mere child's play. The relapse into barbarism is a recurrent temptation. Only *men* can resist it.

Democracy is not a system of government, but a way of life. It is consistent with many systems of government. A democracy may be governed by lot, as in Athens. It may be governed by elected representatives. Its executive power may be diffused, as in pre-Civil War United States; or it may be concentrated, as took place afterwards. It may be militantly national, as in France during the revolution of 1789; or it may be free from class exploitation and war, as Iceland seems once to have been. It may rest upon a written constitution, as in the United States, or it may be governed by traditions, precedents, blind habits, many only partly formulated, as in Great Britain. It may be agrarian, or capitalistic, or socialistic.

Two things chiefly characterize the democratic method. The first is the participation and consent of the governed. Not merely that passive acquiescence without which no government can long remain in power—but active consent, at intervals of consultation, after discussion and free argument. Consent presupposes two other conditions: free inquiry and free choice.

N.B.A.

*Attempt at Perpetual Motion*

In other words, democracy is the substitution of education for irrational coercion. This rests not so much upon the institution of schools as upon the search for a common ground in every situation that involves conflict: an effort to substitute intelligence for brute force, law for caprice or prejudice, rational morality for blind mores. Democracy, just because it cannot afford to sacrifice freedom in order to arrive at quick decisions, does not prosper in a crisis. It must take its time. The accommodation of different points of view, the harmonization of strong antagonisms, the resolution of conflicts—these things are the essence of the democratic method.

The second principle is respect for the human individual, and for the endless forms which individuality takes through group expression and counter-expression. Not merely has every man, ultimately, a claim to be understood and a right to be heard. Every shade and variety of belief, opinion, and doctrine, must be represented if an issue is to be soundly defined or rationally decided. A democracy that denies this, as Athens did in the time of Socrates, has already opened its grave. Unity by inclusion rather than by suppression, extirpation, exclusion, is the principle of democracy.

In democracy's very looseness and lack of rigidity lies its main strength. It must create a multitude of autonomous centers in order not to rely on the authority of a single one. The diffusion of intelligence and responsibility is the very test of a democracy. No democracy can be run by dupes, robots, or automatons. The critical problem for every democracy lies in the process of education; and the upshot of its demand for intelligence and for emotional balance is to make education a continuous function of life.

Men have better knowledge of their immediate neighborhood than of the great world beyond them. They know their own occupations and problems better than those of their neighbors. Hence, democracy has flourished better in a small-scale society, as in Jefferson's time, or in the equally small-scale society of the medieval free city, than it has done later in more complicated and impersonal economic regimes.

The problem of improving the working arrangements of democracy has only been opened up. No one can pretend the sporadic canvassing of public opinion that now takes place under parliamentary government is an effective answer to the problem of modern political control. The fact is that the political system cannot be effectively democratic until a similar diffusion of power and responsibility takes place in our economic system. People who spend their hours accepting decisions made for them elsewhere, and then spend the rest of their working day under the spell of advertisers, salesmen, and radio announcers; who attempt to reduce to automatism all their free functions—these people cannot effectively control their political life. Self-government, for a democracy, is both an individual and a collective need.

But our democratic polity is not washed up. It has hardly been launched. With the promise of leisure that modern invention has opened up

(*Continued on page* 63)

# Third Phase in China

## The war has now entered the "chastisement" stage with Japan attempting to consolidate her gains

By STUART LILLICO

In the pleasant terminology of the Japanese War Ministry, the conflict in China is now in its Third Phase. If we may look down on the Far East from an Olympian throne—a boon that is not often granted to the khaki-clad figures of the General Staff at Miyake-Zaka in Tokyo—we can see that in fact the fighting has had three distinct periods so far.

The first extended from the outbreak of hostilities near Peiping in July, 1937 to the fall of Nanking early in December of that year. Except during the brief but heroic stand at Shanghai, the Chinese were always in retreat. That period probably represents the closest Nippon will ever come to fighting the kind of war in China she most desires.

The lull marked by the sack of Nanking was intended to give Japanese soldiers a chance to recuperate from their hard campaign, and to allow dissension to wreck the Chinese National Government. Actually, the recuperating was done by the Chinese army, with no peace offers forthcoming. The fighting thereupon entered a phase in which the Chinese put up a more determined defense, and Nippon was forced to expend ever increasing effort to achieve her objectives. This period included the drive on Hsuchow, the reversal at Taierhchwang, the breaking of the Yellow River dikes, the offensive up the Yangtze Valley, and finally the fall of Canton and Hankow. It consumed nearly a year.

Now, truly, the campaign to "chastise the outrageous anti-Japanese government of China" is in its third inning. It seems likely to remain there for a decade, an era characterized by Japanese attempts to consolidate what they already hold, increased guerilla activity on the part of the Chinese, mutual offering and rejecting of peace terms, and mounting international complications. In this phase the United States must inevitably come to look upon the Far Eastern conflict as progressively a more serious threat to its own interests and safety, and the danger of war will grow.

If we may again mount our Olympian throne and be allowed to draw conclusions at this point, we realize that the past 20 months have brought some interesting revelations of strength and weakness from both sides. To the surprise of most of the world, China has put up a magnificent and effective resistance, while Japan's domestic economy has failed utterly to break down under the economic strain. The results so far have borne out admirably the prediction of a veteran newspaperman in Nanking, who said at the outbreak of fighting, "A year from now we will find China more firmly united than ever before, and Japan stronger economically."

The Chinese resistance has been all out of proportion to anything anticipated by friend or foe. That the Central Army of General Chiang Kai-shek is still intact, that the Japanese required 18 months to reach Hankow (where they should have been a whole year earlier) and that peace talk has been kept at a minimum, speak volumes for this. Who, three years ago, would have had the temerity to suggest such a thing?

Most surprising has been Chinese "military stamina"—the ability of poorly trained and relatively badly equipped men to stand up against the punishment of artillery, aircraft and tanks. The prolonged stand on the slopes of Mt. Lushan, near Kiukiang—reported to be still in progress as this is written—is a good example. The Japanese have been launching sporadic assaults on that position since the middle of last summer.

The fact that China is still spiritually united, even in the strongholds of the invader, is contrary to all expectations. There have been some defections, of course. Enough men have been found in every occupied town and city to set up "autonomous governments" that do Japan's bidding. A few large areas, notably the Shantung province of old Confucius, have shown a willingness to accept the invaders and co-operate with them. The nation is nowhere near so unanimous as many dispatches suggest, but the fact remains that China today is sufficiently united to make news. No one expected that. It injected a largely unforeseen factor into the war.

Similarly, Japan has increased in economic strength and spiritual solidarity—to the surprise of everyone but the General Staff, which outdid Mr. Jim Farley in the grandeur of its predictions—and her armies have registered some startling successes. Whatever we may think about Japanese objectives and methods, the country deserves admiration for the efficiency with which the war has been prosecuted. The wise opinions expressed in the summer of 1937, which almost without exception predicted economic chaos in Japan within a year, today read like ye mid-Victorian novels.

Let there be no question about the all-round ability of the Japanese army. In the first phase of the war it accomplished an advance unparalleled since the Mongol days of Genghis Khan. Even in the less spectacular second period it gained its objectives although outnumbered 4 to 1, or better. Technical ability of a high order was necessary to overcome even the natural obstacles encountered in those drives.

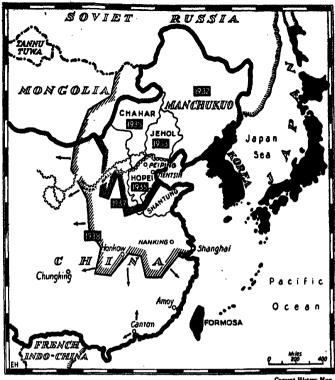
Rivers had to be spanned, and to do that it was necessary to have expert swimmers and divers. Such men were trained in advance. A special technique was necessary for breaching and scaling the walls that surround every Chinese town. The Japanese had worked one out. A startlingly efficient air force was ready to deliver the first shock in dislodging entrenched enemy troops. For these things Japan must be given full credit.

At home, the entire economic structure of Japan has been put at the dis-

posal of the armed forces through the operation of the National Mobilization Law. Two years ago, Nippon was not sound from the standpoint of the militarists. Big Business had too much freedom of action, too little "patriotism." For better or worse, that is corrected today and the nation is floating the biggest budget in its history. Peaceful imports have been cut to the bone (or "to the quick," as American traders put it) and the normal trade surplus (there really was one last year) is devoted to military requirements. Not even a Japanese general could ask for more co-operation than the army is now extracting from business.

Japan has practically none of the under-cover opposition at home to be found in Germany, Italy or Russia today. Through vigorous and effective methods, "spiritual" solidarity has been assured. The arrest and imprisonment last winter of 400 liberals of all shades—labor leaders, professors, free-thinking workers and even Diet members—is indicative of the trend this work has taken. The radio, a strictly regimented press and a severe censorship have all played important parts. The result, while it may not be positive co-operation, at least amounts to careful obedience, and that is about all that can be asked under the circumstances.

Admittedly, then, both countries have displayed surprising strength in the crisis, but let us take advantage of our Olympian heights to look again for flaws. Not unexpectedly, the pair have shown themselves woefully weak in several important lines, and as these points come into clear focus we are able to make a generalization: Japan's advance has been on the basis of material strength and spiritual weakness; China's defense, to date, has been the result of the mind's resistance to matter.

If we think back three years, we recall how Nanking's air force was hailed as the hope of China. That idea was exploded in the first weeks of the war. The first aerial clashes occurred August 14 and 15. Both sides claimed victory, but a month later Chinese officials admitted privately that their vaunted air force was a total failure. Japan sustained some heavy losses in those first dog-fights, but emerged as master of the sky, a role that China has not yet been able to wrest back. It is unlikely she ever will.

*Seven years of Japan in China. Though the present war did not nominally start until July, 1937, Japan has been nibbling away at China since 1932.*

No one was surprised that the microscopic Chinese navy was quickly eliminated, but less expected was the complete failure of the budding "mosquito fleet" to hinder Japanese operations on the rivers and along the coast. This potentially valuable weapon was allowed to go unused, either through indifference or because of lack of personnel. Thousands of transports and supply ships landed their cargoes unmolested.

For three years before the shooting started at Marco Polo Bridge, China was preparing for Der Tag just as surely as Japan was. Impressive supplies of munitions, equipment, gasoline and other war materials were built up. Most of it was expended to little or no avail. Planes were smashed in landing, expensive guns abandoned in flight, transport facilities wrecked by careless use, and munition dumps blown up to prevent capture. Successive lines of fortifications, particularly in the Shanghai-Hangchow-Nanking triangle, were deserted in blind panic, although they were capable of holding back the Japanese for six months if properly used. In the final reckoning, China's faith in modern gadgets was misplaced. It was the individual soldier, armed with a machine-gun or hand-grenade, that checked Japan's headlong drive.

One other factor has been disappointing—and we risk the wrath of every Communist by suggesting it. That has been the failure of the vaunted guerrilla bands seriously to impede the invaders or to make their new positions untenable. Undeniably they are a great annoyance to Japan and in a few cases have actually forced retreats, but in general they are no more serious than what a Nipponese leader once called them—"a swarm of mosquitoes." Above and beyond their present military worth, however, they have a high nuisance value that may stand China in good stead if the day ever comes to discuss peace.

When we turn to Japan we discover that, characteristically, the greatest weaknesses have been in spiritual

fields. Nothing is more indicative of this than the domestic propaganda campaign, designed to assure support for the army. Completely shut off from reality, treated to tales that even the most naive eventually come to doubt, and told over and over again that victory in their holy war is a foregone conclusion, the people have developed complete apathy toward the whole adventure. Visitors to Tokyo today remark on the few signs of conflict. The reason is, the Japanese have learned that the less positive interest they show the better off they are.

If the rout at Taierhchwang indicated that the Emperor's legions were only an army, the sack of Nanking proved the men were merely human beings, with the same qualities that have characterized such creatures since the beginning of time. It likewise strengthened a suspicion long held by military men; namely, that discipline within the Japanese army is decidedly sketchy. Squabbles among officers over strategy; recurrent strife between the General Staff in Tokyo, on the one hand, and the several high commanders on the continent, on the other, regarding the personnel and policies of the various puppet governments; the whole haphazard conduct of the war, have shown that this characteristic of Japanese civil life carries over into the army. On one occasion during the Shanghai battle, the fighting had to be suspended for several days while the various army and navy leaders tried to reach an agreement on who was running the war.

Realization that every man has the privilege of claiming that he alone is defending the true interests of the Emperor—and getting away with it—makes possible such incidents as the bombing of the *Panay* and other less publicized incidents. The Japanese have a word for it, *aikoku* or patriotism, but we would be inclined to call it plain irresponsibility.

Some of this same spirit has invaded the diplomatic field, where for nearly two years Nippon has been playing with matches. Napoleon, they say, won all his battles but the last; the same motif seems to pervade Japan's diplomatic scuffles. To date, the western world has taken the rebuffs mildly, but you and I are capable of realizing that the way to victory is not through antagonizing possible active enemies. From our Olympian height we might warn Tokyo that the World War came out the way it did largely because Berlin chose to disregard all its diplomatic fences.

Among the most dangerous occupations of our modern age are test piloting, tunnel building and forecasting events in the Far East. Nevertheless, a few trends seem clear-cut, and we may be excused if we undertake a little prognosticating on the course of things in this third round of the Chino-Japanese war. Summarizing, it seems likely that Japan will attempt (probably unsuccessfully) to halt the fighting in favor of a program of consolidation, China will continue her resistance despite a growing movement for peace, and Nippon's diplomatic difficulties will increase until they threaten to overshadow the China drive itself.

It is in the field of international complexities that the future is potentially most exciting, for current events point directly to open strife between Japan and the United States. However true may be the statement that American foreign policy is 90 per cent based on romance, we must accept the fact that opposition to Japan is mounting rapidly in this country. The determined fight to force Congress to ban exports of secondary war materials early this year, was good indication of the concrete form this feeling is taking. Nippon in turn ignores this trend, depending instead on a basically unsound boast of impregnability. Inevitably, both Japan and the United States must realize, the next step is complete economic sanctions. That—by whatever name—is war.

We could wish that the little staff men in khaki, poring over maps at Miyake-Zaka, could appreciate this danger. More important to them is the fact that domestic conditions in Japan appear to be the sharpest spur in the China campaign. The public is giving full support to the army under the "threat to the national existence" (presumably from the Chinese Communists), and will do so for years if the emergency continues. Once the actual fighting is over, however, there is no certainty that the mood will not change. The army has not forgotten that as recently as 1923 it was swept out of power when it failed to keep the people under its spell. Consequently, any attempt to curb the advance of Japan's ever-victorious army might have far-reaching political repercussions at home.

"He who rides the tiger can never dismount," is an oriental saying that covers the situation well.

The lack of discipline in the army, that we have already observed, may also be an important factor in any attempt to halt the war short of a complete liquidation of Chinese resistance. No one who knows Japan well will bet that the soldiers would not mutiny if faced with the endless duty of garrisoning hostile cities. In the past four years repeated vague rumors of revolts in the ranks have been coming out of China. An army of occupation is never popular, either at home, in the occupied area, or with itself. Count Cavour once observed: "You can do anything with bayonets except sit on them."

China, all this time, is bound to find herself in an unenviable position, torn between counsels for peace and demands for continued resistance. The desertion of Wang Ching-wei may come to nothing, but it illustrates an important and inevitable trend in the Chinese National Government. There is a great deal to be said in favor of a truce on even the least favorable terms, and less violently anti-Japanese leaders can hardly be blamed for trying to cash in on any flagging in popular spirit. Given a new opportunity, they are certain to press for peace.

Despite the growing peace talk, though, we can expect the war to continue officially (as much as it can when it has never started officially) for the simple reason that the Chinese National Government under General Chiang Kai-shek realizes that any surrender means political death. The keynote of Japanese political policy in China, so far as any exists, is to eliminate any effective central regime. Leaders will think long before giving up their struggle. The vast Chinese guerrilla force now operating in the occupied territory is another serious check on any peace short of victory for one or the other. These groups are relatively well organized, but certainly are not sufficiently under control to return meekly to their bases if an armistice were signed.

For the duration of the Third Phase, then, we can expect the fighting to continue—probably sporadically, and with singular disunity of purpose. From our advantageous position we realize that the real bar to peace in East Asia is the fact that neither government can figure out how to stop the war and still remain in power.

A philosophical Chinese recently summed up Nippon's position neatly when he explained: "Japan can make war, all right, but it doesn't know how to make peace."

# The Income Tax Unit

## Though the Federal agents may take your last dollar, they are ordered to do it with a smile

### By NORMAN COUSINS

Two years ago Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau instructed everybody in the income tax division and especially the collection agents to brush up on Emily Post and to treat taxpayers with painstaking courtesy and gentility. Mr. Morgenthau was anxious to correct what he felt was an erroneous and increasingly bitter opinion of the division among many people who seemed to regard income tax agents as stern, inflexible, duty-bound enforcers of the law who were out to crack the whip over innocent citizens or to railroad them into Federal penitentiaries for the slightest discrepancies on their income tax returns.

As a result, the Income Tax Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, as it is officially known, has been leaning over backwards in an effort to convince the taxpayer that he will be accorded the gentle consideration befitting Uncle Sam's chief provider. Threat of penal punishment is never mentioned save in the most obviously fraudulent cases and even there the government will give the taxpayer every opportunity to prove his case. Collection and examination agents have been trained to be polite and cordial. Sweetness and light have become the new order of the day; agents who lose their patience may very conceivably lose their jobs.

Treasury department officials do not deny that in the past a small number of income tax agents may have been surly as bears in dealing with the public and they appreciate that this small minority may have been in a measure responsible for the general unfavorable impression of the division as a whole. They realize, too, that the wide publicity surrounding Al Capone and other convicted and imprisoned income tax evaders has helped create and promote the general feeling among many taxpayers that thousands of similarly convicted evaders are tucked away in the nation's jails.

It may come as a surprise to these same citizens to learn that in addition to Al Capone, who will be released on parole this fall, there are only nine prisoners in Federal penitentiaries for convictions on violations of income tax laws. Of these, all but four are public enemies who could not have been reached by the arm of the law in any other way. Considering that hundreds of thousands of returns are questioned by the government each year, the atomic percentage of violations resulting in jail sentences hardly justifies the general impression that the slightest slip-up on a return may mean a sojourn in Alcatraz. The jail sentence is the last resort of the income taxers and it is only used where fraud has been proved over a period of years and the perpetrator is known to be a pretty spotty character.

The usual sentence is one year and a day—minimum residence requirement at Federal prisons—for those the law decides ought to be put away for income tax violations. Maximum punishment is two years for each count on which a convicted person is found guilty. There are two main counts—wilful evasion and failure to pay—and the government cannot go back beyond three years in back taxes. So that the top term for anybody convicted all the way down the line is twelve years. Only a handful have received this maximum sentence in the quarter-century history of the income tax. All of them were criminals whose incarceration was facilitated through Uncle Sam's handy income tax club.

In charge of criminal prosecution for evasion of income taxes—and all other Federal taxes—is the Intelligence Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Originally formed to investigate and prosecute the more serious cases of tax violations, the Unit in recent years has become something of a G-Man bureau which steps in where other law enforcement agencies fail and brings criminals before the bar of justice.

The biggest single catch by the unit last year on the income tax evasion charge was Kanekichi Yamamota of Seattle, a slippery smuggler who for years, according to the government, peddled narcotics and extorted large sums of money from gambling houses on the west coast. Yamamota was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

Another feather in the cap of the Intelligence Unit is the further incarceration of Leon Gleckman, St. Paul's Public Enemy No. 1. Gleckman, who operated a "finance company," was convicted in 1934 on charges of income tax evasion and sent to jail. While he was away, the Unit continued to investigate his case and managed to obtain evidence that he "loaned" money to one of the jurors who sat at his trial. Gleckman walked out of prison to find himself up on charges of jury fixing. Back again behind bars, he has reason to reflect upon the thoroughness of Uncle Sam's tax officers.

During the last fiscal year a total of 7,600,000 individuals and corporations filed returns which yielded Uncle Sam $2,500,000,000. Sifting through all these returns, examiners found that 430,000 were faulty in one respect or another. Of these, approximately half were closed without deficiency claims by the government. Many of the returns in this category involved small discrepancies that were readily settled without question by the taxpayer. Other thousands were closed with apologies by Uncle Sam after taxpayers proved their point. Still others involved mathematical errors or were illegible and were promptly corrected or clarified by their senders with corresponding remittances or refunds, as individual cases required.

But the remaining half of the 430,000 returns questioned by the government was not disposed of as easily or with as few disputes. Field agents of the income tax unit, after conducting hearings on the 1938 re-

turns, decided that 210,565 citizens and corporations owed the government more money. These deficiencies totaled $280,000,000, or about $1,300 for each case. This average is heavily weighted because it includes corporations (a statistical breakdown is not available) but the average for individual taxpayers is undoubtedly much lower.

The higher the deficiency, the tougher it is for the government to collect. Approximately 25,000 cases belonging to the 1938 returns and involving deficiencies of $188,000,000 are still being contested. But 185,000 taxpayers whose deficiencies total $94,000,000 have agreed to the government's findings. In other words, the cases still being disputed involve an average deficiency of $7,600, as against an average of about $500 for those already settled.

The income tax unit is ordered to be as scrupulous about returning money where taxpayers have overpaid as it is about putting in claims where taxpayers are deficient. Thus, last year the unit returned to about fifty thousand citizens, most of whom were surprised and delighted, checks totaling approximately $24,000,000. Many of them had neglected to deduct the ten per cent of their incomes allowed them under the heading "earned income credit." Other refunds grew out of mathematical errors or omissions in carrying over figures from one page to another. The government included interest at six per cent per annum on each refund, pointed out the particular oversight on each return and cautioned against similar errors on future returns.

Certain Treasury officials, however, think the government's willingness to pay interest on income tax refunds has resulted in what might be called a "tax investment" racket. They have reason to believe that hundreds of citizens have taken unfair advantage of the government and have needled the Treasury out of many thousands of dollars. The system, or racket, is quite simple and the government has no legal means of defending itself.

This is how it works:

Mr. X, who has had a very substantial income in 1936, might normally pay an income tax of $2,000 after all deductions were made. Instead, he intentionally neglects to make certain important deductions and sends the Bureau of Internal Revenue his check for $5,000—or $3,000 more than he should. Three years later he writes Uncle Sam, saying that he has discovered a horrible mistake in his income tax report for 1936. He had unfortunately neglected to make a number of deductions and encloses records showing he is legally entitled to a refund of $3,000. The government investigates, finds the deductions are legitimate and Mr. X receives a check for that amount, plus interest, which at the rate of six per cent per year gives him $3,573.05, or a net profit of $573.05!

"Frankly, this thing has us worried," a distraught Treasury official told me. "More and more taxpayers who are not above victimizing the government in this way are trying it every year, feeling, no doubt, that six per cent on their money is as good an investment as they can get anywhere these days. We would revoke the interest clause except that it works both ways: we pay interest on our refunds to taxpayers and they are charged interest at six per cent on what they owe us. Of course, they owe us many times more than we owe them.

"It wouldn't be possible," he added, "to attempt to turn this into a sort of one-way street where only the taxpayers would pay interest. Nor could we establish two rates of interest, one at six per cent—charged by the government, the other at, say, three per cent—to go with refunds. It wouldn't be fair to those taxpayers who have legitimate claims or to those who make honest errors that result in voluntary refunds by the government."

Of course, not everybody can beat the game. One wealthy dowager apparently forgot about the Statute of Limitations, which prevents a taxpayer, or the government for that matter, from opening a return three years after it is filed. She put in her claim six months too late and lost not only the interest but the "principal" as well. Others neglect to preserve records of every item involved in the overpayment and are dismayed to find that part or all of their claims are disallowed. Still others get their fingers burned because Uncle Sam, instead of confining himself to an examination of the claim for refund may—if he becomes suspicious—look into the entire return and find enough discrepancies to equal and frequently to dwarf the original claim, especially when he is disposed to examine an individual's returns for the three years allowed him under the limitations statute.

To compensate for the "investors"—in an altruistic if not a financial sense—are the hundreds of citizens who are not required under the law to pay taxes on their incomes but who nevertheless send in amounts ranging from small change to a hundred dollars. Two years ago the Chicago Bureau of Internal Revenue received a letter from an anonymous person who enclosed twenty dollars in cash, explaining he didn't "owe Uncle Sam anything for income tax for 1936, but it is easily worth this much to live in such a country."

For reasons which are far from charitable or appreciative, however, thousands of citizens each year reject refunds offered by the government. Many of them think they are entitled to larger amounts and not infrequently will carry the case to the courts. It is difficult to estimate how many of these were not successful in working the "investment" game on the government, but the percentage is not high. The great majority of cases in which larger refunds are asked involve taxpayers whose claims are honest, though not always accurate or allowable.

Refund rejections totaling $7,500,000 were received by the government in almost four thousand cases last year. This averages about $1,100 to a rejection, but the figure would be much lower if corporations were not included.

Though income tax examiners or collectors do not generally volunteer the information, a taxpayer whose return is under examination has certain rights which he might be foolish to overlook. When called on to explain what the government feels to be an underpayment, he is entitled to enter any legitimate deductions he may have omitted at the time he first sent in his return. The case of one nationally-known publisher who was on the income tax carpet for six successive years might be mentioned in this connection. As regularly as the seasons, income tax agents would show up each fall, asking to examine his records. The first few years he obligingly produced his books, which he had been careful to keep, and which substantiated his original figures. When the visits persisted he decided the government had gone too far. The agents called on him the fourth year to find that not only was he prepared as usual to defend his deductions successfully, but that he had a long list of allowable items he had not included on his return that year and demanded a refund,

which the government approved and sent to him. After banging their heads against a stone wall for two more years and coming away each time with valid bills on the Treasury instead of checks, the agents gave up and crossed the publisher's name off their "blacklist."

Though the income taxers deny that they maintain a blacklist and never refer to it as such, they nevertheless keep a list of names of taxpayers whose returns are scrutinized with especial care. The easiest way to get on this list is to be called for examination and get into a dispute with the government. Sometimes a taxpayer is put on the list because the return itself seems to suggest to the examiners that his future returns will bear watching. Once on the list, as in the case of the publisher mentioned before, it may be years before a name is removed.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue divides income tax returns into three main classifications: individual incomes under $5,000, or "Form 1040A"; individual incomes over $5,000 or "Form 1040"; and all corporation incomes, or "Form 1120." There are other classifications for partnerships, fiduciaries and the like, but 99 per cent of all returns belong to the three large groups.

If a return is in the lower income brackets or a 1040A, the chances that its sender will not be called for examination are better than if he is in the $5,000-or-over class or a 1040. For though the 1040A's are checked by the local collector and remain in his files, the 1040's are sent to Washington where the professional scrutinizers of the Income Tax Unit get to work on them with their comptometers, checking machines and fine-combs. And aiding them in their cross-checking are special files which enable examiners to see whether individuals have reported their incomes correctly. These files contain payroll reports, dividends, large gifts and other ways in which substantial sums of money change hands. The trained eyes of the examiners rarely miss a return which fails to list any items of income recorded in the files. The corporation returns, or 1120's, are sent to Washington for similar X-ray examination.

Faulty returns are sent to local field agents who notify the individual taxpayer or corporation of the particular discrepancies. Cases that are not settled by correspondence require personal visits by taxpayers to the local income tax bureau or by field agents to the homes or offices of taxpayers. Any citizen is within his rights in insisting that the government come to see him if for any reason he feels it may be inconvenient or costly to take time off for a visit to the local income tax office. Not infrequently field agents will voluntarily come to the taxpayer where they feel that his time may be valuable or that it might be difficult for him to transport his records.

If, even after repeated conferences with the income tax agents, there is no agreement, the government will send what is known as a "statutory letter" to the taxpayer, giving him 90 days to take his case to the Board of Tax Appeals or be flatly assessed. Should the taxpayer accept this challenge, the government will make a final attempt at settlement before the case comes before the board. Lawyers attached to the General Counsel's office of the Income Tax Unit will talk to the taxpayer, point out the expense for both him and the government involved in carrying the case any further, and attempt to reach some agreement. Surprisingly, this works in 78 per cent of the cases.

Should the Board of Tax Appeals uphold the government, the taxpayer is still not completely licked. The Circuit Court of Tax Appeals is his next step—if he is determined that he is in the right and can afford the not inconsiderable legal expenses. In the event he again loses, there is one more avenue of appeal, but only one: the Supreme Court. But even here, the Court may not decide to grant a review. As a matter of fact, exactly 100 cases were denied hearings at the last session of the Court. But in the cases that were permitted to come before it, 13 taxpayers won a final victory over the government. But 36 fight-to-the-last-ditch taxpayers lost their appeals.

The types and varieties of claims for deductions are endless. Adolphe Menjou, dapper screen star, reported an income several years ago of $30,000, deducting half that for his wardrobe. Notified by agents that the claim would not be allowed, he insisted that his standing as a star might be affected if he lost his designation as the screen's best-dressed man. After three years of bickering back and forth, the government lost its case when a court order held that Menjou was entitled to deduct for as many suits or other pieces of clothing as he felt were necessary for the "normal conduct" of his business.

It is not at all unusual for examiners to come upon returns that regard animals as members of families with deductions of $400 for each one. One middle-aged gentleman listed himself as unmarried but claimed an exemption of $2500 as head of a family. Puzzled, and seeking explanation, income tax agents called on him to find his "family" consisted of a cat and her two kittens. One woman insisted in all seriousness that her deduction for a poodle should be allowed because it looked so much like her former husband.

# Paradox of French Monarchism

## A party of moderates supported by fanatics has few members of its own but a loud voice

By ROBERT STRAUSZ-HUPÉ

EARLY one morning last October a mysterious airplane bumped to earth at a village in northern France. A tall, dark, mustached young man stepped out. Up to him dashed Pierre de la Rocque, brother of Colonel Francois de la Rocque, erstwhile French fascist leader. Soon de la Rocque whisked the young man off to a nearby chateau.

Awaiting them in the hall of the chateau was a small group of journalists who had motored up from Paris through the early morning gloom. With a flourish de la Rocque introduced the newcomer. He was the Count of Paris, son of the Duke of Guise, pretender to the throne of France.

The Count read the reporters a prepared proclamation: "Not only is the German 'diktat' [at Munich] a humiliation that has no precedent in our history, but it means a new weakening of our strategic position . . . We alone, aided by all Frenchmen, can remake France. If France rejects monarchy she must choose between decay and party dictatorship."

Champagne was served, and everyone drank to "the restoration of France." Then, while the reporters waited to give him time for a safe getaway, the Count hurried back to his plane to return to Belgium, where he and his father, the bearded, kindly old Duke of Guise, make their home. As pretenders to the throne they are legally barred from French soil.

In ordinary times the French public would have been inclined to yawn at such proceedings. But during a period when French political parties were even more unsettled than usual, when Communists were hurling charges that the Fascists were planning a coup, thoughtful observers once more had turned a watchful eye toward the Royalists.

Historically, the French throne is claimed by three royal houses—the Bourbons, the Bonapartes, and the Orleanists. The Bourbons traditionally have stood for clerical and feudal reaction, the Bonapartists for military dictatorship, the Orleanists for an English-model constitutional monarchy. Orleanists, in short, are liberals. Today the only two active pretenders to the French throne—the Duke of Guise and his son, the Count Paris—belong to the House of Orleans.

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What are the Orleanists?

How many pretenders are there to the French throne?

What is the *Action Francaise?*

Are French monarchists opposed to Hitler?

Who are Charles Maurras and Leon Daudet?

Who is the Duke of Guise?

Has the late Pope Pius XI approved the pro-Catholic monarchist movement?

*These questions are answered in the accompanying article by Mr. Strausz-Hupé.*

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But although the self-styled "monarchs" of France are moderates, the members of *Action Francaise* (that little party which vociferously demands restoration of the monarchy) are fanatics. It has relatively few members—about 50,000—and no representatives in Parliament; yet Action Francaise has a nuisance value equivalent to many times its numbers. These royalists are more royal than the Duke of Guise himself, and their strong-arm zeal amazes him. The Duke ignores their wild appeals and directs his own appeals to the French people as a whole.

Action Francaise is under the leadership of two writers, Charles Maurras and Leon Daudet. They address the French public through a daily newspaper which they call *Action Francaise*, that has a circulation of about 80,000. Professing fealty to the ungrateful pretender in exile, the party summarily rejects the parliamentary system and proposes to restore an autocratic and hereditary monarchy. Its doctrines, elaborated in the political writings of Maurras, offer a happy compromise between the Old Regime before its liquidation in 1789, and More's Utopia. In Maurras' ideal state, the monarch, surrounded by a select group of advisers, rules over a citizenry organized into guilds of workers and employers. The corporate state knows neither class struggles nor parties: the guilds consult and deliberate; the state coordinates; the monarch unifies. A union of King and Church underlies the civic structure.

Naturally this scheme of an ideal monarchy, clashing with every tenet of democracy, evokes scorn from Loyal Republicans. But paradoxically, Maurras' and Daudet's sharpest critics are among the very circles which it would put into power. Neither the Duke of Guise nor the Count of Paris has endorsed the program of these monarchists who would restore them to the throne.

Sharp cleavage among the extreme Rightists has been illustrated in two recent incidents. The first was a political scandal which filled the press during the fall of 1937. A certain Duke Pozzo di Borgo, writing in an obscure weekly, *Choc*, "revealed" that Colonel de la Rocque, leader of the now dissolved Fascist "Croix de Guerre," and present chairman of the French Socialist Party, had drawn heavily on a secret fund which Parliament has placed at the disposal of the Ministry of the Interior. The logical inference was that de la Rocque, hero of ex-servicemen, had marshalled his legions not against the "corrupt Republican government" but toward whatever goal the Government itself indicated.

Naturally the press of the Left elaborated lovingly on this choice morsel of Fascist venality. But it soon became clear that Pozzo di Borgo's "revelation" was an incident in a bitterly waged civil war between the

forces of the Right. Several nationalist editors denounced de la Rocque as "the Pied Piper of the Fascist revolution." Vitriolic as were their attacks, they were tepid compared to the vicious abuse that Maurras and *Action Francaise* heaped upon the unhappy Colonel. This was all the more remarkable because just a few months before the same newspaper had been ready to toss rose petals at the mere mention of de la Rocque's name.

Colonel de la Rocque took his injured honor to court. On the witness stand his detractors could produce little except back-stairs gossip to support their charges. De la Rocque won some minor points, but the court declined to rule on the burning matter of the secret fund.

The whole malodorous affair did little to weld the many pieces of the Right into the united front which nationalists said they were seeking as an answer to the Red menace. The de la Rocque case brought into the open the Right's bitter rivalries and its incredible capacity for self-destruction.

It also cast new light on the divergence of opinion which separated *Action Francaise* from the heir-apparent, the Count of Paris. The Count in open letters firmly disowned Maurras' tactics and, less outspokenly, took de la Rocque's side in the controversy. Maurras respectfully but pointedly replied that the Count should shun unscrupulous advisers, including the Colonel's brother, who was "aide-de-camp to the Royal Court" of the pretender.

The second instance of the Rightist breach came last October, when the Count of Paris made his hasty visit to France. The editors of *Action Francaise* were not invited to hear the Count read his proclamation; they had to reprint the text of his manifesto from another newspaper. In his *Action Francaise* Maurras declared that he subscribed to the sentiments which the Count had expressed, snapped somewhat irrelevantly at His Highness' [illegible], and dropped the matter.

It is not personal jealousy which keep the French pretenders and the Maurras-Daudet monarchists apart. Their difference is rather a basic one, rooted in the policies and principles of the royalist movement. It forces one to ask if *Action Francaise* is not a vehicle for M. Maurras' opinions rather than a true monarchist party; if royalism is not really a mask for Maurras' literary aspirations; if under Maurras' medieval guilds is not hidden a twentieth-century corporate and totalitarian state.

Maurras' attitude toward religion is most perplexing. *Action Francaise* is violently pro-Catholic; yet the movement has been condemned by the Pope. Maurras is a self-confessed atheist, excommunicated by Rome; yet he ingeniously uses Catholicism as an emotional lever on popular sentiment. Maurras has saddled the cause of royalism in France with a Catholicism that takes the form of a union of

*The Count of Paris, son of the Duke of Guise, is an active pretender to the French throne, but disagrees strongly with many of the monarchists.*

church and state of pre-revolutionary model; a notion that has been disowned by the Duke of Guise. These things do not speak well for Maurras' intellectual integrity. But there is something impressive in Maurras' sublime disregard for a century and a half of French history. This determined overlooking of the trend of our times explains best why his *Action Francaise* appeals to certain sections of the French people.

*Action Francaise*, the party, is primarily a form of literary protest against the Republic; so the party and its paper are as intimately related as voice and body. The paper protests at times brilliantly and never dully, against everything—against democracy, parliamentary politics, big business, the Machine Age, even against atheism!

Gossip-sheet of the provincial aristocracy, the paper caters to the small man who finds in its pages vicarious satisfaction for his social aspirations. The educated youth of the middle classes, impatient with the interminable patter of parliamentary politics, finds in its forceful editorials a doctrine of direct action which promises to sweep away the politicians and their grafting lobbies. To the artisan it offers the closed guild, to the small tradesman it offers a pre-industrial economy in which both monopoly and labor union are abolished. To the intellectual of the upper classes Maurras is the classical scholar and lucid thinker whose many inconsistencies are brilliant facets of an unusual mind. To the small man and his idiosyncracies Daudet publishes popular columns and folksy stories.

*Action Francaise* knows how to satisfy a wide variety of tastes. Alone in France its front-page stories shout political anti-Semitism. Other nationalist extremists may occasionally venture an essay on this Jewish question; all parties of the extreme Right have tapped the topic to their profit. But Maurras and his crowd are far ahead of the others, returning with unfailing regularity to their attack on World Jewry as personified by ex-Premier Blum and the banking Rothschilds. Exposes of political corruption and of the occult powers of Freemasonry alternate with personal invective that smears otherwise unassailable reputations.

The September crisis over Czecho-Slovakia found Maurras militantly intrenched on the side of peace. Because he dislikes Germany and is by no means pacifistic, he turned all the more bitterly on the "warmongers," whom he identified as Leon Blum and his followers. After the Munich conference, Maurras extended grudging congratulations to Premier Daladier, who up to that time had graced the *Action Francaise* rogue's gallery. He sent even warmer congratulations to ex-Premier Flandin, who had telegraphed Hitler pleading for peace. These obligations performed, Maurras then proceeded to lambaste the government for what he called its neglect of military preparedness, particularly in regard to aviation.

Deep-rooted estrangement between the *Action Francaise* and the royal pretenders makes it extremely hazardous to guess just where the French royalist movement is headed. Confusion over personal and doctrinal issues is likely to deceive the observer as to its real strength.

Chaos in French political life during the past few years may enhance the chances for monarchistic restoration. Twice the Chamber of Deputies has abdicated its legislative powers and delegated them to the Premier.

Thus Daladier, acting as virtual dictator, and not the Chamber, dealt with the grave issues in the Munich September crisis and the November general strike. This recurrent eclipse of parliamentary government has made many Frenchmen question the validity of republican institutions. One result of their dissatisfaction has been to increase pro-royalist sentiment in France.

Many members of the middle class have recently been attracted to royalism. The bourgeoisie is exasperated by the new social legislation, from which it does not benefit, and by the economic crisis, from which it has been permitted to suffer without assistance from the Government. In France, as in all European countries, the mystic, medieval trappings of royalty appeal to the middle class, particularly to its youth.

In addition there are considerable sections of the French people who are traditionally royalist, small in numbers yet great in influence. Some army officers take little pains to disguise their royalist sympathies. There is a strong royalist tradition in the navy. There is still an old nobility and a gentry that hark back to feudal days. There are remote districts in Vendee and Normandie where a solid peasantry reveres the memory of the old kings. There is a country clergy still unreconciled to the Republic and its lay teachers. There is a fringe of deputies in the Chamber with royalist leanings.

Finally there are—and all French political movements nervously watch this uncertain factor—the political floaters who yesterday were followers of the Fascist Colonel de la Rocque. Today these floaters cheer one or the other of the would-be "Fuehrers" who pop up and down in French life. Tomorrow they may acclaim "the Heir to the Forty Kings," the Count of Paris.

Right now these potential recruits lack the leadership which could gather their scattered forces into an effective group. The Duke of Guise and the Count of Paris cannot exert real influence while in exile. Maurras represents a baffling factor which complicates rather than clarifies the course of royalism. The question "Whither French Royalism?" needs a clearer, simpler answer than Maurras' brilliant dialectics can provide. No one now knows when, nor from where nor even whether, that answer will come.

## Franco's Big Push

*(Continued from page 16)*

had become so confused that there were fighting priests in the loyalist camp and fierce anarchists toiling for Franco. The loyalist Basques were good Catholics, while the rebel Phalanx was agnostic. The Pope, neo-pagan Hitler, and the richest man in Spain, Jewish Juan March, were on the same side.

In the fall of 1938, Italy evacuated 10,000 of her troops from Spain, but it turned out that they were mostly invalids and of no military value. During the same period most of the International Brigades were demobilized and sent home. Replacements were brought in from Italy, however, and six Italian divisions were jacked up to full fighting strength. These divisions possessed at least 500 first-flight airplanes, and probably more, as estimated by conservative experts and intelligence men. Italian manpower in Spain was set roughly at 70,000.

Just before Christmas, 1938, the rebels struck out in another great drive, utilizing primarily the Italians, Moors, and men of Navarre. The objective was to polish off Catalonia in the northeast, and to capture Barcelona. By the middle of January, 1939, Catalonia's second city—Tarragona—had fallen to Franco, and on January 26 the Moorish cavalry and Italian tanks were piling into an undefended Barcelona. The loyalists here had promised a diehard, house-to-house defense in the best Spanish manner, but it failed to materialize. Instead, the so-called radicals of fickle Barcelona rushed from their homes to embrace the rebel invaders, waving striped monarchist flags of red and gold, and giving Fascist salutes.

Franco wheeled in military soup kitchens and fed the starving populace, while his local sympathizers began a man-hunt for loyalist leaders in hiding. The capital again moved—this time to a hamlet near the French border—and the rebel forces were rushed through Barcelona and out again in stern pursuit. The reactionary board chairman of Hispano-Suiza became Lord Mayor, and more and more Spanish, less and less Catalan, were heard on the Barcelona city streets. It seemed safer. Loyalist prisoners by the many hundreds joined the rebel armies. The population of Barcelona had swollen to three million as refugees poured in. Due to daily bombings and desperate overcrowding, the municipality was in a mess. Franco cleaned it up.

Barcelona, like Gettysburg and Saratoga, was the turning-point in the Spanish civil war. Like many turning-points in history, it was comparatively bloodless. Said an eye-witness: "The retreating loyalists did not destroy their industrial centers—textile factories and extensive engineering plants. A Catalan is too practical to destroy his livelihood."

Strangely enough, after the aerial deaths of Sanjurjo and Mola, Franco himself was nearly shot down over Barcelona as he observed his soldiers' final advance. Personally, he is a mildish sort of dictator and a devoted family man. The Moors adore him, although most Spaniards do not. He is 47 years old, and the civil war has turned him rather gray. He comes from northwestern Galicia, and attended the famous Spanish West Point —the Infantry Academy at Toledo. He is a topographical expert and collects maps in the spirit of a secluded librarian.

Franco won two medals in Morocco before the civil war, and studied at Berlin, Dresden, and Versailles. He is a great admirer of Germany. He has served as Governor of the Balearic and Canary Islands, and was chief-of-staff for the Republic in 1934. He is neither cruel nor vindictive, although many of his vassal generals are both. His particular army buddy is General Juan Yague, who led the Moors in the triumphal entry into Barcelona.

Asked for his aims for Spain, Franco has declared: "After the civil war Spain will be organized as a nation in arms. It is pure fantasy to discuss Mediterranean equilibrium without taking Spain into consideration. We have in our hands the entrance to the Mediterranean. When other European states discuss the Mediterranean, we will not be left out of any talks. I shall consider invalid any plan which may be formulated regarding the Mediterranean without us."

And if England and France become over-insistent as to the Italian and German holds on "his" Spain, Franco can pointedly reply: "Quite so. And what are *you* British doing in Gibraltar, and *you* French in Morocco?"

# Liberalism Backfires in Oregon

## By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

THERE is grim irony in the fact that the people of Oregon, at a popular referendum, have adopted the most stringent law regulating labor unions ever enacted in this country. Three times business men and industrialists had tried futilely to persuade the State legislature to pass such a measure. Then they turned to the initiative and referendum to accomplish their purpose—the initiative and referendum that Oregon introduced to the western hemisphere 35 years ago as the way to attain *liberal* political and economic reforms.

"In Oregon," wrote Burton J. Hendrick shortly after the start of this century, "it is on the farms that the laws are really made and not at the State capitol." He was referring to the unique governmental innovation by which petitions signed by frontier ranchers and backwoods lumber-jacks could place proposals on the ballot for decision by the people themselves. First sponsored in Oregon, the initiative and referendum have since spread to twenty-one other States, but Oregon remains the commonwealth where, according to Dr. Charles A. Beard, they have been put to the greatest test and the most extensively tried.

The results of the test, after three decades and more, are parodoxical. Oregon adopted direct legislation at the insistence of Populists, single-taxers and other insurgent groups. The deed was hailed by Lincoln Steffens and Charles Erskine Scott Wood and "Fighting Bob" La Follette. The first radical precepts that John Reed ever heard came from the Oregon pioneers who crusaded for direct legislation. In this atmosphere the initiative and referendum were born in America, transplanted across the sea from Switzerland. "Oregon has evolved the best system of government that exists in the world today," Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., said 35 years ago. "It is an absolute government by the people."

Since Bourne uttered those words in the most widely distributed speech ever delivered in the United States Senate, absolute government by the people in Oregon has achieved scarcely any reforms fundamentally liberal or radical. Quite to the contrary, it has brought about a number of reactionary ones—among them the anti-labor law recently enacted.

Why? What has happened that a governmental method presumed to be progressive has worked out just the opposite? There are many reasons. Most of them come down to the fact that the mass of voters, despite inherent decency and conscientiousness, have not demonstrated the ability to cope directly with complicated legal and constitutional issues. The people are seldom fooled on candidates; men generally are apparent for what they stand. Measures are another matter; there the people can be misled and bewildered. Laws can mean one thing and say another. Deception, too, is easy when the average citizen must pass on intricate phraseology conceived by lawyers.

The epochal labor bill which Oregon's voters adopted last Election Day contains 600 words. How many people read it through? What percentage of those understood its terms? How many who signed the petition ordering the proposal on the ballot knew precisely what they were signing? Was the real sponsorship of the bill evident to those who voted it onto the statute books?

THE title of the anti-labor law was "Bill Regulating Picketing and Boycotting by Labor Groups and Organizations." Where did this give the slightest hint that even the cautious William Green believes the measure may destroy every trade union in the State? The ostensible promoters of the law were the Associated Farmers of Oregon, an organization allegedly representing "65,000 outraged farmers" whose crops spoiled in the fields because of trucking and maritime strikes. Since the election, the expense account filed by the Associated Farmers has revealed that all except about $4.65 of the thousands of dollars spent by this organization was contributed by lumber companies, furniture dealers, utility lawyers, hotel managers and similar "farmers."

Long ago in Oregon's fastnesses the founders of the initiative and referendum said that the legislature did not really represent the people. The banks and railroads and lumber companies, they claimed, had control of the law-making process. Direct legislation was the solution these pioneer progressives put forth. Let the people propose statutes by petition and then decide on them directly at the polls. But what Oregon's frontier liberals forgot was that labor unions and farm holiday associations may represent minority opinion, just as powerful economic interests may.

OURS is a government of pressure by minorities. Consider the raids on the Treasury by War veterans seeking the bonus. Would the doughboys have cashed in so successfully if there had been a nation-wide referendum? Organized labor applied political thumb-screws on Capitol Hill and got the Norris-LaGuardia Law, the Wagner Act and the Wages and Hours Bill. Would it have obtained these gains from a poll by the whole electorate? Townsendites have terrorized Democrats and Republicans alike into expanding old-age pension benefits. But would all the voters ratify these schemes that are forced onto the statute books by a minority composed of old people?

On three occasions the threat of the labor vote kept the Oregon legislature from enacting anti-union laws considerably less harsh than that now adopted at the polls. Then it was not banks and railroads which spoke for minority opinion, but rather the very groups that many years ago persuaded an outpost State to experiment with the initiative and referendum. When the anti-labor law finally was put on the ballot, it was passed overwhelmingly by an electorate angered by

racketeering within the A. F. of L. and by alien leadership within the C. I. O. in the far west.

Elmer F. Andrews, Federal Administrator of the Wages and Hours code, recently spoke of Oregon as a pioneering State in the enactment of social legislation in America. How significant it is that the industrial reforms which provoked this praise were sponsored not by the people at the polls, but by the despised legislature? Oregon is famous for its laws promoting social justice. Not one of those laws was ever adopted by popular referendum; all were enacted by the legislature, whose politically ambitious members were responsive to pressure from labor unions, women's clubs, liberal societies and other *minorities.*

Oregon has had the initiative and referendum for 35 years, with scarcely any progressive consequences and numerous reactionary ones. In 1932 the legislature, acquiescing in the demands of the State Grange—minority pressure again!—passed a forward-looking public power bill. It was a measure sorely needed in a State where the Columbia River contains 42 per cent of America's potential hydro-electricity. The utility companies got enough signatures to refer the bill to a popular vote. Then they financed a campaign misrepresenting the measure as a tax proposal. The bill was voted down at the polls. Now the vast $75,000,000 Federal dam spans the Columbia at Bonneville, and Oregon has no adequate legislative machinery for bringing the power to its people at cheap rates. The machinery was scrapped by the people themselves.

Yet at the time Oregon's citizens voted down this public power measure they were not in a reactionary mood. They had just given Mr. Roosevelt a colossal victory over President Hoover, and in a few years would give him a 2-to-1 margin over Mr. Landon.

*The Bonneville dam on the Columbia River. The voters of Oregon rejected in a referendum legislation to set this project in operation.*

Voters can get a clear perspective on candidates, but initiative-and-referendum proposals are usually presented in masqueraded fashion. If the gamblers have a bill to permit slot machines, they call it a proposition to stimulate business. If an infinitesimal portion of the gambling "take" is to be diverted to relief, the bill is described as an aid to the needy. A law is designed to throw a mountain river wide open to commercial fishing, but the people who sign it and vote on it are told that it is a conservation measure. A sales-tax measure carries a clause throwing a few pennies to rural schools, and the bill is no longer a sales tax but an educational proposal. Allocate a handful of silver to the farm fairs in all 36 Oregon counties, and a scheme to legalize dog-racing becomes a bill to promote agriculture.

The initiative and referendum were introduced by men who wanted them used in noble causes. These early-day reformers visioned a Promised Land in the western wilderness—a Promised Land in which the citizens were their own master. But the governmental method they championed has been wasted in a lot of fribble trumpery; for example, abolishing the Wallowa County High School, increasing the bounty on sage-rats and jack-rabbits, eliminating the desert land board, regulating the size of cattle herds in Umatilla County, giving naturopaths and chiropractors the right to prescribe medicine, specifying the salaries of officials of Clackamas County, moving the State University 41 miles farther north, providing for the maintenance of the Klamath Falls Commercial Club, reducing the charge for automobile licenses, prohibiting compulsory vaccination for smallpox, establishing a normal school in the round-up town of Pendleton.

Such uses as these have made the faith of many people wane. William S. U'Ren, the Oregon lawyer whom Lincoln Steffens regarded as "the father of the initiative and referendum," is not altogether satisfied with the accomplishments of the reform he did so much to bring about. U'Ren thinks of America as a nation of majority rule, but minority representation. In some respects, direct legislation has thwarted the latter.

There is little rhyme or reason to the manner in which the initiative and referendum have functioned in the commonwealth of their origin. The people have used the petition method to memorialize Congress in behalf of the Townsend Plan, but never to reinforce Oregon's woefully inadequate old-age pension structure. At the same election in 1936 that 266,733 people voted for President Roosevelt, only 131,489 voted for a measure supporting his power program. When the people endorsed the Townsend Plan to pay each old person $200 a month, they also refused to amend the constitutional provision which limits the salary of each Oregon legislator to $60 a year.

Exactly how do the initiative and referendum in Oregon work? Signatures of 8 per cent of the registered voters are required to place a proposal on the ballot. Signatures of 5 per cent can force a referendum on any measure passed by the legislature. Constitutional amendments and laws are treated similarly in both instances.

(*Continued on page* 39)

# Rumania's Uneasy Seat

## Stranded between Germany and Russia, Rumania views the future with considerable apprehension

### By SHANDON V. HASTINGS

A FEW years ago an awe-stricken American went to call on comic King Carol of Rumania. Twice that merry monarch asked the visitor to seat himself. But the American remained standing awkwardly in the august presence of royalty. At last Carol lost patience. Said he: "If you can't understand the Queen's English, I'll talk to you in plain Yankee. Sit down, you son of a gun!"

But Carol finds that Americans are easier to deal with than are his fellow Europeans. He may sit the Americans down, but the Europeans stand him up. Faced with the looming specter of Greater Germany, he went to London last November, looking for financial and commercial concessions, and for help—if he could get it—against Hitler. Instead of concessions he got the cold shoulder, complete with icy British indifference. A week later Carol went to see Hitler at mountainous Berchtesgaden, and talked to the Fuehrer three long hours. Nobody knows exactly what was said, but probably it was none too pleasant for the royal Rumanian. Handsome Adolf evidently had the last word, and the last laugh.

Carol is in a quandary as between Germany and Russia. He and his clique certainly fear German aggression, but also—and perhaps more importantly—they dread Russian communism. If the Russians were to help Rumania, it might cost Carol his throne and the local capitalists their investments. If Hitler were to overrun the country, the Rumanian rich would be comparatively safe.

Meanwhile, Rumania is a cross between the Merry Widow and the Old Regime France of Louis VI. She is gay, and brittle, and inefficient, and carefree. Your average Rumanian is a kindly, easy-going fellow who does not care, and has no intention of making an effort. He is the diametric Latin opposite of the Slavic Bulgarian next door, who is dour, hard-working, serious, and is nicknamed the Balkan Prussian. Rumanian versus Bulgar is a proposition similar to Parisian versus Puritan.

But today Rumania has become extremely important. She lies on the German road to the Russian Ukraine, the Black Sea, and the lower Balkans. She has the oil and wheat that German machines, and the stomachs that tend them, need. The German route to the southeast now runs down along the lengthy Czecho-Slovak corridor, straight to the Rumanian frontier. Here is Hitler's next obstacle to hurdle. Whether he will use bribery, weapons, diplomatic pressure, or propaganda remains to be seen. Rumania is on the spot—and there are few that pity her. Virtues that characterized post-war Czecho-Slovakia are conspicuously absent in the land of Carol.

As the Germanic Hammer of Thor weakened in its epic strokes on the bloody anvil of Verdun, in 1916, Rumania entered the World War. She lost the battles and made a separate peace with Germany in 1918, but at the subsequent Versailles settlement her allies pulled her through, not without contempt. As a result of the post-war negotiations she more than doubled her population and area. From that day to this she has—gaily—tottered.

All the slapped-together post-war states were extremely polyglot in composition, and Rumania is no exception to this unfortunate rule. Out of her less than 20 million population, six million are alien, and inclined to be unhappy about it. These include two million high-class Hungarians, a million Ukrainians, a million Jews, 750,000 Germans, 500,000 Bulgarians and Turks, perhaps 50,000 Gypsies and Tartars, and stormy Macedonian freebooters.

Hungarians and Germans are found mostly in Transylvania, seized from Hungary after the War. Ukrainians and Jews live largely in Bessarabia, taken from Russia at the same time. Considerable numbers of Jews are also found in all the Rumanian cities, and the capital, Bucharest, now has a total population of close to half a million. (It is nicknamed the Balkan Paris, and tries to live up to the name.) Bulgarians dwell mostly in the Dobruja region, acquired from Bulgaria after her collapse in 1918. The Bukovina province belonged to Austria. In short, Rumania possesses what used to be Hungarian, Austrian, Russian, and Bulgarian real estate; mistreats her Jews; and fears her Germans.

This compact three-quarters of a million "Saxons of the Seven Forts" were imported during the Middle Ages as colonists to repair the damages of the Turkish invasions. Mostly they came from Alsace and Wurtemberg, in the Germanic southwest, and today they are just as German as when they came. They turned Protestant after 1517, and Nazi after 1933, so closely in touch are they with "home" currents. They get on well with their Hungarian neighbors, but dislike the Latinic Rumanians. They are neat and clean, efficient, and form a model yeomanry. They furnished the chief-of-staff to the old Austro-Hungarian army in the World War—skillful Baron Arz.

IN addition to racial warfare in Rumania, there is keen religious strife. Most of the bona fide Rumanians are eastern Orthodox in creed, while the Germans are Lutheran, and the Hungarians are Calvinist, Catholic, or else Unitarian. The Jews, of course, are mainly Hebraic, and well over a million of the 14 million Orthodox brethren have a unique political accord with the Pope at Rome, while retaining their own eastern ritual and married priests. These are known as Uniates. The Rumanian government officially is very Orthodox, and has a record of persecution against minority

sects, especially Jews and Unitarians The 150,000 Mohammedans are well enough treated. Questionable Carol is a stalwart churchman.

Rumania has double-value in the realm of higher economics: oil and wheat. Wheat comes from the Transylvanian plateau and the rich black soil of Old Rumania—the Moldavian and Wallachian provinces. Oil is found in both these districts, Ploesti in Wallachia being a special center.

*The Strajers-Gardiens, Rumanian youth organization on the same lines as the Italian Balilla, hold a demonstration in the days before King Carol repressed the Fascist movement.*

Rumania is the world's sixth largest oil producer, but an estimated 70 per cent of the oil output is wasted by inefficient methods. Nor is Rumania short of minerals. She has coal, iron, lead, zinc, copper, mercury, bauxite, aluminum, antimony, gold, silver, salt, and graphite.

Some 80 per cent of all the Rumanians are peasants. They own nine-tenths of the nation's farm acreage; for, unlike feudal Hungary and Poland, Rumania passed an agrarian reform act after the War which subdivided 15,000 of the vast landed estates of the noblesse. Transylvanian and Bessarabian grandees, and the Catholic church to a lesser degree, footed the bill. Thus Rumania does have one form of democracy.

The Romans called Rumania Dacia, although the present name obviously means "Roman". Dacia held four Roman legions, generally, of which the Fifth Macedonica and Thirteenth Gemina were best known. This was a garrison of 25,000 men, the veterans settling down north of the Danube and giving the natives that Latin dialect which Rumanians speak today. It is considerably closer to Caesar than are Italian, Spanish, French, Catalan, Portuguese, or Walloon. But the Rumanian army now is by no means equal to its Roman legionary ancestors. It made an especially poor showing in the World War against the hastily gathered, composite forces of Generals Mackensen and Falkenhayn. Little is expected of it in 1939. It numbers 300,000 men, with perhaps a million and a half trained reserves. Its generals have such weird names as Glatz, Florescu, Argesheanu, Ilasierici, Aurel, Cristea, Husafi, Alecu, Tomaziu, and Pretorian. All the names ending in "u" are authentic Rumanian ones. Pretorian—none too effective a warrior—is sometimes laughingly called "the last Pretorian Guard."

Rumanian army equipment is heterogeneous, and comes (at a substantial profit) from British Vickers, Czech Skoda, German Krupp, and the French Comite des Forges. The air force is weak. Two makes of plane are manufactured in Rumania, the I.A.R. monoplane in five models and the S.E.T. biplane in five models. Both makes are equipped with various sizes of French or British motors. Rumania also has a Black Sea and Danube River navy.

Carol's fleet consists of four destroyers, all built in Italy. Also three torpedo boats, two of them having belonged to the erstwhile Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian navy. There are one 1929 submarine, built in Italy, and four 1918 gunboats. In addition, Carol boasts seven river monitors—"cheesebox on a raft" type—dating back to 1904. Biggest of all is His Majesty's royal yacht, *Luceafarul*, acquired by him in 1937. It was built for Her Britannic Graciousness, Lady Yule, in 1930 and was quite well known as the *Nahlin*. Now it has reached the very apex of maritime felicity.

Rumanian domestic politics are in keeping with the general Merry Widow scheme of things. The country is now a totalitarian state under a royal dictator, Herr Carol Hohenzollern. Carol has succeeded in ousting or retiring most of Rumania's leading statesmen, both liberal and anti-Semitic. Expediency has become his watchword, and he means to stick to it. He has tried, feebly, to extend additional rights to the minority races and religions. For the first six weeks of turbulent 1938, an extreme anti-Semitic cabinet under the late Octavian "Gaga" Goga held sway. It was after the Goga regime that Carol totalized Rumania.

Carol Hohenzollern II, 46-year-old cousin of the age-old Prussian royal family, is the great-grandson of stuffy, stodgy Queen Victoria. Victoria's second son, the Duke of Edinburgh, married the daughter of a Russian Emperor and fathered that dazzling Marie who was Carol's mother. Marie was very un-Victorian—an eighteenth-century Scottish Princess in an unhappy twentieth-century setting. As Dowager Queen of Rumania she died in 1938, ornamental and stagey to the bitter end. She was never on good terms with Carol, who had various legitimate grievances against her.

The first wife to grace Carol's menage was pretty Zizi Lambrino, a young lady of good social standing who bore him a son. Carol was compelled to desert her by the Rumanian authorities. After that he married Princess Helen of Greece, who eventually divorced him for good and sufficient reasons. She, too, bore him a son, now 18. His name is Michael, Grand Voyvoda of Alba Julia. The good-looking lad gets on very well with his rampant father, although Carol prefers Pekingese while Michael likes great Danes.

Young Michael actually preceded Carol as King of Rumania. He ruled for three years back in 1927-30, suc-

ceeding his weak, bearded old grandfather, King Ferdinand. This was because reckless Carol, previously, had abdicated his right to the throne. Then, in 1930, Carol staged a putsch by airplane, ousting his son but retaining him as Crown Prince. Since that time Carol has ruled the Rumanian roost, quarrelling with his brother Nicholas the while. Nicholas, reputedly, is tough.

TOUGHEST of all Rumanians, however, are the outlawed, greenshirted Nazi Iron Guardsmen, strongly opposed to Carol and not above assassination, as shown on several occasions. Their No. 1 newspaper is the *Poruncа Vremii*, which imitates the ferocious *Stuermer* of Nuremberg. This *Poruncа* has excelled in anti-Semitism. According to one of its Rumanian opponents:

"Millions of *lei* have been spent by the Nazis in Rumania in the last three years. They have founded hundreds of newspapers. They have supplied terrorist organizations with weapons. It is not only gold that has come from Germany, but machine-guns and hand-grenades for the terrorists. For Germany can wait no longer. She needs our petrol."

Carol's mistress, the Jewish Magda Wolff, nicknamed Lupescu, which means "wolf" in Rumanian, is especially disliked by the Iron Guard.

But Carol got the Iron Guard before the Iron Guard got his Lupescu. Late in 1938 its leader, a Pole named Carneliu Codreanu, and sixteen of his subalterns were murdered by supporters of Carol. These Guardsmen had been held in detention, and were done away with "as they attempted to escape"—an old dictatorial dodge and one used by the Nazis themselves. This summary action by the Carolians has dampened the ardor of the Iron Guard, at least for the time being. However, it is still pro-German, and opposed to Lupescu and Russia. That Carol's girl-friend is Catholic in religion makes no difference to the cantankerous racists of Rumania.

Nobody likes Rumania. Russians have never forgotten their loss of Bessarabia. Hungarians still are insistent on the return of romantic Transylvania, where "Dracula" transpired. Bulgarians want back "their" Dobruja and fully intend to get it, adding significantly that Rumanian army officers always wear corsets. Germans are enraged by the murder of the Iron Guard chieftains, and their press thunders. The new Carpatho-Ukrainian state (within Czecho-Slovakia) shows itself eager to free the Ukrainian minority in Rumania. International Zionists and liberals dislike the rough treatment of Rumanian Jews, while the international Mrs. Grundys disapprove of Carol & Lupescu, Incorporated.

Meanwhile, American Unitarians have been vocal about the Rumanian attitude toward their 75,000 co-religionists. Carol, too, is personally unpopular with the British royal family. *His only friends* are Prince Paul of Jugoslavia, and possibly the Poles, with whom Rumania has had an alliance since 1921. Some of the German and German-dominated Czech manufacturers, however, have a warm spot in their hearts for Rumania, for approximately 60 per cent of Rumania's imports come from Germany and Czechy. The next best is England—with only seven per cent. Of Rumania's exports, mainly wheat and oil, Germany takes 26 per cent, to England's 14 per cent.

There is now a school of thought that believes Carol to be the Balkan Fox. It asserts that he has lost his earlier frivolity, his evident fondness for light wines and dancing, and that during the last two years he has settled down to kingship with a new seriousness. This is a matter of opinion, and possibly of wishful thinking. But whether Carol is gay or sad, bright or dull, there is very little that he can do. He is, proverbially, in a box —a knight among nations. The German war machine—the Prussian General Staff and the sage Wilhelmstrasse —has many headaches these days. It does not seem that Carol is one of them. Generals Keitel and Brauchitsch are realists.

## Liberalism Backfires in Oregon

(*Continued from page* 36)

Sometimes the petitions are circulated by people genuinely interested in a cause, as several years ago when needy students at the State University invoked the referendum against a law that would have assessed them each $15 a year for the school's psuedo-professional football team. But a survey conducted by Professor Waldo Schumacher of the University of Oregon has shown that most of the people circulating petitions are colossally ignorant of the proposals thus promoted. Burton J. Hendrik once referred to this part of direct legislation as "the business of getting names," and sometimes glib-tongued men and women make power companies and banks pay well for signatures. There is a law against circulating petitions for recompense, but it is a procedure that can be carried on *sub rosa* with ease.

Once sufficient signatures are obtained, the proposal goes on the ballot. To each voter the state sends a little folder known as *The Voter's Pamphlet*, containing arguments for and against all measures. These arguments are written by the groups sponsoring or opposing the proposals. Each page in the pamphlet costs $100. It is unattractively printed, and the full text of the proposals gives it a legal and dull appearance. Dr. James Duff Barnett, head of the political science department at the University of Oregon, is doubtful if one person in a hundred accords it even a cursory examination. The real campaign is carried on over the radio, in newspaper advertisements and via personal contacts. Here the groups with the most money have an advantage. The Associated Farmers, with their business backers, had approximately $40,000 to promote the anti-labor law. The unions could raise only one-fourth of that amount to fight it.

The initiative and referendum were crusaded for in Oregon long ago by reformers with high hopes and lofty motives. It is clear that other reforms are necessary before those hopes can be attained. A bill to raise school-teachers' salaries to a certain amount should say just that, instead of hemming and hawing about mandatory levies and 20-mill limitations. The simplification talents of Thurman Arnold and Stuart Chase, and others who advocate straightforward economic and political language, are required to word proposals for the Oregon ballot. A law also is needed to limit the amount of money spent for or against any measure. Last but far from least, the people must be educated to pass on laws and constitutional amendments, just as through the years they have been educated to pass on candidates.

# Albania: Key to the Adriatic

## Coveted by Rome and Berlin, this midget state is determined to remain unshackled

### By STOYAN PRIBICHEVICH

PINCHED between Yugoslavia and Greece in the southeastern Adriatic, and facing the "heel" of Italy across the straits of Otranto, is one of the strangest lands in Europe—Albania. It is hardly larger than Vermont, with a population of one million, two-thirds of whom are Moslem and one-third Christian.

In its eight small towns Oriental life still pulsates. Nobody hurries. Aside from a few modern villas in Tirana and Durazzo, the houses seem on the brink of tumbling into the narrow, winding, cobblestone streets. With a negligible urban population, the upper class consists mainly of some thirty rich, land-owning families. The majority of Albanians are sheep and cattle-raising mountaineers who live under the traditions and discipline of their ancient tribal organization and whose old customs, going back thousands of years to common Indo-European roots, resist all attempts of King Zog at modernization.

The origin of this nation has long been a matter of dispute among ethnologists. Most probably it descends from the fierce Illyrians whom the Romans had a hard time subduing, and who later formed the best Roman legions and gave Rome one of its greatest Emperors, Diocletian.

Like North-American Indians, Albanians use a colorful, allegoric form of the heroic, epic speech. Their tribes, or clans, have proper names, but the nation as a whole has none. Thus "Albanian" is a foreign denomination. They call themselves merely "Sons of the Eagle." It is a language that suits the craggy peaks from which they survey the gray landscape below them.

Across desert hills and ravines, scorched by blazing sun or frozen under deep snow, they walk in white costumes behind herds of white sheep, wearing the famous white beret cocked over one ear. Everywhere white reflects the shimmering light. Unlike the Arabs, they have regular, marked features, with upper eyelids sometimes curved downwards like those of birds of prey. Tall and lean, with femininely narrow shoulders, they march with their weight on their toes, swaying from the hip, and cover with ease many miles in a day through the rough mountain country.

Some curious social usages, once supposedly common to all nations now civilized, are still found in certain regions of this primitive little Balkan country. For instance, in northern Albanian mountains family communism exists. The father is absolute dictator, the sons remaining under his jurisdiction even after marriage and their wives becoming his new subjects. All families descending from a common ancestor form a brotherhood. They own their lands in common, and their heads constitute the tribal council which elects a common chief. There are places where this council still passes verdicts in theft or adultery.

A bachelor is looked upon with disfavor there, a useless member of society. Occasionally he is married after death, before burial. Brides are still kidnaped or bought, although most often this is a ritual agreed upon in advance. American "elopements" are a vestige of this old custom. In some parts virginity is highly esteemed. In other parts women enjoy complete sexual freedom before marriage; once wedded, however, they are cruelly punished for adultery. As a cue to interested males, the costumes of unmarried women differ slightly from those of married ones. Monogamy is prevalent, even among the Moslems, perhaps because polygamy costs too much nowadays.

Albanians, like all peoples of southeastern Europe, believe in the "evil eye"; children with beautiful eyes are often spat upon as witches. Some also think that hungry vampires gnaw on the moon; that is why the tribe of Malissores shoots at the moon during an eclipse. Albanians believed in the immortality of the soul long before the advent of Christianity and in the town of Elbassan butterflies are to the present day respected as souls of the dead. But a unique custom exists in the northern districts: when a man dies, his face is shaved, his body bathed and dressed in his best costume. Then he is placed on a chair in the middle of the courtyard, with his gun beside him and a cigarette in his mouth. Thus he receives his relatives and friends who come to say goodbye.

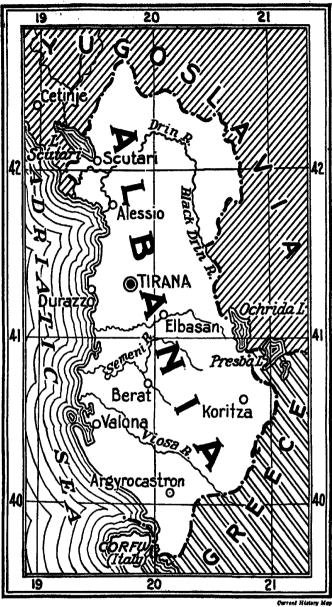
Like children who kill animals for fun or curiosity, these primitive mountaineers sometimes show cruelty to the stranger. In 1915, during the World War, the Serbian army—facing the combined onslaught of Austro-Hungarians, Germans, and Bulgarians—gave up Serbia and retreated through Albanian mountain passes without permission. A friend of mine, an officer in the Serbian army, sat with two Albanian scouts before a low fire on a ridge overlooking a narrow country road, sipping coffee. The step of a lone traveler was heard on the road below. The two Sons of the Eagle leaned over to look. It was an Albanian peasant. "I bet you another cup of coffee I can shoot that fellow through the head at the first try," said one. "Bet you can't," said the other. The first man shouldered his gun and fired. The man on the road grasped at the air with his arms, and curled to the ground. The Albanian scout laid down his gun and sipped his coffee once more. He had shot the stranger as he would a sparrow.

BEFORE he married the Hungarian-American Countess Geraldine Apponyi last April, King Zog had been engaged several times. No marriage ceremony had ever been performed. Asked, some years ago, by an American foreign

correspondent: "Why don't you marry?", he replied sadly: "What have I to offer a bride?" The handsomest ruler and then the only bachelor King in Europe referred to blood debts incurred during his struggle toward the throne. Zog is responsible for the deaths of many political enemies, directly or indirectly. The blood relatives of each must, according to the unwritten Albanian code of honor, avenge in kind the family loss. So King Zog "owes blood" for every man killed by him or by his own tribe of Mati. It is said that there are no less than 800 of these "blood claims."

Since accession to the throne ten years ago, Zog has never traveled into the rocky interior of Albania. He leaves the tiny, sun-baked city of Tirana, with its one main street, only for occasional visits to his summer palace on the Adriatic. During this short drive, even in the midst of his brightly flowering gardens there, he is protected by his devoted royal guard against some invisible sharpshooter. Only once has he gone abroad—to visit, it was rumored, an Austrian girl friend—and as he was leaving the Vienna Opera House one evening an implacable Albanian fired and almost avenged the blood of his clan. Zog never left the country again. A crowned prisoner, he has reason to suspect even the food that comes to his table. For years one of his immediate family, his late mother or one of his six sisters, has tasted each dish before he has.

Partly to modernize his country, partly to insure his own life, King Zog has tried to abolish this vicious custom of "blood revenge." Some years ago he summoned the chiefs of all clans to a meeting, urging them to drop their "blood claims" and promise each other peace. He did not succeed, for the blood feud is the most deeply rooted tradition of the Albanian mountain tribes, based on their age-long ideas of individual and tribal honor, and representing the only form of justice where pride does not bow to courts.

After a crime against life or honor, the tribal chief of the offended party gives the offender and his relatives a respite of twenty days to set their affairs in order. Then the hunt begins. Every blood relative of the victim is under obligation to take revenge on the offender or on any of his male blood relatives. Other relatives do not count. Recently, in Scutari, a man was toppled off his bicycle by three revolver shots. When it was learned that he was only the brother-in-law of an offender the slayer was condemned by his own clan.

*Albania, mountainous home of the "Sons of the Eagle," is a tiny window on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea.*

Although this shedding of blood is the traditional cleanser of tarnished honor, Albanians are not averse to financial settlements. A "blood debt" can be paid in money or goods—if the offended party agrees. Then the offender, blindfolded and with a knife hanging around his neck, is escorted by his relatives to a parley under the safe conduct of "besa," solemn pledge of peace. If there is disagreement on terms, they are given 24 hours to get out of reach. Since each killing calls for a new revenge, a vendetta often leads to mutual extermination of families. And as the settlement prices are usually high, it is the rich people who make peace while the poor ones kill each other off.

However, if you respect the Albanian's sense of honor you will not only make friends with him, but be protected by him. His simple code of ethics knows no mercy for disgrace, yet it elevates to sanctity the two fundamental social virtues: hospitality and observance of the pledged word. A guest, for instance, is a sacred person to all common folk of the Balkans; the rules of the house are suspended to accommodate his every wish. In some Balkan regions he can have any object of his host's that strikes his fancy, even—by a now extinct custom—being privileged to choose among the women of the house.

The only thing a guest must not do is to offend a female's honor. This constitutes an insult punishable by death—but not until he is no longer a guest. On the other hand, a woman's blood is of no account in the satisfaction of a vendetta. To slay an enemy's female relative in revenge would seem to an Albanian just as silly as to kill one of his sheep. King Zog, for instance, lives incarcerated in his palace, but his sisters travel freely at home and abroad.

All Albanians do not live in Albania. There is an Albanian minority in Yugoslavia along the common frontier, numbering nearly 400,000 souls, which for almost ten years after the World War troubled Yugoslav authorities. They had been peaceful until the Belgrade government decided to colonize their fertile untamed region by giving land free to any one who would live there. Swarms of Yugoslav war veterans, ruined farmers, and land-hungry peasants descended upon the wilderness to cut down the shrub, build huts and stables, and pierce the virginal soil that had never known a plough. Native Albanians watched this invasion with growing resentment. Soon they organized bands —called "kachaks," similar to those of the last-century American Indians —which attacked the new settlers, plundered, murdered, and set their houses and villages afire.

UNDER the snow-capped mountain of Shar, on the wind-swept plateau of the Blackbird's Field, carpeted with a pattern of opium poppies and scarlet "bossur" flowers, one of my uncles settled. While he cleared his land he lived with another Serbian colonist; but as soon as he had finished his stable he moved there to sleep on the straw among his cattle. None too soon. A few weeks later his fellow settler was found dead, his throat sawed through with a dull knife. A note above his head said: "This fate awaits all Serbs who come to steal our land."

UNCLE lived constantly on guard, but no attack was ever made against him. He began to mix with his Albanian neighbors and one day was asked to be godfather to a child in a Christian Albanian family. Some time later, because of an injustice done to this Albanian family by Yugoslav authorities, one of them "went into the woods" to join the "kachaks." And from that day my uncle's life was safe; "besa," the promise of peace, given to him as the spiritual father of the child, bound not only all relatives of the family, but any "kachak" band having one of them as a member.

Yugoslav Albanians are shepherds and tillers of the soil. But during the winter many of them go to far-off cities as construction laborers and the like. The traditional occupation of those who go to Belgrade is to saw fire-logs in the courtyards of private residences and apartment houses. In homespun white costumes, with folds of colored linen flapping around their ears from under their caps, they relentlessly wield their saws in rain or snow for from 15 to 20 cents a day. A home-made cigarette dangles always from their lips. Their food consists principally of onions. They spend their nights crowded like sardines on wooden planks, in layers, in the attics of dilapidated slum dwellings. Next spring they start off for their homes, by train and on foot, with a few precious dinar bills concealed under their shirts.

There are no more "kachaks" in Yugoslavia; their revolts were quelled with the aid of the regular army more than ten years ago. But Yugoslav Albanians have heard about Munich, and already the word is making the rounds that their territory will soon be ceded to King Zog.

For seven years after the World War, Italy and Yugoslavia contested the political and economic control of Albania, helping first one, then another faction into power. When, after a meteoric career, Achmed Beg Zogu, then the 27-year-old chief of the mountain tribe of the Mati, first became Prime Minister, he did not stay long in office. In 1924 Bishop Fan Noli organized a rebellion and overthrew him. Zogu fled to Yugoslavia. But the Yugoslav government was on Fan Noli's side, and it decided to extradite Zogu. In avoiding arrest, Zogu hid in the Belgrade apartment of my late father, a former member of the cabinet. Soon, however, the Yugoslav government changed its mind and supplied Zogu with men and material to fight his way back to Tirana and drive Bishop Fan Noli out of the country. In 1925 Zogu was again Prime Minister, and three years later he proclaimed himself King. Behind a façade of parliamentarism he is now, at 43, the dictator of Albania.

But the Yugoslavs were wrong to expect that Zogu would establish a pro-Belgrade puppet régime in Tirana. As soon as he had regained power with Yugoslav help, he switched over to Italy, which offered more than Yugoslavia could promise. Ever since 1926 Albania has been in close alliance with Italy, practically under her protectorate. Today it is the only land in southeastern Europe where Italian influence is unchallenged by Germany.

ITALY has large financial interests in Albania. Crude oil bubbles there, a raw material that Italy needs badly; the wells of Berat are already developed by an Italian company. But the great advantage in dominating Albania is complete control of the Adriatic. Italy can blockade the entire Yugoslav littoral merely by closing the straits of Otranto. If Germany should obtain free ports on the Adriatic for the commercial development of her economic domain in Central Europe, they might be rendered useless at any time by Italy's domination of these straits. No one knows the ultimate outcome of the Rome-Berlin axis; the farther Herr Hitler progresses in Central Europe and the Balkans, the more valuable will Signor Mussolini find Albania's strategic position.

However, the Italians also may be wrong to rely too much on the King of the Sons of the Eagle. He has learned that in the diplomatic game it is preferable to give promises rather than to fulfill them. Even Mussolini has to extract from the reluctant King of Albania whatever is owed him. And every time Zog makes a concession to Italy he has to put down a revolt at home, for the Sons of the Eagle fiercely resent any foreign domination—and no nation do they despise more than Italy. The conquest of Ethiopia and the exploits of Mussolini's soldiers in Spain may have impressed the British peer, but not the Albanian mountaineer.

# New Worlds for Rayon

## Its eye on world leadership, America's great test-tube fabric celebrates its 50th birthday

### By HOWARD STEPHENSON

RAYON, the only fiber for textiles successfully created by man, is celebrating its fiftieth birthday this year. Fittingly for a golden anniversary, the three leading American manufacturers are completing new plants costing ten million dollars each. This expansion of plant capacity will greatly increase Uncle Sam's chances of getting his share of the world trade. It may enable him to reclaim first place among rayon producers. Japan shoved him into second place in 1936; Germany pushed him back to third in 1937.

To recover his leadership, Uncle Sam will have to find new markets abroad and at home. The most likely field abroad is South America. The totalitarian countries are extremely active in the rayon field there, while the United States is far behind. But already two of South America's five plants are American-owned, and after 1940 our manufacturers will start working hard to increase their exports to the southern continent.

There are new fields at home, too, which the American rayon industry hopes to capture. Its chemists are diligently working to overcome the inelastic quality of rayon so that the gigantic women's hosiery market may be captured from silk. In laboratories they are secretly working to perfect new and superior man-made fabrics.

It is logical that in a technological age fabrics should come out of the test-tube. Silk is spewed out by a worm, wool shorn from a sheep, cotton and linen harvested from the soil. All are spun and woven in the same form in which nature had provided them. But rayon is produced by machinery, a filament of pure or modified cellulose whose base is wood pulp or cotton linters chemically treated and forced through a needle-point hole.

"Silk is only a liquid gum which has been dried," Rene de Reaumur, French naturalist, observed back in 1742. "Could we not make silk ourselves with gums and resins?"

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Why has rayon not been able as yet to capture the silk stocking market?

How many plants are operating in South America, and how many of these are North-American owned?

What materials are used in making rayon?

What are rayon's three great "natural" rivals in the textile industry?

How has rayon affected the Japanese silk export market?

*These questions are answered in Mr. Stephenson's article.*

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The challenge inspired Count Hilaire de Chardonnet, a young pupil of the great Pasteur. Assigned to study the diseases of silk worms, Chardonnet became fascinated by the worm's ability to transform his diet of white mulberry leaves into a silk cocoon. He tried to imitate the worm mechanically. He began his study of silkworms in 1878, produced his first synthetic fiber in 1884, exhibited a successful product at the Paris Exposition of 1889. Two years later Chardonnet built the world's first rayon factory at Besancon, France. It still makes rayon.

Today there are 200 rayon plants in the world, 29 of them in the United States. Only two still use the Chardonnet, or nitrocellulose, process. Three better commercial methods have been devised. Most widely used is the viscose process, invented in 1892 by two British chemists, Charles F. Cross and Edward J. Bevan. These two men also worked out the acetate process. A Frenchman, Despeisses, conceived the cuprammonium process.

All four methods start with cellulose in pulp form, usually from ground wood, sometimes from cotton linters, the short, dark fibers that cling to cotton seeds after ginning. The pulp is treated chemically, then forced through a platinum nozzle perforated with tiny holes, called a spinneret. The material congeals as it comes through, each hole making a separate filament. Machines catch these filaments and spin them into yarn. If short fibers, called staple fibers, are desired, they are spun on a specially-designed machine and cut mechanically to desired lengths.

RAYON'S rivals in the world of fibers are silk, wool and cotton. None has escaped unscathed from rayon's invasion of the field. More than half the textile mills in the United States now weave rayon, often in combination with other fibers. Three additional cotton mills start using rayon each month. Nine-tenths of our silk mills now use rayon. Woolen mills, last to yield, are mixing rayon with worsteds to obtain new color effects.

How important are the inroads of rayon into the cotton market? I put the question to an executive of a large rayon mill. He answered with a fable:

"A flea once perched in an elephant's ear, while the elephant walked across a bridge. Once on shore the flea mopped his perspiring brow. 'Whew!' he exclaimed, 'didn't we make that bridge shake, though?' "

But the flea has grown rapidly to the size of a mouse, 8 per cent of total world fiber production; and elephants are afraid of mice. In 1933 rayon represented only 4 per cent. True, cotton remains king, accounting for 82 per cent of world fiber production in 1937.

Rayon's prodigious strides have been made during years of world depression when the textile industry as a whole was groggy. Its many desirable qualities account for this. Rayon adds to fabrics smartness, beauty and style which had been associated with silk; and it costs but one-third as

### Four Ways to Make Rayon

*Nitrocellulose:* Cellulose is steeped in nitric and sulfuric acids, then dissolved in alcohol and ether to form collodion. This goes through spinnerets into air, where alcohol and ether evaporate, leaving filaments of nitrocellulose. These are treated with sodium sulfide to form cellulos filaments, or rayon.

*Viscose:* Cellulose, dissolved in alkalis, goes through spinnerets into an acid bath, which neutralizes the alkalis. The regenerated cellulose hardens into filaments.

*Acetate:* Cellulose, dissolved in acetic and other acids, is precepitated in cold water as white flakes, dried, mixed with acetone, and forced through spinnerets into heated air. This evaporates the acetone, leaving filaments of cellulose acetate.

*Cuprammonium:* Cellulose, dissolved in copper sulfate and ammonia water, goes through spinnerets into water, then into dilute sulfuric acid. These extract the ammonia and copper, leaving filaments of cellulose.

much. But it is not a mere imitation. As a lining for men's coats, for example, it wears better than silk. Fifteen rayon dresses are worn by American women to one silk dress. Nine yards of velvet out of every ten are now rayon pile instead of silk pile; hence velvet is cheaper than it was, is worn more for clothing, used more for upholstery and draperies. Ribbons, trimmings, laces, millinery straw, bedspreads, napery—rayon has made a Cinderella of every woman who once sighed for silks and satins.

Rayon did not cross the Atlantic until three decades after its debut at the Paris Exposition. A pioneering British rayon firm, Courtaulds, Ltd., formed the American Viscose Corporation, and in 1910 opened the first manufacturing plant in the United States at Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania. Viscose retained a monopoly of the American field until 1920. Since then 17 other firms, including such giants as DuPont Rayon, Industrial Rayon, Celanese, American Enka, North American Rayon, Tubize Chatillon, Tennessee Eastman, American Bemberg and Skenandoa Rayon, have entered the lists against it. Viscose, however, remains dominant, producing one-third of our domestic supply. DuPont Rayon, its nearest competitor, turns out but one-sixth.

The 29 plants owned by these 18 firms dot the crescent-like area from Rhode Island to Ohio to Tennessee. They represent an investment that will reach 400 million dollars before the end of 1940. Fifty-seven thousand persons are on their 65-million-dollar annual payroll. Last November the American industry passed a milestone when plant operating capacity reached a million pounds a day. And the industry is still expanding; by the spring of 1940 its operating capacity will reach 400 million pounds annually.

North America's varied natural resources have eliminated many of our rayon manufacturers' problems. The industry obtains 70 per cent of the cellulose it needs from spruce and hemlock in Maine, Washington, Oregon and Canadian forests. The remaining 30 per cent comes from cotton linters, readily available from the South. When supplies of spruce and hemlock are exhausted, the industry can turn to aspen, poplar and paper birch, sugarcane waste, esparto grass, straw and corn husks. Experiments are also being made with southern pine.

With all 29 plants going full blast, they have not been able to satisfy the demands of the American market. During 1937 we imported more than 35 million pounds of rayon, principally from Japan. Most of this was staple fiber, the short-length material. This country's first staple fiber plant, a $5,000,000 proposition, was opened by American Viscose just last November at Nitro, West Virginia. A twin factory is to be ready for operation this coming June. The entire first year's output was sold before the buildings were completed.

The American industry has always cocked an attentive ear toward its ultimate customer—the woman at the retail counter. Because she shied at the name "artificial silk," the industry agreed upon "rayon" as a generic name for its product as early as 1924. Garment manufacturers now label their merchandise with the name of the particular brand of rayon it contains. The National Retail Dry Goods Association's laboratory attests fabrics made of Crown Rayon. Through advertising and trade promotion, such trademarks as Celanese, Bemberg and DuPont Rayon have come to stand for high quality in the minds of millions of women buyers.

This protection is important, for the quality of rayon, manufactured under laboratory control, can be varied at will. The essential nature of silk or wool or cotton cannot be changed, but rayon is light or dark, shiny or dull, long or short—as the technician determines.

American rayon manufacturers have done their best to overcome the principal objection to their product—it does not launder well. Rayon loses 40 to 60 per cent of its strength when wet, although it does regain it when dried. Wringing, excessive rubbing or rough handling will stretch or tear it. Ironing affects rayon in various ways, depending upon the process which was used in its manufacture.

Rayon manufacturers—and their chemists—are now looking hopefully toward an even more important world

### Percentages of World Fiber Production

| | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 | 1937 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton | 82 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 82 |
| Wool | 13 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 10 |
| Silk | 1 | 1 | 1 | .. | . |
| Rayon | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| World fiber production (in millions of pounds) | 15,643 | 14,423 | 16,128 | 18,411 | 22,449 |

### Percentages of World Rayon Produced by Leading Countries

| | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 | 1937 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Japan | 14 | 19 | 22 | 24 | 28 |
| Germany | 10 | 12 | 13 | 15 | 19 |
| United States | 31 | 26 | 24 | 22 | 19 |
| Italy | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 15 |
| Great Britain | 12 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 8 |
| France | 9 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| All Others | 12 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 7 |
| World production (in millions of pounds) | 691 | 824 | 1079 | 1319 | 1818 |

to conquer—the silk stocking. During the 1920s, while silk manufacturers were losing out to rayon in the broad woven-goods field, they were able to offset their losses by convincing Milady that she should wear silk instead of cotton hose. Full-fashioned silk stockings now represent three-fourths of the 100 million-dollar annual market for silk in the United States. And that is 60 per cent of the world's consumption.

The rayon people would have tried to capture the hosiery market long before this had there not been a perplexing shortcoming of rayon—it lacks elasticity. Ordinary rayon is much less elastic than silk; in consequence, a rayon stocking bulges at the knee and ankle after wear.

Can a rayon fiber be developed which is stronger than the present product, yet is capable of stretching without losing its shape? Each of three important American manufacturers believes that it has an answer to this challenge.

The first will come from Viscose. Their new rayon is now undergoing final tests and will be ready this spring. It is said to be 40 per cent stronger than ordinary rayon and to possess sufficient elasticity to prevent bulging.

DuPont Rayon Company's answer is a new fabric called Nylon. Not made by any of the standard rayon-manufacturing processes, Nylon has as yet been produced only in the laboratory. DuPont is building a ten-million-dollar plant in Delaware which will put the new fabric into production within a year. Nylon at first may cost about the same as silk, but DuPont believes it will prove even more durable and attractive.

Another new synthetic fabric, said to differ from rayon, is being secretly developed by the Celanese Corporation of America. A large plant for its production is already under construction at Narrows, Virginia, though it is unlikely that this fiber will be on the market before 1940.

Rayon has helped the textile industry to live up to its traditional role as one of the most stalwart fighters in international warfare. The great gains which this new fabric made within a single generation were principally at the expense of silk; and thus Japan's economic life was threatened. In 1937, for example, we bought only 64 million pounds of Japan's raw silk, as compared with the previous ten-year average of 80 million pounds. To hold even that much of the American market, Japanese merchants had gradually to drop the price from six dollars a pound to less than two dollars. As a result—and largely because of the competition of rayon, which now sells at 51 cents a pound—our raw silk imports from Japan, worth 470 million dollars in 1927, were worth only 120 million in 1937.

The clever Japanese, however, saw the handwriting on the wall and quickly turned to the production of rayon. Indeed, they have made themselves the world's largest producers. Their rayon output rose phenomenally—from 27 million pounds in 1929 to 509 million in 1937. In spite of our plant expansion, which trebled production, Japan passed us as if we were standing still. The United States consumes all the rayon that it makes—except a million pounds a year which goes to South America—but Japan sells the bulk of hers abroad.

On one score there has been an important reversal in Japan's trade situation, however. The lowly worm donated the raw materials—and much of the labor—that went into her silk exports; but Japan must purchase abroad the wood pulp, cotton linters and chemicals that go into her rayon.

After 1940 our production capacity will be such that we will be able to emphasize exportation rather than importation of rayon. South America will be our logical customer. One American concern, Tubize Rayon, moved the entire equipment of its Hopewell, Virginia, plant to Sao Paulo, Brazil, back in 1936; and United States interests own still another plant in that country. In all, there are now five rayon plants in South America. Every large rayon producing country exports to our neighbors on the south, the United States trailing in a field which it should logically lead.

We are forced to compete with foreign industries coddled by their governments. Japan and Germany compel their weavers to include a certain amount of staple fiber in all cloth they manufacture. Italy "suggests" that its weavers do the same thing. "This illustrates the tremendous force which government aid and support can provide for a new industry," the Textile Economic Bureau has commented. "In such countries as the United States, staple fiber rayon production and consumption are increasing the hard way—by strict competition, and by the giving of new style, wear and price values. Though showing a slower growth, the latter method is nevertheless built on the solid foundation of sound consumer acceptance." The United States protects its rayon by a tariff that ranges from 10 per cent of its value to 45 cents a pound. But in the American market rayon must stand on its own feet in competition against other fibers.

Our opportunity to dominate the rayon business of the western hemisphere lies in the inventiveness of our chemists, bent upon constant improvement of the product. Technological advances, such as ridding rayon of high luster when dull finish is desired, and strengthening the fiber to resist laundering damage, are American. The Japanese can copy our machines and our mills, but they cannot keep up with Yankee inventiveness. As Kipling's old shipbuilder said, "They copied all they could follow, but they couldn't copy my mind."

*This chart illustrates the viscose method of making rayon, as practiced by the American Viscose Corporation.*

# Cultural Barometer

V. F. CALVERTON

THE death of William Butler Yeats is a tragedy. Yeats was not only the greatest poet of our time but he was also one of the great writers of all time. Like Shakespeare, he will belong to all generations and to all men, for he combined within the subtle substance of his brain the contradictions and paradoxes of the ages. He could treat the oldest theme and endow it with immediate and ineluctable newness. Many people know his poetry but few know his prose. There was a wonder about everything Yeats wrote, a magic that was sidereal, eternal.

As much as I admire Yeats' poems, I esteem not less profoundly his essays, in some of which light gleams with an opalescent and iridescent splendor. In his piece on Shakespeare (*At Stratford-On-Avon*), which I read years ago, I can never forget his words: "He meditated as Solomon, not as Bentham meditated, upon blind ambitions, untoward accidents, and capricious passions, and the world was almost as empty in his eyes as it must be in the eyes of God."

In his essay on William Blake, whom he described so unforgettably as "a man crying out for a mythology, and trying to make one because he could not find one to his hand," he soars in prose as eloquently as he does in verse.

An early disciple of Pater, Yeats gave himself to beauty, the wonder of the perfect moment, and for years dwelt in the fairyland of his native country, Ireland, transforming its legends, tales, and dreams into a language inimitably magical. Few men have loved words more deeply, more possessively, more ecstatically. Like the poetry of Shakespeare, lines of Yeats live indestructibly in the memory. Those exquisite lines from *The Wanderings of Oisin*:

"Her eyes were soft as dewdrops hanging
Upon the grass-blade bending tips,
And like a sunset were her lips
A stormy sunset on doomed ships"

will be remembered as long as English poetry survives.

But Yeats did not stay with his early self for long. Soon he became less romantic, and terribly concerned with the world of things and men, and from this new dedication sprang his interest in the drama and prose. To be sure, he never lost sight of the fact that man's shortest path to the sublime is along the road to the gods. "We make our quarrel with others rhetoric," he wrote, "but the quarrel with ourselves, poetry." And it was out of the quarrel with himself that he gave birth to many of his greatest contributions to literature.

An aspect of Yeats' career which is too little remembered is that of the drama. Yeats always had a dream of being a dramatist, of translating his poetic vision into a form fitted for the stage. His *Countess Kathleen* had been written almost a decade before the Irish Theatre was born. As a dramatist, however, Yeats had many of the failings of Tennyson and Browning. *Countess Kathleen* represents much of Yeats at his best in poetry but as a play it is not effectively actable. His *Hour Glass*, on the other hand, had enough genuine drama to render it successful in the theatre. *Cathleenni Houlihan* possessed similar merit,

*The Land of Heart's Desire*, exquisitely imaginative, is as poor drama as *Countess Kathleen*. It just doesn't *act*. But it is a striking poem, a beautiful dramatic poem. There is so much sheer beauty in its words that one can forgive its dramatic inadequacies. In the end, however, it is a thing to be read and not seen. This, I believe, is true of all the best things that Yeats wrote.

## The Film War

More exciting these parlous days than the battle of the books is the war of the films. Its outstanding aspect is that it is a political war, not commercial or esthetic. President Roosevelt's declaration that France is our frontier was but a continuation and extension of the war that has been going on in the offices and studios of Hollywood and in the offices and studios of the German and Italian cinema industry. Several years ago Mussolini sent his son to Hollywood to study American film technique, and it was at that time that the war began. Producers, directors, and actors snubbed the young man and refused to have traffic with him. Naturally enough, he became piqued, Mussolini himself became exasperated, and ever since then Il Duce has waged a war upon American films and finally banned most of them. This meant something of a loss to the American film industry, but when war is being waged even profits, for a time at least, are not a final determinant. And this was and still is war.

The consequences of the war have been numerous. Not only has Italy outlawed the majority of American cinemas, but Germany, as part of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, has followed suit. Today Berlin has declared that "the American film industry stands under predominating Jewish influence," and today there is not a single first-run theatre in Berlin which is showing an American picture. Such a condition is unprecedented. American films in earlier days have been extraordinarily popular throughout Germany and particularly in Berlin.

German boycott of American cinemas was based first upon Hollywood's reaction to the showing of the Olympics film. Hollywood was so enraged by the distorted, exaggerated, deleted production which Germany tried to foist upon the world that a multitude of actors, actresses, directors, producers, managers, and minor officials, got together and signed a declaration attacking Germany which scorched in every syllable. Germany's resentment was immediate, and it is unabated today.

## Leni Riefenstahl Appears

The beautiful Leni Riefenstahl, friend of Herr Hitler, came over as a

good-will ambassador to win Hollywood for the *Fuehrer*. But her treatment was even worse than that accorded to Mussolini's son. She was not merely snubbed; she was ignored, isolated completely from the Hollywood fraternities and sororities. Appointed by Adolf Hitler to make the Olympic film, Leni Riefenstahl, after having suffered every possible type of insult by the Hollywooders, declared that she would never allow the Olympic films to be shown here because we "are opposed to Germany's political activities." If her own account of what happened to her is to be credited, the treatment accorded Mussolini's son was gentle and tender by comparison. She complained of having been shadowed by "two detectives," that studio executives prohibited her from seeing any of the stars, that she was hounded constantly, and spent the most unpleasant days of her life in Hollywood.

Since then the Hitlerian hostility toward American films has been practically a boycott.

### *Charlie Chaplin Bobs Up Again*

Meanwhile, Charlie Chaplin carries on the war in a different field. He plans to produce a film called *The Dictator*, in which a dictator will be one of the protagonists. The Nazis have alleged that Secretary Ickes is backing the film, but the Chaplin studio denies the imputation. The picture will be made by Chaplin himself, without outside financial support. Chaplin will act a double role, appearing both as the dictator and as a prisoner in a concentration camp.

Most of the action will take place in the concentration camp, where the cruelties and horrors of punishments inflicted will be revealed in graphic and gripping style. The dictator, of course, will not be identifiable in appearance or gesture with either Hitler or Mussolini, but what he does will be identifiable with what has occurred under both regimes. The declared aim of the picture is to describe "the efforts of an oppressed people to express themselves while throttled under the heel of dictatorship."

At the same time, Warner Brothers have had difficulty in casting a film called *The Confessions of a Nazi Spy*. They found it hard to get an actor for the role of Hitler. Actors may disagree about a multitude of things, but they were agreed in Hollywood that the American public is so anti-Hitler in spirit that an actor who tried to give a sympathetic interpretation of *der Fuehrer* might wreck his career. The latest report is that Edward G. Robinson has agreed to play the role. Whether he does or not is still problematic. There has been far more difficulty finding a person to play Hitler on the screen than in discovering one to play that of Scarlett O'Hara.

Germany's Consul, Dr. Georg Gyssling, has said that if this film were allowed to go on there "would be trouble ahead" and that Germany might bar all productions of the Warner Brothers organization — as it would, he insisted, those of any other cinema organization which filmed pictures that "conflicted with German interests."

### *Cinema Censorship*

The battle of the censors threatens to be eternal. Langdon Post, executive committeeman of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, lambasted the whole concept of movie-censorship and condemned in particular that form of censorship which is dictated "by bigotry and prejudice." He called that variety of censorship far worse than any other, a "censorship by the back door," and avowed that it is far more insidious than "the more open method of legislative regulation." Louis de Rochemont, producer and publisher of *The March of Time*, asserted that it was necessary to give publicity to "some of the ridiculous things that the movie industry sets up and requires producers to abide by."

Both men claim, implicitly if not explicitly, that the reason why foreign films are better than American is that the foreign ones are uncensored whereas American films are not only censored but live in fear of censorship from their very inception. The result obviously and inevitably has been that Hollywood movies are censored by producers, directors, and managers, long before they ever reach the eyes of the censors.

In order to avoid the tragedies resulting from censorship practices and pressures, Professor Sawyer Falk, director of the Civic University Theatre and of general dramatic activities at Syracuse University, declares that he "would rather take a chance on sullying the great American mind rather than stultifying it." The present American film, Professor Falk states, "is so restricted that it stultifies the imagination and intelligence of the average picture-goer." We talk about regimentation in foreign countries, he added, "but we fail to realize how much our motion pictures are regimented here in the United States."

Unfortunate as that is—and Mr. Post and Professor Falk are undoubtedly correct in their observations—it may provide some consolation to know that the situation is worse in Canada, particularly in the province of Quebec. In Montreal, for example, and over all the rest of the Province, such well-known films as *Carnival in Flanders*, *Life of Emile Zola*, *Amok*, *Peter the First*, *Professor Mamlock*, *Story of a Cheat*, and all Russian films including the Maxim series, have been banned.

In Canada, censorship—as Jean Charles Harvey, editor of *Le Jour*, insists—is exclusively political. The moral or sexual factor has little if anything to do with the situation. Hubert Desaunniers, chairman of the Canadian Civil Liberties Union, has described in detail the elaborate form of cinema censorship which prevails in the Province of Quebec, and why Canadians interested in French films, for instance—and French films are the best in the world today—usually have to go to New York to see them.

There are, as he stated, four different types of censors in the Province, and they function most actively in Montreal: the provincial censors (under the Attorney General), the municipal censor, the church censor, and finally the distributors' censor, who is the most severe of all. Under such a regime it is a miracle that anything challenging or significant ever appears in the Province.

In the United States censorship is decidedly different. Politics plays an infinitesimal role in the deletions and excisions demanded by our censors. Morals is their magnitudinous concern. American censors are vigilantly trying to save youth from the corruptions of vice; Canadian censors are primarily concerned with saving adults from religious and political ideas contrary to those prevailing in the Province. In both cases the result is unhappy. That French films, which suffer from no such severe surveillance, have become the best in the field is attested by the decision of the Committee on Exceptional Photoplays of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures that the French cinema *Grand Illusion* is "the best film of the year from any country."

The best film of the year, chosen by the Committee, is *Citadel.* Compare it (a second-rate *Arrowsmith*) with *Grand Illusion*, and the superiority of the French film over the English film is patent. No American cinema of the year possesses enough merit to compare with *Grand Illusion*, or for that matter with *Ballerina, Generals Without Buttons*, or *Carnet de Bal.*

### *Goebbels Loses His Sense of Humor*

Propaganda Minister Goebbels has expelled five "Aryan" actors from the Reich's Chamber of Culture, because they displayed "a lack of any positive attitude toward national socialism and therewith caused grave annoyance in public and especially to party comrades." Translated into English, they were expelled because they "cracked" witticisms about the Nazi regime, insinuating in some of them, by tragic irony, that Germany no longer possesses a sense of humor. Their mimicries also were so devastatingly suggestive that they acquired national circulation.

Goebbels denounced the actors as "brazen, impertinent, arrogant, and tactless," and declared them imitators of the Jews, especially those Jewish comedians—Chaplin, Cantor and Company—who have given to humor such an infectious hilarity.

### *Traveling Libraries*

Few city people realize what a difficult job it is to get books to country communities. The number of libraries in rural towns, villages, and hamlets is infinitesimal. In an article entitled *From the Diary of a Traveling Library Superintendent*, we get a striking and vivid picture of what is involved in that task. "Traveling about in the less-thickly settled part of southeastern Illinois, in Nacoupin, Madison, Clinton, St. Clair, Washington, Perry and Jefferson Counties, brought home to me the fact," the diarist states, "that we are still in the pioneer stage in our efforts to reach every citizen of the state with some form of book service."

Selection of titles, this traveling librarian declares, was excellent though far from adequate. Prior to the activities of the WPA, most of these communities never had a library or any form of book service worthy of the name. WPA has opened such services on all sides. In most towns the book stations are open every afternoon from one o'clock to six; in the larger towns they are open at night also.

To carry on this project of bringing books and increasing intelligence to the American citizenry, employment has been given to 25,000 relief workers, and their work includes every state in the Union.

Many states have had traveling library systems for years, but the WPA has made it possible for all states to possess them, even for those that had them to extend them far beyond their past proportions. New Jersey, for example, has had a traveling library system since 1899, South Carolina since 1918 (books in those days were delivered in a wagon drawn by a mule). Mississippi, commonly known as the most backward state in the nation, has acquired new life, according to WPA statistics. There are traveling libraries in every one of the state's 82 counties. In many parts of the state there are "book boats" that ply the various rivers in order to deliver books to the citizens of remote communities. The "book boat" has already become a legend as well as a reality in many parts of the South. Tall tales have grown up about it; people talk of it as if it were a magic thing, bringing mysterious gifts to them, bearing a cargo of treasures hitherto undiscovered, arriving from the shoreless lands and sealess shores of far-flung dream.

In a considerable number of communities active opposition is found to the idea of bringing books to the people. Like the rulers in certain backward communities, they feel that it is dangerous to impress the minds of the populace with "the infernal notions" secreted in books. "Tain't hardly any use," one commissioner in Georgia said, "the adults in this county don't read. Them as can won't, and the rest is too ornery to learn." It was a hard job getting books "by this stubborn commissioner, but it was done. And today there are a dozen places in that county where books are being read and where people are being taught to read.

In Kentucky, similar objections were heard. The traveling librarian was told by one farmer that he didn't want his "gal" wasting her time reading books; "there's weeds in that garden yonder, and setting in the corner with her nose in a book ain't gonna git them out." That girl today reads good literature. Another farmer complained that when people read books you "don't get no work out of them. Leave the Bible, and things that helps canning and cooking, and no mo'."

The traveling librarian has become a fascinating figure in the land. Called by many names: "Book lady," "book carrier," "book woman," "boat-book girl," she is a new Paul Bunyan, a new addition to legend and folk-lore. She is vivid, dynamic, a carrier of strange treasures, a wizard who uses words as her wares. She travels by motor trailer, equipped with shelves, desks, and card files or with makeshift saddle pack toted on horse or mule or even on her own back. In some places log cabins have been hitched to automobiles to expedite her work. Such contrivances are called "travelogs" or "bookmobile units," by no means uncommon in the less accessible parts of the country. In some places rowboats were necessary to complete the book service.

The result is that the WPA Library Extension Program has made three million extra books available to the public, in addition to innumerable magazines. Twenty-five hundred new libraries have been established, mainly in rural communities. When we reflect upon this in terms of the intelligence of the country as a whole we realize its significance.

These book-carriers don't stop at public institutions alone; they stop at the homes of individual families and at centers where people interested in books gather and await their arrival. The arrival of the carrier is announced a week in advance, and that carrier, who is more often a woman than a man, often covers a route that is forty miles long, visiting a half a dozen centers in fulfillment of a job which is not only to distribute books but to collect them.

The reaction of adults as well as youths, when given books that stir, stimulate, and sometimes revolutionize their lives, is almost epical. What is important is that people to whom books meant nothing five years ago have learned to find in them a new vista of the universe.

If the WPA did nothing else than this it could be proud of its job. We still have illiterates but the number is small. Our job is not to eliminate illiteracy but rather to improve the literates. And in striving toward that end we have done more than any other nation in the world.

# The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

THE World Missionary Conference which met at Tambaram, near Madras, India, from December 12 to 29, was preceded by three years of preparation. It was a most varied body, yet within a day it had settled down into a fellowship in which all found themselves friends and each learned from the widely different experiences of his neighbors. The 464 delegates were housed in cubicles of the Madras Christian College at Tambaram. Besides the delegates there were present 40 co-opted members, 20 representatives of Christian Student Movements, and 7 fraternal delegates.

Here are some aspects of the missionary work brought out by the Conference:

1. A tremendous shifting of the missionary force is taking place today from Asia toward Africa. The number of missions, native workers, native Christians, and mission stations has increased in Africa to an astonishing degree in comparison with other fields. It is here that the greatest missionary possibilities seem at present to lie, therefore the greatest missionary tasks.

2. In spite of the decline in missionary income by more than 50 per cent, missionary societies are supporting almost the same number of European workers as before, and the same number of mission stations. This shows how carefully the missions have been administered. But the main reason is the much stronger sense of responsibility of the (now for the most part independent) mission churches for their needs, and also for the missionary tasks in their sphere.

3. The increase in numbers of Christians shows how, in spite of economic depression, in spite of political unrest, in spite of endeavors on the national side to awaken religions of a specific (non-Christian) kind, and in spite of the triumphant march of European godlessness, the Kingdom of God is on the increase, and "the colors of our King are being carried from place to place and land to land."

The Greek-Orthodox Church in Poland has received a new Church statute which insures the independence of this second largest Christian community in Poland. The Metropolitan will in future be elected by the Sobor, in addition to which there is the Holy Synod, half of which is made up of the bishops and half of chosen members. An innovation is an organ of control of the financial and economic affairs of the Orthodox Church. The Greek-Orthodox army chaplain department receives a Bishop for the Services, who is also a member of the Synod. Army chaplain Szreter has been proposed for this office.

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Excavations are in progress on the northwest face of the Acropolis. A large number of houses have been pulled down and recent work has brought to light the Agora, the ancient market place of Athens of the classical epoch—the religious and political center of Attica. These excavations have been made possible through a Rockefeller contribution. In the space of three years more than 300 houses have been pulled down and 80 more are to follow. Excavations cover a surface of approximately 95,000 square yards. It is hoped to disclose shortly the historical place of the Areopagus, where the Apostle Paul addressed the Athenians to convert them and thus to found the world mission of Christianity. His voice, it is said, was heard as far off as the Agora, where the work is now actually going on. Numerous relics of great value have been discovered and placed in a temporary museum.

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Innumerable have been the comments on the strongly religious character of the inaugural addresses of President Roosevelt and Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York. Equally significant, although less widely read, was a recent utterance of Walter Lippmann, an objective observer of public affairs, in which he pointed to the necessity for deeper religious foundations for democracy and for our whole national life. Mr. Lippman's acknowledgment of the fundamental necessity and importance of religion is the more noteworthy when one recalls that, less than ten years ago, in "A Preface to Morals," he was inclined to treat historic Christianity as of slight moment. Under the significant title, "The Forgotten Foundation," Mr. Lippman said:

"What separates us from the totalitarian regimes is our belief that man does not belong to the state . . . But if we are to be clear about what that really means, we must say also what it is that man does belong to.

"There are, perhaps, many different ways of saying it. But there is no better way of saying it than to say it as the authors of our liberties were accustomed to say it. They said that man belonged to his Creator, and that since he was, therefore, an immortal soul, he possessed inalienable rights as a person which no power on earth had the right to violate.

"The decay of decency in the modern age, the rebellion against law and good faith, the treatment of human beings as things, as the mere instruments of power and ambition, is without a doubt the consequence of the decay of the belief in man as something more than an animal animated by highly conditioned reflexes and chemical reactions. For, unless man is more than that, he has no rights that anyone is bound to respect, and there are no limitations upon his conduct which he is bound to obey.

"This is the forgotten foundation of democracy in the only sense in which democracy is truly valid, and of liberty in the only sense in which it can hope to endure. The liberties we talk about defending today were established by men who took their conception of man from the great central religious tradition of Western civilization, and the liberties we inherit can almost certainly not survive the abandonment of that tradition. And so perhaps the ordeal through which mankind is passing may be necessary. For it may be the only way in which modern men can recover the faith by which free and civilized people must live."

# THE GOVERNMENT

## Summary of activities and work of the various Federal Government departments and agencies

### *Recommendations for a National Health Program*

*The recommendations for a national health program included in an official summary of the report by the Interdepartmental Committee, sent to Congress Jan. 23:*

A. The committee recommends the expansion and strengthening of existing Federal-State cooperative health programs under the Social Security Act through more nearly adequate grants-in-aid to the States and, through the States, to the localities.

*Central Public Health Services*—Fundamental to an expanding program of preventive services is the strengthening and extension of organized public health services in the States and in local communities. In addition to the strengthening of public health administrative services and organizations generally, the expanded program should be directed specifically toward the eradication of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and malaria; the control of mortality from pneumonia and from cancer; the development of more effective programs for mental hygiene and industrial hygiene, and related purposes.

In addition, the program should include special provisions for the training of skilled personnel and for studies and investigations designed to advance knowledge and skill useful in carrying out the purpose of the program.

*Maternal and Child Health Services*—Included in this part of the recommended program are provisions for medical and nursing care of mothers and their newborn infants; medical care of children; services for crippled children; consultation services of specialists; more adequate provisions for studies and investigations of conditions affecting the health of mothers and children.

The objective sought in this phase of the committee's recommendation is to make available to mothers and children of all income groups and in all parts of the United States the services essential for the reduction of our needlessly high maternal mortality rates and death rates among newborn infants, and for the prevention in childhood of diseases and conditions leading to serious disabilities in later years.

B. The committee recommends grants-in-aid to the States for the construction, enlargement and modernization of hospitals and related facilities where these are nonexistent or inadequate but needed, including the construction of health and diagnostic centers in areas, especially rural or sparsely populated, inaccessible to hospitals. The committee also recommends grants toward operating costs during the first years of such newly developed institutions to assist the States and localities in taking over responsibilities.

Our technical subcommittee finds hospital accommodations and hospital and clinic services throughout the country not altogether well adapted to the varying needs of people living under different social, economic and geographical circumstances. A long-range program is urgently needed to meet accumulated deficiencies, with special reference to the needs of rural areas and of low-income groups, and to bring about such expansion of facilities as is necessary if preventive and curative services are to approach adequacy for the nation.

We need scarcely emphasize that hospital and related facilities should be built only after careful examination has shown the need in particular communities or areas, taking account of all available facilities useful for the service of the localities.

C. The committee recommends that the Federal Government provide grants-in-aid to the States to assist them in developing programs of medical care.

A State program of medical care should take account of the needs of all persons for whom medical services are now inadequate. Attention has often been focused on those for whom local, State, or Federal governments, jointly or singly, have already accepted some degree of responsibility through the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act and through work relief or general relief, and upon those who, though able to purchase food, shelter and clothing, are unable to pay for necessary medical care.

The committee's studies show, however, that attention should more properly be focused on the needs of the entire population or, at least, on the needs of all low-income groups. Medical services are now inadequate among self-supporting people with small incomes as well as among needy and medically needy persons.

The committee believes that choice of the groups to be served, the scope of the services furnished and the methods used to finance the program should be made by the States, subject to conformity of State plans with standards necessary to insure effective use of the Federal grants-in-aid.

To finance the program, two sources of funds could be drawn upon by the States: (a) general taxation or special tax assessments and (b) specific insurance contributions from the potential beneficiaries of an insurance system. The committee recommends grants-in-aid to States which develop programs using either method, or a combination of the two, to implement programs of medical care.

### *The President's Message on Taxes*

*Excerpts from President Roosevelt's message to Congress on taxes on Jan. 19:*

In my message of April 25, 1938, I urged that the time had come when the Congress should exercise its constitutional power to tax income from whatever source derived. I urged that the time had come when private income should not be exempt either from Federal or State income tax simply because such private income is derived as interest from Federal, State or municipal obligations or because it is received as compensation for services rendered to the Federal, State or municipal governments.

A fair and effective progressive income tax and a huge perpetual reserve of tax-exempt bonds could not exist side by side. Those who earn their livelihood from government should bear the same tax burden as those who earn their livelihood in private employment.

The tax immunities heretofore accorded to private income derived from government securities or government employment are not inexorable requirements of the Constitution, but are the result of judicial decision.

In the light of those decisions there are, among the taxpayers of the nation, inevitable uncertainties respecting their tax liabilities. There is uncertainty whether the salaries which they receive are not taxable under the existing provisions of the revenue acts; there is uncertainty whether the interest which they receive upon the obligations of governmental instrumentalities is similarly not taxable; and there is an uncertainty whether the salaries and interest which they have received for past years will create an unanticipated source of tax liabilities and penalties.

In view of the fact that the Bureau of Internal Revenue will have no choice but to enforce our income tax law as declared in the latest decisions of the Supreme Court, prompt legislation is necessary to safeguard against the inequities to which I have referred. The need, therefore, is for the prompt enactment of equitable rules, prospective in operation, which the bureau can apply and taxpayers can observe without that mass of litigation which otherwise is to be anticipated. We are confronted with a situation which can be handled with fairness to all and with reasonable administrative convenience only through the cooperation of the Congress and the courts.

Unless the Congress passes some legislation dealing with this situation prior to March 15, I am informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that he will be obliged to collect back taxes for at least three years upon the employes of many State agencies and upon the security holders of many State corporate instrumentalities who mistakenly but in good faith believed they were tax-exempt. The assessment and collection of these taxes will doubtlessly in many cases produce great hardship.

Accordingly, I recommend legislation to correct the existing inequitable situation and at the same time to make private income from all government salaries hereafter earned and from all government securities hereafter issued subject to the general income tax laws of the nation and of the several States.

### *Recommendations for New Government Expenditure Laws*

*The report of the Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures and Use of Governmental Funds in 1938 included these recommendations with introductory comment on the Works Progress Administration:*

I. THE committee in the course of its work has been compelled to give much of its attention to charges of undue political activity in connection with the administration and conduct of the Works Progress Administration in certain States. While many of these charges, after investigation, were not sustained, the committee nevertheless finds that there has been in several States, and in many forms, unjustifiable political activity in connection with the work of the Works Progress Administration in such States. The committee believes that funds appropriated by the Congress for the relief of those in need and distress have been in many instances diverted from these high purposes to political ends. The committee condemns this conduct and recommends to the Senate that legislation be prepared to make impossible, so far as legislation can do so, further offenses of this character.

II. The committee recommends legislation prohibiting contributions for any political purpose whatsoever by any person who is the beneficiary of Federal relief funds or who is engaged in the administration of relief laws of the Federal Government. The committee also recommends legislation prohibiting any person engaged in the administration of Federal relief laws from using his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body.

III. The committee recommends that Section 19, Title 1, of the present Work Relief Act, making it a misdemeanor for any person knowingly, by means of fraud, force, threat, intimidation, boycott, or discrimination on account of race, religion, political affiliations, or membership in a labor organization, to deprive any person of any of the benefits to which he may be entitled under the Work Relief Act, be so amended as to make such violation a felony instead of a misdemeanor.

IV. The committee recommends that all Federal relief acts should be so amended as to provide that any person who knowingly makes, furnishes, or discloses any list of persons receiving benefits under such acts or of persons engaged in the administration thereof, for delivery to a political candidate, committee, campaign manager, or employe thereof shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

V. The committee recommends that Section 208, Title 18, of the United States Code be so amended as to prohibit not only the soliciting and receiving of political contributions by officials, employes, and persons now named in that section, but also by any one acting in their behalf.

VI. The committee recommends that Section 211, Title 18, of the United States Code be so amended as to prohibit political contributions not only by Federal employes to any Senator or Member of or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to Congress, but also to any candidate for such offices, or to any person or committee acting with the knowledge and consent and specially in behalf of such Senator or Member of or Delegate to Congress or Resident Commissioner therein, or of any candidate for such office.

VII. The committee recommends that there should be a limitation upon contributions which individuals may make in behalf of a candidate seeking election to Federal office.

VIII. The committee recommends that Section 209, Title 18, of the United States Code relating to solicitation for political contributions in any room or building occupied in the performance of official duties by any person in the employ of the Federal Government, be so amended as to include solicitation by letter and telephone, as well as in person.

IX. The committee recommends the adoption by the Senate of a rule requiring all candidates for the Senate to file with the Secretary of the Senate, in response to appropriate questionnaires, a full and complete statement of receipts and expenditures.

X. The committee recommends that Section 313 of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act be so amended as to prohibit any contribution by any national bank, any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress, or by any corporation engaged in interstate or foreign commerce of the United States, in connection with any primary or general election.

# On Record

## Recent Addresses by Foreign Statesmen

### Hitler's Speech to the German Reichstag

*Excerpts from Chancellor Hitler's address to the German Reichstag on Jan. 30:*

THERE are countries in the world where instead of 135 people to the square kilometer, as there are in Germany, there are only between five and eleven, where vast stretches of fertile land lie fallow, where all imaginable minerals are available. There are countries which have all this and the natural wealth of coal, iron and ore and yet are not even capable of solving their own social problems, of doing away with unemployment or overcoming their other difficulties.

And now the representatives of these States swear by the wonderful qualities of their democracy. They are quite at liberty to do so as far as they are concerned. But as long as we still had an offshoot of this democracy in Germany we had 7,000,000 unemployed; trade and industry were faced with absolute ruin in town and country, and society was on the point of revolution.

Now we have solved these problems in spite of our difficulties, and for this we have our regime and our internal organization to thank. The representatives of foreign democracies marvel that we now take the liberty of maintaining that our regime is better than the former one; above all they marvel that the German people acquiesce in the present regime and reject the former.

But, after all, does not a regime which has the support of 99 per cent of the people represent quite a different kind of democracy from the solution which in some countries is possible only with the help of extremely doubtful methods of influencing election results?

And above all, what is the meaning of this attempt to foist something onto us which—in so far as it is a question of government by the people—we already possess in a much clearer and better form?

At the most, it is a matter of indifference to us whether National Socialism—which is our copyright, just as Fascism is the Italian one—is exported or not. We are not in the least interested in this ourselves! We see no advantage in making shipments of National Socialism as an idea, nor do we feel that we have any occasion to make war on other people because they are democrats.

The assertion that National Socialism in Germany will soon attack North or South America, Australia, China, or even the Netherlands, because different systems of government are in control in these places, is on the same plane as the statement that we intend to follow it up with an immediate occupation of the full moon. Our State and our people exist under very difficult economic conditions.

In actual fact the problem at the end of the war had become still more critical than it was before the war. Quite briefly, the problem was as follows:

How can a just and sensible share in the world's wealth be assured to all great nations? For surely no one can seriously assume that, as in the case of Germany, a mass of 80,000,000 intelligent persons can be permanently condemned as pariahs, or be forced to remain passive forever by having some ridiculous legal title, based solely on former acts of force, held up before them.

And this is true not only of Germany but of all nations in a similar position, for it is quite clear that: either the wealth of the world is divided by force, in which case this division will be corrected from time to time by force, or else the division is based on the ground of equity and therefore, also, of common sense, in which case equity and common sense must also really serve the cause of justice and ultimately of expedience.

But to assume that God has permitted some nations first to acquire a world by force and then to defend this robbery with moralizing theories is perhaps comforting and above all comfortable for the "haves," but not for the "have-nots." It is just as unimportant as it is uninteresting and lays no obligation upon them.

Nor is the problem solved by the fact that a most important statesman simply declares with a scornful grin that there are nations which are "haves" and that the others on that account must always be "have nots." No nation is born to be a "have not," and no nation is born to be a "have."

When we defend ourselves against such agitators as Churchill, Duff Cooper, Eden or Ickes and the rest, our action is denounced as encroachment on the sacred rights of the democracies. According to the way these agitators see things, they are entitled to attack other nations and their governments, but no one is entitled to defend himself against such attacks.

I need hardly assure you that as long as the German Reich continues to be a sovereign state, no English or American politician will be able to forbid our government to reply to such attacks. And the arms that we are forging are our guarantee for all time to come that we shall remain a sovereign state—our arms and our choice of friends.

Actually the assertion that Germany is planning an attack on America could be disposed of with a mere laugh, as one would prefer to pass over in silence that incessant agitation of certain British warmongers. But we must not forget this:

Owing to the political structure of these democratic states, it is possible that a few months later these warmongers might themselves be in the government.

We, therefore, owe it to the security of the Reich to bring home to the German people in good time the truth about these men. The German nation has no feeling of hatred toward England, America or France. All it wants is peace and quiet.

I therefore consider it necessary that from now on our Propaganda Ministry and our press should always make a point of answering these attacks and, above all, bring them to the notice of the German people. The German nation must know who the men are who want to bring about a war by hook or by crook.

In view of the dangers that threaten all around us, I appreciate it as a piece of great good fortune to have found in Europe and outside it states that, in the same way as the German nation, are compelled to carry on a hard struggle to safeguard their existence. I refer to Italy and Japan.

In the Western World of today the

Italians, as the descendants of the ancient Romans, and we Germans, as the descendants of the Germanic peoples of those times, are the oldest peoples—and our relations with each other reach farther back than do those between any other nations.

National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy are strong enough to safeguard peace against every one, and to end resolutely and successfully any conflict that irresponsible elements lightly start.

This does not mean that we desire war, as is asserted in the irresponsible press day by day. It simply means that we take this stand because, first, we understand that other nations, too, desire to assure themselves of their share of the world's riches due them by virtue of their number, their courage and their worth; and that, second, in recognition of these rights, we are determined to give common support to common interests.

Our relations with the United States are suffering from a campaign of defamation carried on to serve obvious political and financial interests, which, under the pretense that Germany threatens American independence, is endeavoring to mobilize the hatred of an entire continent against the European states that are nationally governed.

Germany wishes to live in peace and on friendly terms with all countries, including America. Germany refrains from any intervention in American affairs and likewise decisively repudiates any American intervention in German affairs.

### *Chamberlain's Birmingham Speech*

*Excerpts from Prime Minister Chamberlain's address to the Birmingham Jewelers Association on Jan. 28:*

For myself, looking back [at Munich], I see nothing to regret nor any reason to suppose that another course would have been preferable. War today is so terrible in its effects on those who take part in it, no matter what the ultimate outcome may be, it brings so much loss and suffering even to those who stand aside and watch the combat from the ring, that it ought never to be allowed to begin unless every practicable and honorable step has been taken to prevent it.

I go further and say that the preservation of peace last September was only made possible by the events which preceded it, by the exchange of letters between myself and Signor Mussolini in the summer of 1937 and by the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian agreement in February of last year.

Without the improvement in the relations of this country and Italy, I could never have obtained Signor Mussolini's cooperation last September, and without his cooperation I do not believe peace could have been saved.

Quite recently, as you know, the Foreign Secretary and I paid a visit to Rome, and for that too we have been criticized by those who seem determined to obstruct and resist every attempt to improve international relations.

We did not go to Rome to make bargains but to get to know Italian statesmen better, to ascertain by personal discussion what was their point of view and to make sure that they understood ourselves.

We accomplished all that, and although there was complete frankness of speech on both sides, although we did not convert or attempt to convert one another to our point of view on any subject on which we might differ, yet I can say we came away better friends than we were when we went there.

And something more than that came out of it. From the moment we entered upon Italian soil till the moment we left it we were the objects of the most remarkable, spontaneous and universal demonstration of welcome that I have ever witnessed.

It was a demonstration which it seemed to me signified two things. In the first place it brought out the genuine friendliness of the Italian people for the people of this country.

In the second place, it demonstrated as clearly as possible the intense and passionate desire of the Italian people for peace—a desire which is matched by an equal feeling in this country.

That feeling is not confined to the peoples of Britain and Italy. You find exactly the same thing in France. You find it again in Germany and you find it, I believe, in every country of the world.

I do not exclude the possibility that these feelings of the peoples may not always be shared by their governments, and I recognize, of course, that it is with governments and not peoples that we have to deal. Nevertheless, let us cultivate the friendship of the peoples, and that can be done by individuals and by traders as well as by more official representatives.

Let us make it clear to them that we do not regard them as potential foes, but rather as human beings like ourselves with whom we are always prepared to talk on terms of equality, with an open mind to hear their point of view and to satisfy, so far as we can, any reasonable aspirations that they cherish and which do not conflict with the general rights of others to liberty and justice.

We cannot forget that though it takes at least two to make a peace, one can make a war. And until we have come to clear understandings in which all political tension is swept away we must put ourselves in a position to defend ourselves against attack, whether upon our land, our people or the principles of freedom with which our existence as a democracy is bound up and which to us seem to enshrine the highest attributes of human life and spirit.

It is for this purpose, for the purpose of defense and not of attack, that we are pursuing the task of rearmament with unrelenting vigor and with the full approval of the country.

It has taken us a long time, so low had our defenses fallen in the vain hope that others would follow our example, to get going the machinery that had run down. But progress now is being made more rapidly every day in all directions.

Further progress has also been made in working out the plans for evacuation from our large, congested cities.

Peace could only be endangered by such a challenge as was envisaged by the President of the United States in his New Year message—by a demand to dominate the world by force. That would be a demand which, as the President indicated and I myself have plainly declared already, the democracies must inevitably resist.

But I cannot believe that any such challenge is intended, for the consequences of war for the peoples on either side would be so grave that no government which has their interests at heart would lightly embark upon them. Moreover, I remain convinced that there are no differences between nations, however serious, that cannot be solved without recourse to war by consultation and negotiation as was laid down in the declaration signed by Herr Hitler and myself in Munich.

# THEY SAY

## Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

## South Africa's Mystery Statesman

Who is Oswald Pirow, the irrepressible Minister of Defense of the Union of South Africa whose tour of the capitals of Europe last November gave rise to so much speculation about the future of the ex-German colonies in Africa? For it is not many months since Mr. Pirow startled the world by a speech in which he used the following words:

"The ruling class of Great Britain agrees with me that there can be no permanent base for arriving at a peaceful agreement with Germany other than compensating the Germans for the loss of their colonies. This compensation can only be in Africa. I can state that the authorities agree with me that the cooperation of Germany in Africa is of vital importance in maintaining the domination of the white race on the African continent."

This declaration was the culmination of a campaign conducted by Mr. Pirow. It followed another recent statement to the effect that: "I shall look forward with pleasure to the return of the Germans to Africa, since the Nazis are the only ones who know how to treat natives."

Oswald Pirow started his career as one of the leaders of the Republican Party of the Transvaal. In 1929 he was the youngest member of the Cabinet in the Government of General Hertzog. Later, he was appointed Minister of Railways and Harbors, and in this post he fully demonstrated his ability as an organizer. At that time the finances of the State railways and harbors were in a wretched condition. Pirow reorganized the system and ended by converting the almost traditional deficit into a surplus.

He expected and got promotion. Pirow became Minister of National Defense.

An excellent orator and political strategist, he is today one of the outstanding personalities in South Africa. He knows the value of publicity. He pilots his own airplane and drives his own car. Once, hearing that a demonstration of natives was to be staged in Durban, he flew there, put himself at the head of the police and led the attack to disperse the natives with tear-bombs. When the public tired of hearing of this feat, of the lions he had killed and of his other exploits, his interests turned to international politics. Pirow tried to justify the statements quoted above by declaring that all he meant was that it was just and proper for the Powers who had territory in Africa to return part of it to Germany. It was inferred he was speaking specifically of Angola and of the Cameroons.

At present, Pirow is more reserved in his pro-German sympathies, and devotes most of his energies to the improvement of South African defense. Coupled with his friendly attitude to the Wilhelmstrasse, this had led to the question: "What does Pirow really want?" A distinguished South African ex-Minister has given the reply: "The answer is simple. Our Minister of National Defense is very ambitious, and his greatest desire is to become Prime Minister. So he is riding two horses at the same time. In order to gain the votes of the Boers, he emphasizes the demands of Germany and the theory of the Black Peril. But in order to gain British votes and to give proof of his loyalty to England, he is urging the organization of national defense and the creation of a South African war industry."

Whatever the ambitions of Pirow may be, he has contributed materially to the defense of the Union. He improved the Iseor Works, which could be the foundation of a gigantic metallurgic industry so big that many South Africans believe the foundries of this region may soon become the center of the British armaments industry.

—Edmond Demaître in *El Nacional*, Mexico City

## The Libido Will Out

In the United States they sell a lipstick called the *Lady*. They also sell one called the *Hussy*. The *Hussy* outsells the *Lady* five-to-one.

—*Shelf Appeal*, London.

## Japan's "Spiritual Mobbers"

The Ginza is the Piccadilly Circus of Tokio, although the main reason for so calling it has now disappeared. Those brilliant neon signs of all colors, sizes and meanings, which make people say of Piccadilly Circus: 'Ah, this is London!' had become an even more dazzling feature of Tokio's one main pleasure street.

But now they are no more. Tokio has again become one endless succession of dull, characterless, and dimly lighted streets. The first question a visitor might ask as he wrenches his ankle on some unrevealed irregularity in the pavement is: 'Is Tokio expecting an air-raid?'

And when he is informed that air raids are strictly limited to Chinese cities he will almost certainly wonder whether, under the stress of war conditions, Tokio is not trying to economize on its electricity supply. But he will be wrong there, too.

Undoubtedly Japan has been brought under a very strict system of economic control and restriction. But the abolition of the neon signs and many other similar things have practically no relation whatever to any normal economizing. Electricity is one of the very easiest and cheapest things possible to produce in this country.

No, the reason for making dim and dark our daily lives here is that we on the 'home front' may reproduce as near as possible the dim and dark and dreadful conditions the soldiers on the battlefield must undergo. This is called spiritual mobilization, or spiritual 'mobbing,' as I prefer to abbreviate it.

The spiritual mobbers have formed a very strong society here, and since they have made the Rising Sun flag their symbol and the so-called Japanese Spirit their basis, the authorities are very hard put to it to oppose even their most hare-brained schemes.

Up to a point this spiritual mobbing represents something fundamental in the Japanese people—a strong sense of community that makes them desire to smile when others smile

and to be sad when others are sad. To ask them to sacrifice this or that luxury, to give up this or that pleasant habit, in order to show their sympathy with the soldiers at the front makes a great appeal to them.

But our spiritual mobbers carry this quite natural feeling to the most ridiculous extremes and to further certain one-eyed ends.

For one thing they sometimes seriously jeopardize the Government's efforts to achieve real economies. One of the major economic problems here is how to achieve some sort of an international trade balance without creating too many unemployed. For instance, the original drastic limitation of raw cotton and wool imports has inevitably created considerable unemployment in the textile industries generally.

On top of this come along our hot-headed spiritual mobbers, demanding that the people shall erect no new houses, wear no new clothes, go to no entertainments, abandon permanent waves and neckties, and so on through the whole gamut of human comforts, diversions, and even necessities, regardless of the large number of people who will be thrown out of employment.

But they reached the limit of their ingenuity the other day when they almost succeeded in getting the Government to forbid air conditioning in public buildings such as department-stores, offices, picture-houses and restaurants.

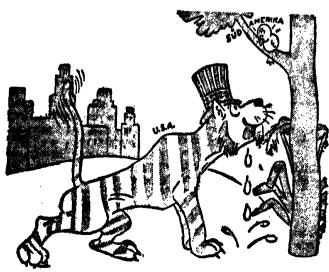
One restaurant proprietor pointed out that without air conditioning his excellent little basement restaurant would have to close down, and that the trifling expenditure of only 25 sen daily meant keeping about 50 people at work.

But our spiritual mobbers had got another string to their bow. Their chief argument was actually in favor of hot air. They said our soldiers at the front were sweltering in 110 and 120 degrees, and so ought we. And that argument nearly carried the day. Scarcely a perspiring official liked to suggest that he wanted to keep a cooler head than the brave boys at the front!

But the most significant feature of the spiritual mobbers' activities is that the comforts, luxuries, pleasures and entertainment they attack are all more or less of a Western character. It is now practically a criminal offence in Japan to go to a dance-hall or form a dancing club or dancing class, while even foreigners (including diplomats) are forbidden to give any dances.

The reason for this antagonism is that our spiritually-minded hot-heads hold that it is utterly impossible for a young fellow and girl to dance together without getting "all hetted up" with disastrous moral consequences.

They care nothing, or next to nothing, for what would normally pass as morality. They are merely anti-Western, even more bigoted than many an ignorant Chinese Boxer with his anti-foreignism.

—"Foreign Resident of Tokio" in *Northern Dispatch*, Darlington, England.

*"The Protector"*

*Berlin Illustrierte Nachtausgabe*

# The Vanishing English Country Estate

Britain's great landed estates are slowly disappearing. One more of them, Clumber, once the centre of a vast domain, began to fall beneath wreckers' picks a few weeks ago. By 1988, perhaps, the last of these vast tracts of land ruled over by dukes and earls will have vanished.

These vast estates are like little principalities, with their armies of workers, their villages, their woods, their quarries and their farms. The estate usually has its fifty or a hundred farms with their families and workmen, its three or four villages, with their two or three hundred inhabitants each. The lord has care of the spiritual as well as the material well-being of these people, for he probably has the nomination of the parsons of his villages.

Consider the features of such a principality and how it is run. First, his lordship's woods, tended by many a keeper and forester, may extend over 3,000 acres or more. They are the only part of the estate, except the park, and perhaps the home-farm, which he actually looks after himself.

Then come his farms. These may be compared to factories which a landowner puts up and which tenants work in return for a rent. If an owner has an estate of 20,000 acres of agricultural land, he will have, perhaps, a hundred farmers as his tenants. If it is fair land it will fetch about $3.75 an acre, which will give him a rent-roll of $75,000 a year.

But in the past ten years Britain has gone through the biggest agricultural crisis she has ever had. It has been impossible for the farmers to pay the rents. Rather than lose good tenants, a landowner has delved deep into his own pocket. He has cut the rent by 30 or even 50 per cent. The owner of a great estate sees his farmers but rarely. The man who deals with them mostly is the agent. The agent on a big estate is a most important person. He has his offices, his chief clerk and half a dozen other clerks. He supervises the woodlands, sees to rents, finds new tenants to replace old, sells the wood, attends to the drainage, makes up the income-tax forms, keeps the roads in good order and sees to all repairs.

A big estate is, to a large extent, self-dependent, even as it was in centuries gone by. It lives on its own

vegetables, and repairs are often done with timber from its own woods. Its roads are made with granite from its own quarries. New buildings are made with bricks from the lord's own brick-fields. The domestic washing of the great house is done in its own laundry, and Blenheim and Arundel, to name only two, have their own water-works. The estate may have its own sawmills, its own gasworks, even its own battery of the Royal Artillery.

Now consider the expenses of running a mansion. The minimum staff necessary to run a great house is probably something like this: butler, four footmen, housekeeper, cook or chef, six housemaids, three kitchenmaids, two still-room maids, four laundry maids, odd jobs man, two chauffeurs, one or two electricians, lady's maid, valet, two dairy maids and two dairy men (for the home-farm).

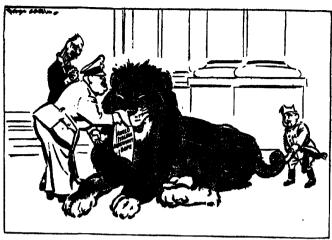
Altogether some thirty or more people. Their wages, even at $250 a year each, would be $7,500.

Now, a wealthy man may have to pay away over half his income in tax. Therefore, to get upkeep money of $28,500 he will have to earmark $55,000 or more of his income. And the estate produces $2,500.

Add to all this the fact that a landowner has to pay double the death duties of a business man. The business magnate can get 6 per cent on his capital to the landowner's 3 per cent. If they both have an income of $30,000, the business man will pay death duties on $500,000. The landowner will have to pay death duties on $1,000,000 and sell off some of his lands to do it.

So do you wonder that Clumber is pulled down? The surprising thing is that any of the great houses still stand. Yet the Duke of Devonshire is still at Chatsworth, though the famous greenhouse was demolished in 1920. It covered an acre; a carriage and four could, and did, go along the drive that ran down the middle.

But the duke still has his great hall 60 feet long, his sculpture gallery 160 feet long, his row of beer-barrels with the ducal arms emblazoned above each bung, his grand cascade and Emperor Fountain, his paintings by Van Dyck, Tintoretto, Murillo, Kneller, and Titian. The Duke of Norfolk is still at Arundel and goes out occasionally in his state coach with powdered footmen. The Duke of Marlborough is still at Blenheim, though *his* little province of farms lost $500,000 in the post-War slump.

Daily Herald, London

*"Give It Another Twist, Franco. He Won't Feel It Now"*

There are still, then, a few of the great country houses of England left, though not one of them could keep going for a year without help from coal revenues, town property, etc. Certainly not one of them in all Britain is a paying proposition today.

—C. A. Lyon in *Sunday Express*, London.

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# The Truth About the "People's Car"

"A social accomplishment of the first magnitude—a fitting climax to the endeavors of the Labor Front's Strength-Through-Joy organization!" So, recently, Dr. Robert Ley, leader of the German Labor Front, characterized the new German *Volkswagen* ("People's Car") plan, the grandiose scheme which is to provide every German worker with a very fine car at a minimum of expense.

Leaving out the flourishes, the plan offers the "People's Car," priced at 990 marks (about $350) on the installment system of weekly payments of only 5 marks (about $1.75). Subscription offices are to be opened in all the headquarters of the Labor Front. In large industrial plants specially appointed agents among the workers are to receive subscriptions. A widespread sales campaign is already under way. Acquisition of a car is described as at once a wise and patriotic act; by implication, failure to subscribe demonstrates folly and lack of patriotism.

There is no exemption, regardless of how low one's income may be. Those who earn $15 a week or more are to take up individual subscriptions. Those who earn less are to join with their fellows in group subscriptions.

"It is Hitler's will," explained Dr. Ley, "that within a few years no less than six million *Volkswagen* will be on the German roads. In ten years' time there will be no working person in Germany who does not own a 'People's Car.' The entire Party press is running riot with superlatives. A new era of traffic is about to dawn—a new standard of living unfolds, the fulfilment of 'The German Dream.'"

The simple truth is naturally nowhere to be found in the German press. Yet it is obvious to the most casual economist that one of the world's greatest campaigns of fraud is under way. The far-famed *Volkswagen* factory cannot possibly produce these promised millions of cars in the near future; nor will the vast majority of the subscribers be able to take possession of their purchases. They may be able to pay the weekly instalments of $1.75 out of their meagre incomes, but certainly not the upkeep, which will come to several times this amount.

The entire transaction does not aim at the actual delivery of a car, but rather at directing a part of labor's income into the coffers of the Labor Front. Moreover, the savings contracts sponsored by Dr. Ley have been characterized as legally worthless and morally unethical by judicial authorities outside the Reich.

An examination of the contract form shows that the contractual obligations of the purchaser are precisely formulated and unusually stringent; the obli-

gations of the seller, on the other hand, are trifling and vague.

The first remarkable thing about this leaflet is that, in contrast to customary forms of contracts the world over, it fails to mention any price. This is no mere accident. The price, of course, is uniformly given throughout the entire press as 990 marks. No other price is ever mentioned. Dr. Ley even declared: "The weekly installments of five marks include insurance."

Any layman would be led to understand this to mean that the price of 990 marks included both the purchase price of the car and the insurance premium. This does not agree with clause three of the leaflet, which specifically states that the "cost of such insurance is to be charged against the purchaser." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* gave the cost of insurance as 200 marks (about $70) for the first two years. Thus the car actually costs not 990 marks, but 1,190 marks. At weekly installments of five marks, payment is completed not in four but only in almost five years.

This, however, is the least vicious feature of the contract. Much more serious is the stipulation that the purchaser, from the moment of his signature, is absolutely bound to the contract and its weekly payment of five marks. The plant is not bound to any delivery rate. Its only concession in clause five is an order number to be issued after production starts. Since, according to Dr. Ley, "the first *Volkswagen* are expected to roll off the assembly line toward the end of 1939," the subscriber cannot hope to find out the approximate delivery date before early in 1940.

Should he receive a high order number—even should delivery be due in 1950 or 1970 or the year 2000—he would have no legal recourse nor could he cancel the contract. He would have to continue his weekly installments of 5 marks. Even when he has completed his payments he would have to leave his money in the care of the Labor Front, earning not a penny in interest.

The savings book cannot be sold or put up as collateral security, since, according to clause one, "the rights are not transferable." Even should the Labor Front deign to release the purchaser from this crushing contract—and remember, it is under no obligation to do so—it is entitled to 20 per cent of all payments made in addition to the interest it has earned.

*De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam*

***A Difficult Toast***
***Chamberlain: "Now, Gentlemen, Heaps of Good Will"***

Nevertheless, if Dr. Ley's "savings plan" meets with even moderate success, the vast majority of these subscriptions must inevitably end in cancellation. Most of the compulsory subscribers will be unable to take possession of the car, since they will be unable to pay for its upkeep. The Nazi press is studiously silent on this point, except for Dr. Ley's vague promises that "of course, we shall attempt to find rational solutions to the problems of garaging, repair shops and replacement parts."

One does, however, learn that the *Volkswagen* is to travel approximately 27 miles to a gallon of petrol. Even moderate use should bring the monthly consumption to over 25 gallons, costing more than 40 marks. Add to this about 10 marks a month insurance from the third year on; garage rental, which comes to 20–30 marks a month in large cities; the expense of tires, oil, repairs, parts, etc. In short, even with the most careful and moderate use, it will cost at least 75 marks a month to operate the car—a figure which may easily rise to 125 marks with greater use and less care. Even the better-off employees in Germany cannot afford that sum.

There is no doubt of the substantial "saving" involved in drawing several hundred million marks annually from the pockets of the workers. Such a "saving" may well be worth the cost of building a factory—a factory undeniably of strategic value in war time and an asset in times of peace.

This is the true meaning of the *Volkswagen* plant in Fallersleben.

—JOACHIM HANIEL in *Neues Tagebuch*, German emigre weekly, Paris.

# CHRONOLOGY

## Highlights of Current History, Jan. 11—Feb. 7

## THE NATION

### *Foreign Relations*

JAN. 13—Germany, in a note, goes a considerable distance toward meeting the United States' demands on the rights of American citizens in Germany.

JAN. 21—Ex-Governor Landon declares, in a speech, that there is a great peril to the democracies in the economic war being waged by the totalitarian states.

JAN. 27—President Roosevelt permits France to buy war planes in this country, and asks Congress to hasten our own purchases.

JAN. 28—General Craig testifies before a Senate committee about the French mission to buy planes from us.

JAN. 31—President Roosevelt tells Senate committeemen of his purpose to help democracies arm. It is reported that he says "our border is the Rhine."

FEB. 1—Ex-President Hoover asserts that President Roosevelt is expanding our foreign policy dangerously. He urges Congress to demand an explanation from the President.

The German press attacks President Roosevelt for his aid to the democracies.

FEB. 2—President Roosevelt is called a "frustrated autocrat" and "peace enemy No. 1" by the German press.

FEB. 3—President Roosevelt brands as a lie the report that he said that the Rhine is our frontier. He denies that there has been any change in our foreign policy. Some Senators insist that he made the statement, however.

Ambassador Phillips protests to the Fascist government about slurs on President Roosevelt appearing in the Italian press.

FEB. 6—President Cardenas of Mexico takes his oil land policy under advisement, following President Roosevelt's talks with Francisco Castillo Najera, Mexican Ambassador to the United States.

### *Defense*

JAN. 12—President Roosevelt, in a message to Congress, asks a $552,000,000 defense program, $321,000,000 of it for aircraft.

JAN. 14—The navy's plan for the fortification of Guam stirs rising debate in the capital.

JAN. 17—Assistant Secretary of War Johnson declares that the air industry can make 7,000 war planes a year.

JAN. 19—House of Representatives is told that the army's key to defense is the protection of our coasts from air invasion.

JAN. 20—President Roosevelt approves the navy's plan for Guam, but says that it does not necessarily mean full fortification.

FEB. 1—Secrecy on the Administration's defense program stirs angry debate in the Senate.

FEB. 2—Further Dies alien investigation is approved by a House committee. Grant of $100,000 is provided.

FEB. 3—House votes to extend the Dies sedition inquiry for one year. The vote is 344 to 35.

### *Labor*

JAN. 15—Commissioner Andrews reports to Congress that the wages and hours act has increased employment.

JAN. 16—President Roosevelt, in a message to Congress, asks the extension of the Social Security Act to the aged and to children.

JAN. 20—Homer Martin, auto union president, suspends 15 foes. They vote to impeach him.

JAN. 22—Fist fights disrupt a meeting of an automotive workers' union local in Detroit.

JAN. 24—CIO repudiates Martin and recognizes Thomas as the UAW head.

JAN. 25—Martin attacks John L. Lewis as a "betrayer," and resigns from the executive board of the CIO.

Senator Walsh asks the Senate to amend the Wagner Act following the AFofL recommendations.

JAN. 29—William Green, on eve of the AFofL council meeting, declares that gains have been made toward an AFofL-CIO peace.

FEB. 3—Textile Workers Union quits the CIO to rejoin the AFofL.

### *Relief*

JAN. 11—Secretary Hopkins, appearing before a Senate committee, concedes that he made an error in making political speeches while he was the WPA chief.

JAN. 13—House of Representatives passes a bill calling for $725,000,000 for relief until June 30, instead of President Roosevelt's bill for $875,000,000.

JAN. 16—Federal Judge Dickinson holds that "peaceful picketing" is a myth in upholding an employer's contract with employees.

JAN. 20—Senate subcommittee votes 8 to 1 for the House cut on relief, but limits the number of dismissals before April 1.

JAN. 21—Senate appropriations committee backs the House relief bill by a 17 to 7 vote.

JAN. 27—Senate upholds the House relief cut by a vote of 47 to 46. A ban on politics in relief administration is incorporated.

FEB. 2—House adopts a conference report which sends the $725,000,000 relief bill to President Roosevelt.

FEB. 7—President Roosevelt, after having signed Congress' relief bill, requests that the $150,000,000 cut be restored to meet an "emergency."

### *Law*

JAN. 19—Attorney General Murphy acts to speed action no all government suits. He calls for a list of all cases pending more than two years.

JAN. 29—New York District Attorney Dewey says that Federal Circuit Judge Manton received $400,000 from litigants. He sends his data to a House committee.

JAN. 30—Judge Manton resigns, denying that business deals had any connection with his conduct on the bench.

FEB. 1—President Roosevelt orders an inquiry into the "influencing" of Federal judges.

Senate Judiciary Committee rejects President Roosevelt's nomination of Floyd H. Roberts to the Virginia Federal bench. Roberts was opposed by Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia.

FEB. 4—Federal Circuit Judge Edwin S. Thomas is ordered back from a cruise to appear before the grand jury inquiring into the Manton case.

FEB. 6—Roberts nomination is rejected by the Senate, 72 to 9.

Supreme Court grants Mayor Hague of Jersey City a hearing, and stays a CIO injunction pending arguments on Feb. 27.

FEB. 7—President Roosevelt terms the Senate vote on Roberts a usurpation of his powers. He criticizes Senator Glass.

### *Business*

JAN. 13—Secretary Hull urges an inquiry into the activity of the tariff lobbyists. He denies that an agreement has been made with Cuba to lower the duty on sugar.

JAN. 20—Monopoly hearing is told of a "plastic" airplane body that can be made twenty times faster than others.

JAN. 23—Senate confirms Harry Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce after an acrid debate. The vote is 58 to 27.

FEB. 7—Rail experts attack President Roosevelt's nomination of Thomas R. Amlie to the I.C.C. Mayor LaGuardia of New York supports him in a letter to the Senate committee.

### *Power, Flood Control, Canals*

JAN. 12—Vermont legislature, supporting the stand of Governor Aiken, appeals to Congress against the Federal flood control project for that State.

JAN. 13—Six New England governors uphold Vermont's stand and demand that the consent of the States be obtained on the flood projects.

JAN. 14—President Roosevelt withdraws the proposal for a Vermont flood control project.

JAN. 17—President Roosevelt proposes the revival of work on the Florida canal and on the Passamaquoddy project.

JAN. 30—Supreme Court, in a 5-to-2 decision, rules that private utilities have no suit against the TVA.

FEB. 2—Ex-President Hoover charges that there is waste in the New Deal's fight on its latest "political demon," the power industry.

FEB. 4—TVA agrees to buy the Commonwealth and Southern power properties in Tennessee for $80,000,000.

### *Treasury*

JAN. 15—Senator Byrd of Virginia, in a letter to Federal Reserve Chairman Eccles, assails the Federal Government's spending as a repudiation of Government pledges.

JAN. 19—President Roosevelt asks Congress to ban tax-exempt securities and halt the levy on public employees' back pay.

### *International*

JAN. 11—Prime Minister Chamberlain on a trip to visit Premier Mussolini, is warmly greeted by the Roman populace.

JAN. 12—Chamberlain-Mussolini talks end without result. The British emphasize that no deals have been concluded.

JAN. 14—Great Britain, in a strong note to Japan, says that she will not tolerate the closing of the Open Door in China.

JAN. 15—British and French Foreign Ministers, at Geneva, discuss a plan to appease Italy in Africa.

Britain, in a note to Japan, reveals a united western front against the idea of a "new order" in China.

JAN. 16—Administrative committee of the World Jewish Congress rejects Germany's plan to "ransom" Jews.

JAN. 17—Mexico hurriedly sends an envoy to Germany on a secret mission.

JAN. 22—Yugoslavia is moving toward the Italian end of the Rome-Berlin axis as a result of Regent Prince Paul's conversations in Rome, just concluded, it is reported.

JAN. 26—France rejects Japan's nominee for an envoy. A political snub is seen in the unusual action.

JAN. 27—Eighteen British leaders appeal to Germany to join in a "supreme effort" to keep the peace.

JAN. 28—Prime Minister Chamberlain warns that an attempt by the totalitarian states to dominate by force will unite the democracies.

JAN. 30—Chancellor Hitler, in a speech before the Reichstag, declares that colonies are Germany's next objective. He demands "riches" for Germany, Italy and Japan.

JAN. 31—Chamberlain, in a Commons speech, says that a willingness to limit arms must precede any general international settlement.

FEB. 3—Britain again warns Germany that she must prove her peaceful intentions before a general settlement.

FEB. 4—Russians have been battling the Japanese continuously for four days on the northwest frontier, the Japanese press reports.

FEB. 5—Mexican workers parade for Batista, with the union "militia" appearing in uniform.

FEB. 6—Immediate assistance to France in "any threat to her vital interests" is promised by Prime Minister Chamberlain.

FEB. 7—Parley on Palestine opens in London. The Arabs are divided.

### *Spanish Civil War*

JAN. 11—Rebels claim the capture of Montblanch, but it is denied by the Loyalists. The Loyalists report that the Seville-Burgos railroad has been shelled.

JAN. 12—Rebels take Falset in a drive for the coast. Barcelona calls up 200,000 men.

JAN. 13—Loyalists abandon Tortosa salient as the Rebels press on toward Tarragona. A new attack is made in the Madrid zone.

JAN. 14—Rebels penetrate Barcelona Province to within 40 miles of the capital.

JAN. 15—Tarragona falls to the Rebels without fighting. The Loyalists withdraw to a new line.

JAN. 16—Rebels make more gains. Loyalists open a drive in the Granada zone.

JAN. 17—Rebels' drive slows down as the Loyalist resistance stiffens, but they advance toward Igualada.

JAN. 18—Great Britain and France reaffirm their policy of non-intervention in the war.

JAN. 19—Rebels report gains averaging six miles all along the Catalan front.

JAN. 21—Rebels capture two more key towns. Loyalists are falling back on Barcelona, which is raising new defenses.

JAN. 22—Rebel drive nears Barcelona on two fronts. The Rebels are now 15 miles from the capital.

JAN. 23—Barcelona is placed under martial law. Rebels are now 12 miles from the city.

JAN. 24—Rebels take an airport on the outskirts of Barcelona, and shell and bomb the city proper.

JAN. 25—Rebels isolate Barcelona and demand surrender of the city.

JAN. 26—Rebels take Barcelona without a fight as the defenders withdraw.

JAN. 27—Rebels sweep on, taking Badalona and Sabelle. Barcelona is hungry as food trucks are delayed.

Figueras is made the capital of Loyalist Spain. The war will go on, Premier Negrin declares.

JAN. 28—Loyalists are unable to rally forces as the Rebels press on. Regime is reported losing its grip, and panic is rising.

Ten thousand panic-stricken refugees cross the French border. France rushes troops to the border to control the migration.

JAN. 30—France closes its Spanish border. Thousands are turned back.

FEB. 1—France seeks an armistice in Catalonia as the Rebel troops push the Loyalists toward the frontier.

FEB. 4—Loyalists ask Great Britain to act as mediator to end the war, it is reported.

FEB. 5—France opens her border to the fleeing Loyalist army. President Azana is on his way to Paris.

Rebel forces advance on the whole front. Two hundred thousand Loyalists are retreating toward France.

Italian troops will not leave Spain until the regime of General Franco is secure, Gayda, prominent journalist, declares in his newspaper.

FEB. 6—Loyalists modify their terms in peace talks at the border. General Franco bars concessions to them.

One hundred thirty thousand refugees cross the border into France. The Loyalist army is orderly as it leaves Spain.

FEB. 7—Loyalists say that the war will go on. A battle rages south of Fugueras.

### *Sino-Japanese War*

JAN. 12—Peiping-Tientsin Railway is cut by Chinese guerrillas in a swift night raid.

### *Australia*

JAN. 14—Thirty-one persons dead, hundreds are homeless as fire sweeps 1,000 square miles.

### *Belgium*

FEB. 2—Premier Spaak is beaten by war veterans protesting the appointment to the Academy of Medicine of a man convicted of wartime treason.

### *Canada*

JAN. 12—Lord Tweedsmuir, opening Parliament, asks for the strengthening of Canada's defense. He stresses the importance of aviation.

JAN. 27—Prime Minister King reveals that a special investigation of Nazi activities is under way.

### *Chile*

JAN. 25—At least 30,000 persons are killed in 20 cities wracked by an earthquake.

JAN. 28—Storm, the danger of epidemic and the threat of a volcanic eruption bring new misery.

JAN. 30—Fresh earthquakes terrify stricken areas. U. S. Army planes arrive with serums.

FEB. 4—Government's 2,500,000,000-peso plan for reconstruction causes a bitter political division.

### *France*

JAN. 28—Finance Minister Reynaud says that the nation has gold enough to purchase 5,000 airplanes abroad if they are needed.

### *Germany*

JAN. 19—Refugee plan talks begin to make progress as Dr. Schacht drops his aim to "ransom" the Jews.

JAN. 20—Chancellor Hitler removes Dr. Schacht as the head of the Reichsbank and suspends the refugee negotiations.

JAN. 21—Chancellor Hitler orders all German males over 17 to receive military training under the Storm Troops.

JAN. 22—Government destroys the old officer caste and makes the German army a political adjunct of the regime.

### *Great Britain*

JAN. 16—Bomb explosions rock several cities. They are laid to the Irish Republican Army.

JAN. 18—Twenty persons are seized as bombers. The London Irish colony is combed for arms.

JAN. 26—Sir Samuel Hoare, British Home Secretary, tells a mass meeting that Great Britain is invincible.

JAN. 27—Admiral Chatfield, who built up the navy, is named Great Britain's defense chief.

JAN. 31—A war-compensation scheme, whereby the State will cover personal and property losses, is set up.

FEB. 4—More bombing plans are seized, it is reported.

### *Hungary*

FEB. 4—Martial law is imposed to curb political violence.

### *Italy*

JAN. 24—Men are recalled to the colors as a deterrent to French aid to the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War.

### *Rumania*

JAN. 25—Government lays to Fascists a plot to destroy public buildings in Bucharest with flame-throwers.

### *Yugoslavia*

FEB. 5—A new Cabinet is formed by seven Serbs, two Croats, two Slovenes, two Mohammedans.

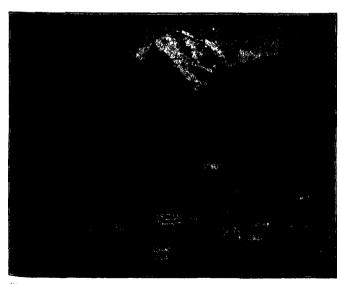
# Travel...

## Don't Miss The Swiss

In the year of grace 1291, three little mountain cantons called Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden joined together for mutual protection. Their historic pact was drawn up on a democratic basis. From that time to this, Switzerland has been a democratic island among the seething despotisms of Central Europe. She has maintained her free traditions, and has extended them to all the world, so that international refugees, the Red Cross, the League of Nations, and dozens of other "benevolent" organizations find shelter within Switzerland's hospitable confines.

Humane Switzerland has always been strong for "betterment" movements. Is not the very Swiss flag the Red Cross emblem in reverse colors? Geneva, stamping ground of old John Calvin, purest of the Puritans, was known as the Cradle of the Reformation. Its Cathedral is still an historic landmark. And Geneva also is the center for most of Switzerland's non-Swiss activities. It is always full of foreign students, delegates, observers, and uplifters, people eager to puff the free air of Switzerland out over the entire world.

Switzerland herself is a miniature league of nations, with her 22 cantons, all completely self-governing, and her four recognized official languages: German, French, Italian, and Romansch. Romansch is exceptionally close to the Latin, and has found an age-old refuge among the isolated alpine peaks and valleys. The language groups among the Swiss dwell together in perfect harmony, and give a living exhibition of how, for instance, France, Germany, and Italy should cooperate in the larger world beyond the Swiss border. Foreign visitors have been known to observe that French, German, and Italian Swiss are "nicer"—friendlier and more liberal—than French French, German Germans, and Italian Italians just over the frontiers.

This little alpine republic of 4 million natives is about the size of Maryland plus Delaware. And, for the tourist, it has everything: lakes, mountains, chalets, sports, fine hotels, cuckoo clocks, steins, chamois, scenery, friendliness. Everything is neat and clean, picturesque and tidy. There are the internationalists of Geneva, and the famous banking activities of Basel, and the sacred wooden and flesh-and-blood bears of Bern, and the blue waters of Lake Lucerne, and the modern industrial features of Zurich.

*"Switzerland has everything: lakes, mountains, chalets, sports, fine hotels, cuckoo clocks, steins, chamois, scenery, friendliness."*

If you like to ski or hike, coast or go boating, paint landscapes or learn languages, try Switzerland. Flirt at St. Moritz, or visit the kindly monks of St. Bernard and their famous dogs, beloved by every reading child in America.

The coeducational schools of Switzerland are outstanding, and Lausanne is a noted center for American youth. It seems that Swiss French often is better than that of France, and that Switzerland is the perfect place to perfect the dulcet tongue of Voltaire and Rousseau, both of whom were Swiss as they were also French. Sagacious Voltaire made lovely Ferney the most famed retreat in Europe, as today the great Paderewski, though a Pole, is "Swiss".

Climb up to the Murren plateau on the funicular—it is beyond beautiful Interlaken—and view the Jungfrau or the Eiger, wreathed in their eternal snows. Go inside a glacier at Grindelwald, a veritable palace of glistening ice like something out of Grimm's Fairy Tales. See the hillbilly Swiss cavalry, on pretty little brown horses, gathering for the early fall maneuvers. Drink in the saga of William Tell, and his prowess with the cross-bow, remembering that today Swiss mountaineers are equally skillful with their modern "precision" rifles.

One can go to the Swiss Paradise from Paris, Genoa, or Hamburg-Bremen without much time or trouble. If there is war, Switzerland will be a haven of peace. It will continue to minister to the afflicted and the disinherited. Swiss cowbells have a delightful, merry, nostalgic sound as they tinkle up and down the bright hillsides. See Switzerland first.

--R. S.

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The dictum that "there never was a beautiful prison" has been repeated so many times that a good many people believe that it is true. To the new Turkey, bustling and progressive, must go the credit for giving the lie to that old saying. Barely three years old, Turkey's famous prison, a little island named Imrali, in the Sea of Marmora, is said to be a veritable Eden. A tract of green hills covered with flowers, it is jail to 750 men. But life on Imrali is so idyllic that only two wardens are necessary to keep things in order. Most of the prisoners are serving time for crimes committed because of love. They are paid about 25¢ a day for the farming and work on roads which they do. It is the prison's object to restore its inmates to society as useful and peaceful citizens.

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No resident or visitor to Paris need hunt very long for any bit of information, since it is as near as a telephone. In the French capital you need remember only four numbers to get promptly the answer to any question under the sun. If it's the time of day you want, you need only dial "Odeon 84-00" for the talking clock. For the latest news you may dial "INF," the number of the talking newspaper, any time from ten in the morning until after midnight. The number "S. V. P." (which stands for "S'il vous plait," or "please") has long attempted to answer any question that may be asked of it. And if you are a visitor to the city, and you wish information on the cost of tickets, train schedules, special festivals and other data, the number you should call is "Laborde 92-00."

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Our own Rocky Mountains are more impressive than the European Alps. We have that on the word of nineteen Netherlanders, members of a travel group sponsored by the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, a Rotterdam newspaper. They made this pronouncement after they had taken a drive over the Trail Ridge Road in Rocky Mountain National Park early last Fall. The visitors declared that they had had no idea such rugged mountain panoramas as they saw existed in America.

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Thousands of Americans will visit Havana this winter to imbibe the old-world charm and the night-life excitement of the Cuban capital. But any traveler who is anxious to become acquainted with the real Havana must make up his mind to desert the beaten tourist track long enough to sample Cuban cuisine as it is served in good native restaurants.

Other staple dishes, which are always served with as typically Cuban a flavor as the rhumba, are the various local fish, and the popular "arroz con pollo" (rice with chicken) or "arroz con carne" (rice with meat.) Red snapper ("pargo"), served with a sauce meuniere or as a steak ("rueda de pargo"), is always excellent, for its flavor is sharpened by a slice of lime which nearly always accompanies fish dishes in Cuba.

**America at Armageddon**
(*Continued from page* 25)

and that administration will make possible, the opportunity for a fully democratic society of wide range is only just coming into existence.

Democracy at its shabby third-best is better than Fascism at its proudest. The cruelties, the repressions, and the injustices committed in the United States today, though far from negligible, are still nothing compared to the efficient assault that Fascism has made on the very principles of civilization. In one case, the evils are accidental; in the case of Fascism, they are essential—part of the very structure of the state itself.

Whatever the muddy defects of the American scheme, we still preserve in grand outlines the traditions of a free people. Every American honors these traditions and knows that they give shape to his character. They are a source of his personal strength. Who fails to recognize this has already lost the most precious attribute of his citizenship. But the true American feels this in no jingo spirit, although the idea is infamously caricatured and betrayed by jingoes. He knows that what is best in his own democracy he shares with men of good will in all other countries. There is nothing that we want for ourselves that we do not want, ultimately, for the rest of the world. We are a choosing people, not a chosen people.

Is this American heritage worth keeping—worth fighting for? I do not ask that question. This appeal is not addressed to the cynical and the indifferent, nor to those who do not believe in our American past, nor to those who do not believe in civilization. The latter, whether they profess it or not, are already in the Fascist camp. I appeal only to those who, though they are deeply imbued with the American tradition, still shrink from undertaking the active past of every generation: that of reexamining our usable past, revaluating it, and retranslating it into fresh purposes and worthy deeds. The presence of Fascism in the world has given us a special incentive to discover whatever is, by contrast, most excellent in our own heritage. And let us acknowledge no small debt to the Fascists. They have rekindled our passion for democracy. By their wanton exhibitions of barbarism, they have restored our respect for all the processes of civilization.

## Books

(*Continued from page* 7)

the brutal inhumanity of the land today. Her book ends on a note of alarm. Like other American girls who came to intellectual maturity in Germany, she has come home with an acute dread of Fascism. She finds the Fascist forces she watched in Germany at work in every part of the world. *Through Embassy Eyes* is thoroughly warm and human. R.W.

WHAT happened after Appomattox and the surrender of Robert E. Lee? Quite a good deal, and one vital phase of it was the escape of a number of members of the Confederate cabinet. It is a romantic and little known story. Its title: *Flight into Oblivion.*

A. J. Hanna of Rollins College, Florida, has handled the theme with life, color, and careful research. He tells how pig-headed President Jeff Davis got as far as Key West, and there became so tired of flight that he gave up the game and went to jail for two years in Fortress Monroe. Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, on the other hand, escaped. He was the cherubic genius of the Confederate government, the Dr. Schacht of his time and place, and after incredible adventures he became the No. 1 barrister of London.

Half a million in specie cash went with the aristocratic refugees. It was all the Confederacy had left. George Trenholm, the Charleston banker, absconded with hampers full of peach brandy. John Breckinridge, War Secretary, turned into a buccaneer protem, and fought and scuffled his wild way to Cuba where admirers gave him an ovation. R.S.

FOR quick and authoritative military reference, Roger Shaw's *175 Battles* is handy and informative. It covers conflicts ranging from Marathon and Cleopatra's fight at Actium down through Crecy and Waterloo, to the Hindenburg Line, the war in Ethiopia, and the civil marathon in 1939 Spain.

All of the old pot-boilers are included, like Cannae, Gettysburg or the Marne, but also a host of little-known battles: Adrianople, "the first day of the Middle Ages"; Rocroi, where the great Spanish empire withered; Marston, the first [illegible] of modern democracy; Lissa, the initial fleet action of ironclads; [illegible] at Cowpens.

## The Government

(*Continued from page* 50)

### *The President's Message on Defense*

*Excerpts from President Roosevelt's message to Congress on defense, dated Jan. 12:*

CAREFUL examination of the most imperative present needs leads me to recommend the appropriation at this session of the Congress, with as great speed as possible, of approximately $525,000,000, of which sum approximately $210,000,000 would be actually spent from the Treasury before the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940.

The survey indicates that of this sum approximately $450,000,000 should be allocated for new needs of the army, $65,000,000 for new needs of the navy, and $10,000,000 for training of civilian air pilots.

It is proposed that $300,000,000 be appropriated for the purchase of several types of airplanes for the army. This should provide a minimum increase of 3,000 planes, but it is hoped that orders placed on such a large scale will materially reduce the unit cost and actually provide many more planes.

Military aviation is increasing today at an unprecedented and alarming rate. Increased range, increased speed, increased capacity of airplanes abroad have changed our requirements for defensive aviation. The additional planes recommended will considerably strengthen the air defenses of the Continental United States, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone. If an appropriation bill can be quickly enacted, I suggest that $50,000,000 of the $300,000,000 for airplanes be made immediately available in order to correct the present lag in aircraft production due to idle plants.

Of the balance of approximately $150,000,000 requested for the army, I suggest an appropriation of $110,000,000 to provide "critical items" of equipment which would be needed immediately in time of emergency, and which cannot be obtained from any source within the time and quantity desired—material such as anti-aircraft artillery, semi-automatic rifles, anti-tank guns, tanks, light and heavy artillery, ammunition and gas masks. Such purchases would go far to equip existing units of the regular army and the National Guard.

# CURRENT HISTORY

# Current History

## CONTENTS + APRIL 1939

### ARTICLES



### DEPARTMENTS



COVER PHOTOGRAPH FROM ACME


Current History, Volume L, No. 2, April, 1939. Whole No. 293. Published monthly by C-H Publishing Corporation, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. J. Hilton Smyth, President; John T. Hackett, Vice-President; I. H. Williams, Secretary; E. Trevor Hill, Treasurer. M. E. Tracy, Editor. John A. Curtis, Advertising Manager, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7, in the United States, possessions, Canada, Central and South America and Spain; elsewhere $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new addresses. Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Albany, New York. Entered in Canada as second-class matter.



## Bylines

I believe an obligation assumed is to be met, and that regardless of whether it is owned by an individual, organization or nation.—*Vice-President Garner.*

We must not delay in preparation for potential and physical action.—*Key Pittman, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.*

I shall defend liberty at the same time that I defend our country.—*Premier Daladier.*

Don't be surprised if the German people revolt on the verge of warfare. —*Thomas Mann, self-exiled German novelist.*

We have, on the whole, an abler and better trained medical personnel than any other country in the world.—*James Rorty (Page 28).*

Chiang Kai-shek does not like people in the abstract—or even the particular—*John Gunther (Page 40).*

It is not to be expected that Roosevelt at this late date will announce that he has been wrong for six years. —*Raymond Clapper (Page 20).*

The haggard spokesman for a caravan of starving farmers blurted out: "We're living like hogs—except hogs get food."—*Richard L. Neuberger (Page 33).*

Germany's naval policy is designed for just one purpose: for an attack upon Britain at her most vulnerable point, her sea-born trade.—*George F. Eliot (Page 23).*

FROM THE FLOOR: Will you balance the national budget when you become President of the United States?

ANSWER: I can tell how to do it, but I don't think I ever will be in a position to do it.—*Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, at a National Republican luncheon in New York.*

Europe is like an artichoke. The Nazis are eating leaf by leaf. France and Britain are the heart of the artichoke to be eaten later.—*Harold J. Laski, professor of political science at London University, via an Associated Press dispatch.*

NORMAN COUSINS

# The World Today in Books

IN its annual university press article last year, this department expressed the opinion that many reviewers unjustly ignore books carrying a university imprint, even when such books are not specialized and deserve a wide audience. Among the half dozen rejoinders from literary critics who wrote back in varying degrees of hurt and huff was this note from a seraphic West Coast book columnist:

"You are unfair to unorganized literary critics. It's not our fault, as you seem to infer, that the general public is not better acquainted with university press books. Do you want to know whom to blame? Simple—the authors.

"Blame the authors, I say—especially those who are best known. Blame them because they flock to commercial publishing houses and seldom give university presses a chance to bid for their books, many of which are awaited by the public with more or less interest. And since these titles command most attention, they are generally—and not unnaturally—at the head of the critic's to-be-reviewed list. Now and then an unknown crashes through to top billing, but the occasion is not too frequent; too infrequent perhaps. Especially is this true in the non-fiction field where established names are so important.

"Ten years ago an author might have felt that a university press could not give his book a good selling and good publicity job. But I don't think it is true today anymore. There are a number of university presses in the country that go in for merchandising in a way that would do credit to any of the commercial publishers. Why don't the authors give them a chance at the long-term contracts?

"And so I suggest that you pick up those darts you tossed at us, re-feather them and aim at the authors—a much more deserving target."

We were disposed at first to run up the white flag and withdraw our complaint against reviewers. Especially were we willing to agree that the presses have made great strides as merchandisers. But after recalling some of the well-known authors on university lists, we still felt our darts had been properly directed. We reminded our West Coast colleague of a half dozen books in the "popular" field—all authored by fairly "good" names and published by university presses—which received a fraction of the review space they merited. Hadn't he heard about Paul Sears' *Deserts on the March* and *This is Our World.* Both these books—published by the University of Oklahoma—were among the most important interpretations of science for the layman, yet both were disregarded or listed perfunctorily by many reviewers. And what about Harry Elmer Barnes' *A History of Historical Writing*, published a year ago by the same press? Or Marquis Childs' *Sweden: The Middle Way*—a Yale book which was a best-seller despite the comparative paucity of review space it received? Or Stanford University's *Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace?* And what about North Carolina's *Southern Regions*, by Howard Odum—out of which the President's committee on the South drew a large part of its report? What were the reviewers doing when these and dozens of other deserving university books were published?

THE current publishing lists of the universities offer still more evidence that books of strong general appeal by well-known authors are not monopolized by commercial publishers. Examining the most important new university books, we find names such as David Lloyd George, Herbert Harris, Robert S. Lynd, R. C. Beatty; subjects as universal as biography, adventure, health, nature, history in the making.

Yale University's outstanding current title is *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* by David Lloyd George, a two-volume pandect on the history that was made at Versailles. The work, in

***University Press Books Reviewed in This Issue***

| BOOK | AUTHOR | PUBLISHER | PRICE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* | David Lloyd George | Yale University Press | $10.00 |
| *American Labor* | Herbert Harris | Yale University Press | 3.75 |
| *A Short History of International Affairs* | G. M. Gathorne-Hardy | Oxford University Press | 3.50 |
| *The Refugee in the United States* | Harold Fields | Oxford University Press | 2.50 |
| *Lord Macaulay* | Richmond Croom Beatty | University of Oklahoma Press | 3.00 |
| *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe* | M. Oakeshott | Cambridge University Press | 3.50 |
| *Health at Fifty* | Dr. William H. Robey | Harvard University Press | 3.00 |
| *Figures and Features of the Past* | V. I. Gurko | Stanford University Press | 6.00 |
| *The Golden Plover and Other Birds* | Arthur A. Allen | Cornell University Press (Comstock Publishing Co.) | 3.00 |
| *The Brandeis Way* | Alpheus Thomas Mason | Princeton University Press | 3.00 |
| *Chaereas and Callirhoe* | Warren E. Blake | University of Michigan Press | 2.00 |
| *Jamestown and St. Mary's* | Henry C. Forman | Johns Hopkins Press | 4.50 |

effect, is an elongated epilogue to his six-volume survey of the World War in *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*. Like an endless spool, these memoirs have been spinning out for half a dozen years. Thus far, including both sets, almost two million words have been run off the spool; is the story finally complete? Technically, yes. The entire war—from beginning to "peace" settlement—is covered in the two sets, but it would be a rash prediction that would have Lloyd George stop here. For just as Versailles grew out of the war, so have the events of the last twenty years largely been shaped by what happened in the Hall of Mirrors in 1919. And since Lloyd George, who was a central figure at Versailles—has never dropped completely his role as a history-maker, we may expect that there is much more thread yet to be unwound.

*Memoirs of the Peace Conference* should read like something out of a dim and detached past; like something that happened long enough ago so that we moderns should possess that much-desired and amorphous quality known as the historical perspective in relation to it.

It should read like that—but it doesn't. It may not read like the day before yesterday but it is at least the day before Munich. The issues that rumbled through the hall at Versailles are rumbling again today: German aggression, Palestine, colonies, armaments, minorities. Most of the personalities have passed on—with the notable exception of Lloyd George himself—but the problems they fought over—and thought they settled—are still with us.

Why?

They are with us, says Lloyd George, because European "statesmen" fumbled and bungled and blundered almost endlessly. Contrary to their pledge, they did not follow Germany's example once the Reich disarmed. Nor did they, "in one case after another," come to the aid of weak League members who were being threatened or attacked by larger nations. They have not—and Lloyd George places emphasis upon this point—lived up to their obligations as respecters of minority rights as promised in the Peace Settlement.

In telling the full story of what happened at the Peace Conference, Lloyd George has not muted his horn in the slightest; it still blares with the same intensity and even on the same pitch as it did two decades ago. He still feels that Wilhelm II was personally responsible for what have been called Germany's crimes against international morality, though he now denies ever inspiring or supporting the movement to "Hang the Kaiser." He is still bitter about many of the principals who participated in the Conference, just as in his *War Memoirs* he was bitter about many military leaders, including General Pershing.* Thus he still regards Poincare as a commonplace, rather tricky and comparatively dull-minded little man whose implacable hatred for Germany was largely responsible for the extreme measures taken against the Reich. Poincare is therefore "the true creator of modern Germany with its great and growing armaments, and should this end in another conflict, the catastrophe will have been engineered by him. His

* In Volume V of his *War Memoirs*, Lloyd George sharply criticized General Pershing for insisting that the American Army be operated as an autonomous unit.

dead hand lies heavy on Europe today."

There are relatively kind words for Clemenceau and Wilson, but even here there are reservations. Clemenceau was an obstructionist at times; Wilson was an "idealist who at first regarded himself as a missionary whose function it was to rescue the poor European heathen from their age-long worship of false and fiery gods."

As pointed and sharp as are his personality sketches in this volume, so are his observations of the events at the Conference lucid and trenchant. Every important detail of Versailles is here recorded and interpreted. The fact that *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* is a personal narrative does not detract from but adds to its significance as an historical record.

THE most important book on Yale's winter list was *American Labor,* by Herbert Harris, an expansion of a series of articles which appeared under the same title in *Current History* a year ago. Already described in several reviews as the best one-volume history of American labor yet published, Mr. Harris' book does two things: it provides a broad general view of American labor as a movement, and contains individual histories of the largest unions.

*American Labor* is timely and enlightening reading. It furnishes the background necessary for a competent understanding of labor today.

THE University of Oklahoma's leading new book is *Lord Macaulay* by Richmond Croom Beatty, author of *William Byrd of Westover.* In publishing this work, Oklahoma has put in its bid for the outstanding biography of the year. Burton Rascoe, one of the members of *Current History's* Literary Advisory Board, recently nominated the work for the Pulitzer Prize.

Mr. Beatty, about whose ability as a biographer there can be no doubt—he is one of the top-ranking Southern writers—has chosen as his subject one of the most colorful "liberals" of the nineteenth century. The quotation marks are prompted by the author's own remarks about the word:

"The term liberal has been handled so often it seems today almost too slippery to take hold of. . . . This formerly nice word has become suspect through long sorting with questionable company."

Macaulay's nineteenth-century type of liberalism consisted of the sanctity of property, dominance of the middle class, freedom of trade and enterprise, and abolition of slavery. But it was not the Jeffersonian or Paine-ian type of liberalism. In fact, Macaulay had a contempt for American democracy. He said he was convinced that purely democratic institutions must destroy—sooner or later—liberty or civilization, or both. He felt that America could afford democracy only until her physical development was completed. He predicted that when our last frontiers disappeared we, like England, would be faced with a population problem and find it necessary to discard democracy: "Wages will be low [as England's] and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. . . . How will you pass through it? I cannot help foreboding the worst."

It has remained for an American to contribute the best-rounded biography of England's "Great Whig" since George Otto Trevelyan wrote his Macaulay's *Life and Letters* more than sixty years ago. Macaulay emerges from this book as a brilliant, hard-minded and somewhat smug exponent of aristocrat rule. Mr. Beatty believes his subject never quite thought things all the way through:

"Macaulay never paused to consider what would inevitably happen to the restrictions hedging his sacred ballot once a sufficient number of the 'lower orders' had become well enough informed to use it with tolerably good sense. . . . On that doctrine which identified the well-being of his class with the well-being of the nation he took his stand, nor did he ever desert it."

Thomas Babington Macaulay — statesman, lawyer, author of *History of England*—has found a fair, careful, considerate, though not necessarily sympathetic biographer in Richmond Beatty, whose book is richly flavored and beautifully written.

THE "we or they" question so frequently the subject of books these last few years apparently has been the inspiration for *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe*, by Michael Oakeshott, published by the Cambridge University Press. The plan for the book was suggested by Ernest Barker, author of *The Citizen's Choice*, which presented the case for democracy as against dictatorship. Mr. Barker suggested a collection in one volume of the basic and most important documents of social thought. Out of that suggestion has come a handbook of social and political philosophy.

This book deals with fundamentals in a way that will please those who are tired of bubbly discussions on this theory or that and who want, in reference form, one volume which will enable them to consult source material. Thus, *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe* contains not only important extracts from *Mein Kampf* and *Lenin's State and Revolution*, but legislative texts which give such doctrines added meaning. Divided into five main chapters, each of which is devoted to a separate school of political thought—Representative Democracy, Catholicism, Communism, Facism, and National Socialism—the book contains leading doctrines and documents of each.

OXFORD University Press' *A Short History of International Affairs*, by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, published in 1934, has been revised and brought up to date. The current volume presents a summary of events from 1920 up to the fall of last year. The Czechoslovakian crisis is covered in a post-

script. "I have had to pluck my material from the blazing fires of contemporary controversy, over which not even the thinnest crust of dead embers has had time to cool," says the author in his preface to the new edition. But he has been signally successful in giving his book an atmosphere of detachment and calm, measured judgment.

The years from 1930 to 1938, says Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, whose book is issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, represent the "period of collapse," although in the earlier edition he referred to 1930–1934 as the "period of crisis." For the last few years have convinced him that the crisis has come to a head:

"To call this any longer the 'Post-War Era' would savor of bitter irony. War has already broken out in the east and in the west, while many nations still technically at peace are enjoying only the immunity of the victim who surrenders his property with the bandit's pistol at his head."

Looking back through the events recorded in this volume, he remarks (as did Hamilton Fish Armstrong in his *When There is No Peace*) at the appropriateness of the Bibical sayings of Jeremiah: "They have seduced my people, saying, 'Peace; and there was no peace."

The value of *A Short History of International Affairs* is that it sews together into one coherent pattern the many divergent strands of recent history.

ANOTHER important and recent Oxford book is Harold Fields' *The Refugee in the United States*—a pertinent and authoritative discussion of a subject which has caused so much recent controversy. Mr. Fields, director of the National League for American Citizenship and an official of the New York City Board of Education, has been a specialist on immigration problems for twenty years. His long familiarity with the problem has convinced him that partisan viewpoints about the refugee are exaggerated. On the one hand are those who regard all immigrants as subversive aliens and therefore undesirable; while on the other are those who regard all immigrants as bearers of intellectual wealth who are culturally and economically assimilated with ease. It is the middle ground between these extremes that Mr. Fields, who

has buttressed his book with a wealth of supporting statistical data, explores in this book.

*The Refugee in the United States* lays the basis for a sensible American policy towards those who turn to us for their ideological and even economic salvation.

ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON, a professor of politics at Princeton University, has for a number of years been interested in the career and philosophy of Louis D. Brandeis, recently resigned as Justice of the Supreme Court. Six years ago he wrote *Brandeis: Lawyer and Judge in the Modern State*, a semi-biographical tribute to the famed jurist, analyzing his legal and judicial career. The book sold more than 50,000 copies, an extraordinary record considering that 2,000 is a good sale for a non-fiction book. Mr. Mason has again written about the former justice. His new book is called *The Brandeis Way: A Case Study in the Workings of Democracy.*

Mr. Mason believes that Louis D. Brandeis represents, as did Thomas Jefferson, the closest approach to the true "American democratic way." The former justice, says the author, has concerned himself with the problem of how best to build and adapt our institutions and laws to meet the special requirements of the machine age, yet "retaining the human-economic values implicit in laissez-faire, democracy and individualism." No man of our generation has "created so successfully the social and legal devices competent to solve hard American problems."

As a specific example of the "Brandeis way," Mr. Mason discusses in detail—and this is the brunt of the book—the life insurance reforms which Mr. Brandeis brought about almost single-handedly in Massachusetts thirty years ago. His fight is proof, declares Mr. Mason, that democracy can and does work if given intelligent and courageous leadership. Such leadership, he adds, is not only the "safeguard of democratic institutions which so-called conservatives would overthrow in purblind desperation to maintain their power immune from progress," but the "salvation of private business enterprise."

THE Cornell University Press, which is at the head of the nature publishing field—collegiate or commercial—has changed its imprint for books of this type to the Comstock Press as a memorial to two great Cornell-

ians who devoted their careers to nature study, Professor and Mrs. J. H. Comstock. The latest and most important of the Comstock nature books is *The Golden Plover and Other Birds*, by Arthur A. Allen, another in the author's popular "bird biography" series.

Mr. Allen has not written the conventional type of bird-study book. *The Golden Plover* is the result of his own observations from travels all over the country. He has illustrated his book with more than 200 action photographs of North American birds. In addition, the book contains color plates of seven paintings by Dr. George Miksch Sutton, noted bird artist. Illustrations and content are brightly and colorfully presented.

The Comstock Press, incidentally, has just brought out a new, revised edition of the famous *Handbook of Nature Study* by Mrs. J. H. Comstock.

ONE of the most Herculean and important undertakings in modern publishing is the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace. Published by the Stanford University Press, the library now numbers fourteen volumes dealing extensively with significant historical events. Half the books in the series are concerned with various aspects of the World War, such as the rise of the German Empire and its collapse, Allied propaganda, treaties, China's part in the War, and relief in Belgium.

Latest in the series, No. 14, is *Features and Figures of the Past*, by Vladimir Iosifovich Gurko, a member of the Imperial Chancellery during the reign of Nicholas II. Mr. Gurko, whose father was Field Marshal in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, has written of the old Russia—the Russia of the pre-revolutionary days of Nicholas II, 1894–1917. Mr. Gurko's purpose is to reconstruct—now that we are beginning to forget that the old Russia had a distinct personality of its own—the personalities of her leading statesmen, her political and diplomatic complexions, and her trends of public and bureaucratic thought.

Notwithstanding his personal background, Mr. Gurko is concerned only with the historical perspective and not prejudice. He finds that the revolution was the direct result of the ineptitude of Russia's leaders, who had opportunities to make important and necessary concessions and changes in the government but who closed their eyes and blindly continued to ride the old tide. The book is excellently annotated and documented. It does for pre-revolutionary Russian history what William Henry Chamberlain's *The Russian Revolution* did for the period 1917–21. It is an historical work of the first importance.

IN 1907, Harvard University, observing that the public was becoming increasingly health conscious, began a series of free Sunday afternoon health lectures, open to all. That series has been maintained without interruption and is still in operation today. So popular have the lectures become that they are an established part of Cambridge's community life and are attended every week by large capacity audiences.

A number of the most recent of these lectures, given by members of the faculty of Harvard's Medical School, is now embodied in *Health At Fifty*, edited by Dr. William H. Robey,

and published by the Harvard University Press.

Consisting of twelve chapters, or lectures, the book contains clear, lucid information, explanation and advice on health problems which concern middle-aged persons: heart disease, blood pressure—low and high, underweight and overweight, eye-trouble, diet, etc. A sharp warning is underlined in all chapters against misleading advertising of "purely commercial remedies, the unwarranted use of the nomenclature derived from scientific discoveries, and the fraudulent claims of charlatans." The physicians contributing to this book examine and appraise recent developments in their respective fields.

OF strong literary importance is the publication by the University of Michigan of a new translation of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe.* This is the first time that the earliest romantic novel in European literature has been translated into English directly from the Greek text. Previously, the only existing English version was based on the Italian translation.

Warren E. Blake, associate professor of Greek at the University of Michigan, has succeeded through this translation in giving new life and influence to Chariton of Aphrodisia, whose works represent the only surviving novels of Greece's romantic writers. The reconstruction is clear and complete. Professor Blake has made the translation as sharp and as readable as a new work by a contemporary novelist.

The format of *Chaereas and Callirhoe* entitles it to a rating among the beautiful books of the year.

THERE is a lot of talk about America being a young, upstart continent. But here is one indication that at least and at last we have begun to adolesce. An archaeologist, Henry Chandlee Forman, has been excavating and has written a book—not about ancient Greece or Rome—but about two American cities which have virtually passed into decay: Jamestown and St. Mary's, which the author calls the "buried cities of romance."

*Jamestown and St. Mary's*, as his book is called, tells the story of two historic New World settlements—the manner of living, architecture, tools, art; in short, their culture and civilization.

All that remains of old Jamestown today are the ruins of a church tower; all that remains of St. Mary's are the frames of a few buildings. The other historic landmarks have settled into the soil. It is from these ruins that Mr. Forman has drawn his material.

Mr. Forman, former head of the architectural unit of the government's archaeological project at Jamestown, combines in this book the results of his official and personal investigations into the early life of the two cities. The work is illustrated with hundreds of the author's sketches and maps. In addition, it contains numerous halftone photographs.

# SAVING DEMOCRACY

## AN EDITORIAL BY M. E. TRACY

HAS it become necessary to save democracy abroad in order to save it for ourselves? Will the policy we are now pursuing, as well as the circumstances that have shaped it, force us to recognize the real frontier as on the Rhine? Are we mobilizing our resources, our industries and our man power with a view to the possibility of participation in another European war?

We shy at accepting such prospects as inevitable. They are too disagreeable; too repugnant to our traditions; too close to the bitter disappointment we suffered as a result of our last adventure in Europe. We prefer to contemplate the armament program now in progress as purely defensive; as a bold gesture that may prevent conflict; as an undertaking that promises to help business and increase work. But that, too, is repugnant to our traditions and contrary to our ideals. We do not want prosperity through the manufacture of war gear. We do not believe that we are threatened with immediate and formidable attack from any quarter. On the other hand, we realize how easy it is for people to find excuses for offensive action once they have been sold on the necessity of strong defense.

The time has come to be frank, particularly with ourselves. We are arming to an extent unprecedented in time of peace: building battleships, ordering airplanes, increasing our military force, coordinating our industries. We are doing all this because of a growing conviction that democracy is threatened; because dictatorships are maneuvering and arming to weaken, if not destroy, it wherever they can. We are alarmed at what may happen.

The alternative of a "splendid isolation" is not so simple as many seem to think, or so certain to bring about the desired results. Suppose we were to scrap our armament program, our moral support of European democracies. Suppose the British Empire were to fall apart and the French were to go down before the ring of steel with which they are now being surrounded. What then? Then we would face the music alone.

Even so, we might still be safe from physical attack, but would we be safe from the subtler influences and pressures of a triumphant totalitarianism? Already, there are those among us who seem to be intrigued by the success of dictatorship; already, there are those who think that we could do worse than borrow ideas from Communism, Fascism, and Nazism. Of equally vicious import, there are those who, while opposed to foreign *isms* of every sort, believe that we should fight fire with fire, censorship with censorship, suppression with suppression.

Obviously we cannot pursue any of these courses; cannot imitate the dictators or fight them with their own weapons without undermining the foundations of democratic government. No matter how it hurts, how much trouble it causes, how definitely it tries our patience, we must stand by the essential American traditions. If we do not, we risk losing the very thing we are attempting to save.

It is hard to stand quietly by while people preach, proselyte, organize, and collect funds in behalf of this or that foreign *ism*. It is even harder to maintain a tolerant attitude when they strut about in uniforms as though their work were of military significance. These irritating parades and cells of disturbance tempt us to forget the past and adopt measures to break them up, even at the risk of abridging basic rights.

We face a very critical situation in this particular respect. There never was a moment in our history when we needed to stand so sturdily by the American system; when we needed to remember how our forefathers handled similar situations and with what marked success. In principle, we are going through what they went through on many an occasion. They not only believed in giving calves rope but they proved its efficacy. They believed that crackpot or even vicious ideas would soon evaporate if allowed an open road. New York City gave a vivid and convincing demonstration of how this works by the way it handled that much advertised German-American Bund meeting some weeks ago.

Whether or not it becomes necessary for the United States to assist European democracies in their struggle for existence, the American people must adopt an unyielding attitude toward the preservation of those principles and ideals on which their government rests. That is the first and most important task they face. Under no circumstances can they afford to modify or abandon the basic rights of constitutional democracy. Under no circumstances can they afford to pay dictatorship the compliments of imitating its methods. Saving democracy includes its preservation at home.

BLACK OUT

Duffy—The Baltimore Sun

# «History in the Making»

MORTALLY stabbed at Munich last September, the 20-year-old Republic of Czechoslovakia died peacefully on March 15th, leaving Adolf Hitler undisputed master of Central Europe. As 200,000 German troops marched into Bohemia to occupy the Western Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, three other armies converged upon what a year ago was a rich and happy nation.

Despite long range forecasts made last October that the nation could not long remain free from Berlin, the end of Czechoslovakia came suddenly. What happened was the quiet detachment of the backward and barren territory of Slovakia in the very center of the long segmented state. Slovakia adjoined Bohemia and Moravia on the west and Carpatho-Ukraine, or Ruthenia, on the east. The Slovaks, granted autonomy, had been suddenly stirred up by Nazi agents to demand complete independence. But this status, obviously, was impractical, inasmuch as the Slovaks had to depend on the Czechs for both financial and military support. Consequently, with the surprise declaration of independence, Slovakia immediately was merged with the Reich. After that, Bohemia was quickly placed under Germany with the status of "a protectorate." At the announcement that German troops had begun to march into the very heart of ancient Czech territory—a fertile land temporarily spared at Munich through the "appeasement policy" of France and England—church bells began to toll the death knell for the little country that had been born out of the World War.

### *Reactions in Europe*

WITH the nation taken virtually unaware, Hungarian troops immediately marched into the Carpatho-Ukraine to within 16 miles of the Polish border. This move paved the way for a common Polish-Hungarian frontier. Meanwhile, Polish Foreign Minister Josef Beck conferred with the Envoys of Rumania and Poland over reports that a Rumanian army had marched into villages in the eastern part of the Carpatho-Ukraine. The Hungarian-Polish border, which Hitler had forbidden last fall, did not seem to bother him as he prepared to take over the rest of the prostrate nation. He no longer considered it a barrier on his march to the east into the Russian Ukraine, which he has long coveted as the bread basket of Europe.

The Czechs themselves, stunned over their betrayal at Munich, were even more dazed at the sudden turn of events in mid-March. But that they will not take German rule lying down was indicated by underground mumblings and threats of terrorism. Realizing that the Czechs might attempt to strike back at the invading hordes of grey-green German troops, radios blared every five minutes with orders from the Czech President, Dr. Emil Hacha, urging that not the slightest resistance be shown, as that would bring "most unforeseen consequences and the Germans would intervene with utter brutality."

Meantime, London and Paris looked on with calm unconcern. Two nights before Lord Halifax had expressed the British official view of Hitler's projected conquest by saying, quite unnecessarily, that "England has washed its hands of Czechoslovakia," forgetful of the fact that London had done just that even before Munich. Paris took the same attitude, not wishing to stir up any unnecessary ill-feeling in the west with the Mediterranean question now apparently about to be brought to a boil.

In the United States, where the Czech declaration of independence was written at Pittsburgh, in a way making this nation a sort of foster father to the little democracy, there was a general feeling of sorrow.

### *The Economic "Method"*

"THERE are many methods short of war, but stronger and more eftive than mere words, of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our people," said President Roosevelt last January.

Immediately following the Nazi aggression against Czechoslovakia in mid-March, one such "method" was put into operation. It was a duty increase of 25 per cent on all "subsidized" and dutiable imports from Ger-

### *Hitler on the March*

SIX years ago Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of a Germany that numbered about 67,000,000 persons in a territory of 181,500 square miles. Since then his Nazi Juggernaut has added almost 25,000,000 people and 75,000 square miles.

In order, this is what has been brought within German rule:

***Saar Basin:*** (By plebiscite) Area, 738 square miles. Population, 826,000. Chief resources: Coal, iron steel, heavy goods. *Date of absorption: March 1, 1935.*

***Austria:*** Area, 32,369 square miles. Population, 6,759,000. Chief resources: Iron, copper, lead, lumber, small manufactures, agriculture. *Date of absorption: March 13, 1938.*

***Sudetenland:*** Area, 10,885 square miles. Population 3,595,000. Chief resources: Coal and iron deposits, china, textile, crockery, chemical industries. *Date of absorption: October 1, 1938.*

***Czechia and Slovakia:*** Area, 30,000 square miles. Population, 13,000,000. Chief resources: Iron ore, coal, lead, silver, gold deposits, automobile factories, breweries (Pilsen), the Skoda and four other large munitions plants. *Date of absorption: March 15, 1939.*

many. Although Washington has refused to recognize the new status of Czechoslovakia, all imports from that territory fall under the new ruling, as do goods from Ruthenia, annexed by Hungary.

Announcement of the new levy, made within a few days after Germany marched into Prague, was generally interpreted as the official reaction here to the German conquest. According to some reports, however, the decision to boost the duty had been made almost a week before the seizure.

In order to exempt any import from the increased duty, Germany must prove that its exporters have not been aided financially—directly or indirectly—by the government.

Last year, the United States bought $65,000,000 worth of goods from Germany, but sold her goods amounting to $108,000,000.

### *Worried Rumania*

THE two countries most worried over the collapse of Czechoslovakia were Rumania and Poland. Hitler had destroyed the only force between Berlin and the Danube which could be thrown against him in another war. He had warned King Carol last autumn that he would be in Bucharest by spring. To Rumania, Hitler's program was working as though by clock work.

With Nazi Germany controlling Europe from the Baltic down to within a few miles of the Adriatic, the surrounding countries had good cause for jittery nerves. Hungary, rather than Rumania, was given the spoils of Ruthenia, thus leading many foreign observers to the conclusion that Rumania was next on Hitler's list.

It would be no difficult task to stir up trouble in King Carol's country. The minority question—always an irksome one in Balkan countries—could easily be brought to a head. For in Rumania over half the population of some 20,000,000 is made up of Hungarians (1,500,000), Germans (800,000), Ukrainians (1,300,000), Bulgars (500,000), as well as Greeks, Turks and Jews. The seeds of disintegration are already there; with a little watering of Nazi propaganda they could easily flower into another Sudeten crisis.

Actually, however, by mid-March Hitler was to all intents and purposes the master of south-eastern Europe. For Germany now controls the immense network of railways that serve the Balkans. The Danube is under German domination. Economically, Hitler's penetration into the Danubian countries has outpaced his armed forces.

> **This government founded upon and dedicated to the principles of human liberty and of democracy cannot refrain from making known this country's condemnation of the acts which have resulted in the temporary extinguishment of the liberties of a free and independent people with whom, from the day when the republic of Czechoslovakia attained its independence, the people of the United States have maintained especially close and friendly relations.**—*Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles.*

### *Switzerland Uneasy*

FOLLOWING the complete disintegration of Czechoslovakia, tension increased in Switzerland and in the Netherlands. Nazi pressure began to be felt in Berne, with Mussolini's fine hand intruding itself at intervals. Behind this was the desire of Germany and Italy to extend their common frontier to include Berne and Basle, in the event of a war with the western "democracies." Consequently, German-speaking Swiss are daily being reminded that their loyalty belongs to their Fatherland—a Fatherland including the Swiss land they now occupy.

Much the same thing is occurring in Holland, although there the anti-Nazi sentiments are stronger and more vocal. But they were equally strong and vocal in Prague not three months ago—and the fate of Prague is now a matter of record. Further, after what has happened to Czechoslovakia, neither Switzerland nor Holland places much faith in English or French aid should Hitler become more aggressive.

### *Switch in Britain*

IN Great Britain, Prime Minister Chamberlain's masterly bit of understatement to the effect that Hitler's gobble of Czechoslovakia "was hardly in the spirit of Munich" provoked even his Tory supporters. It soon became evident that Britain's foreign policy could no longer with impunity run contrary to public feeling. The first indication of a possible new trend was the recalling of Sir Nevile Henderson, Ambassador to Germany. At the same time, a proposed British trade mission to Berlin was called off, with the itinerary of the mission switched at the last moment to Baltic capitals and Russia.

An ironical twist in affairs was indicated by persistent reports that in the near future Chamberlain would advocate closer cooperation with Soviet Russia as well as the United States. For it was immediately recalled that the Czecho-Russo alliance was one of the prime reasons for the Czech downfall—and one of Chamberlain's major excuses for not taking a stronger stand at Munich was the fear that in the event of war Great Britain would find iself fighting side by side with Russia.

### *Far East Tension*

EVENTS in Europe have clouded the troubles in the Far East; yet a quick glance at that quarter reveals considerable tension. Border clashes along the Siberia-Manchukuo frontier are increasing. At the same time, Tokyo regards an OGPU army on North Saghalien Island with deep suspicion. The treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the Russo-Japanese war and divided Saghalien between Russia and Japan, stipulates that no armed force be stationed in the island's North, held by Russia, or the South, belonging to Japan. The presence of a Soviet army of 5,000 men on the island is reported. To oppose them, Japan has but 600 gendarmes in its entire southern section. With relations between Tokyo and Moscow already near the breaking point over the Soviet refusal to renew the Japanese fishing rights in Soviet waters (also provided for in the Portsmouth treaty) the situation portends no good.

Meanwhile, Tokyo is attempting further to smooth out the terrorist tangle in Shanghai, which last month almost precipitated serious clashes between Japanese and Occidental troops in the International Settlement and French Concession. Tokio accused the authorities there of harboring anti-Japanese cut-throats and bombers who have assassinated 17 Chinese leaders sympathetic to Japan's program in China. There was a threat that Japan would take over the concessions if terrorism was not stopped. Tokyo was pleased, therefore, when Washington and London made identical protests to the Chinese National Government in Chungking against the encouragement of political terrorism, warning that tension in Shanghai was increasingly precarious to all concerned. It was the first rebuke Chiang had received from Washington or London.

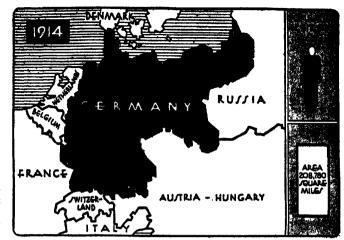
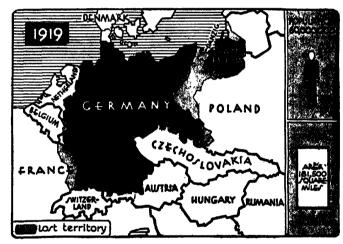
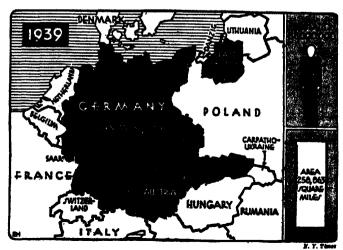
### Anger in Japan

DECLARING that the war in China would never end while Great Britain continued to support Chiang Kai-shek, a demand has been voiced in the Japanese Diet that a vigorous protest or retaliation be made against Great Britain for a $25,000,000 loan to China in March. All Japanese views of Britain's policy in the Far East start with the assumption that Japan has won the war. Tokyo is bewildered by London's refusal to acknowledge that the future of her trade and enterprise in China depends on Japanese good will. The British loan, following by three months a $25,000,000 credit extended to Chiang by the Export-Import Bank of the United States, has caused considerable anger in Japan. The American loan was regarded as a political slap at Tokyo for the closing of the Open Door. Japan was angered then, too, but did not express open resentment, for Tokyo felt that Washington was being employed once more as London's catspaw in the Orient.

The facts revealed in Washington are these: As long ago as last September, Chiang was turned down when he sent Chen Kuan-Pu to seek funds in America. Chen then went begging to London. London's answer was "No" aloud; but secretly a large indirect credit was extended to China through which supplies could be purchased by Russia and shipped across Europe to Chiang. This was costly and unsatisfactory. But Britain's stake in China is a billion and a half dollars, ten times that of the United States, and she could not afford to lose it. London concluded that America had less to lose if a loan to China should rebound and Washington was approached on the matter by secret British agents. They discussed the situation with Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, who, in turn, talked the matter over with President Roosevelt. The result was the American loan, the wisdom of which is still a point of hot dispute among foreign affairs experts.

### Gandhi's Fast

MAHATMA GANDHI, spiritual leader of India's millions, has moved India a step nearer to freedom. He had demanded democratic reforms from the young autocratic ruler of the native State of Rajkot, a small principality in Western India. When the ruler, Thakore Saheb Shri Dharmendrasinhji, resisted the demands,

## A QUARTER-CENTURY OF CHANGING BOUNDARIES

*Germany's area and population are even greater today than they were at the height of her power in 1914, just before the World War.*

Gandhi felt the urge of the "Divine Will" to undertake a fast.

After four days, and when Gandhi verged close to death, the Mahatma won when the British Viceroy, the Marquis of Linlithgow, intervened, compelling the ruler of Rajkot to grant the reforms demanded.

A few days later, Gandhi won a second victory when the All-India Congress curtailed the powers of President Subhas Chandra Bose, whose radical policies are violently opposed by Gandhi. Bose, a Cambridge graduate, with a leaning toward Communism, was backed by the Left Wing of the Nationalist Party in his demand for immediate independence for India. In his opinion, immediate independence can be secured by terror only. Gandhi, who wants India to be prepared to hold her independence when that teeming country does achieve it, urges a "go-slow" tactic. He favors the English Parliament Act of 1935 which grants India self-government in all matters except finance, defense, and foreign policy.

Britain continues to worry about Gandhi's health, fearing that, if he should die, the terroristic tactics of Bose, which Gandhi has curbed, may become a reality.

### *F.D.R. Still in the Saddle*

ANTI-NEW DEALERS were greatly encouraged by what happened last summer and fall. They took the Republican gains in the November election and the President's failure to purge his own party as sure signs that the tide was turning. Republicans and conservative Democrats came to Washington last January with the light of battle in their eyes. They were out for reform and retrenchment with a vengeance.

There was no coalition, you understand, but just a meeting of minds—minds like those of Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia, of Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, of Adams of Colorado, of Garner and Woodrum on the Democratic side; like those of Senator Bridges of Vermont, Vandenberg of Michigan, and Hiram Johnson of California on the Republican side. There was to be a drive for economy, a crusade to balance the budget, to relieve business, to stop borrowing and spending.

Well, it didn't work out quite the way some of the more ardent forecasters predicted. Once back in their soft seats on Capitol Hill, the boys soon discovered that F.D.R. was still in the White House and that, while he was willing to swap pleasantries, he was as obstinate as any of his Dutch uncles about carrying out his program. The economy bloc succeeded in lopping off $3,550,000 from the general deficiency bill, a saving of 26 per cent; in reducing the Independent Offices Bill by nearly $22,000,000, a saving of approximately one per cent; and in cutting the salaries of civil aeronautics authority members from $12,000 to $10,000, a saving of 20 per cent. Their greatest triumph, however, came when they refused the President's request for $875,000,000 as an emergency appropriation in behalf of W.P.A., giving him only $725,000,000, a saving of 17 per cent.

But all this looks like small potatoes when one considers the vast appropriations that have been made and that are likely to be made before Congress is through. Even the $150,000,000 that Congress denied W.P.A. seems likely to be restored. At all events, the President requested its restoration in his message of March 14th.

### *Dare and Double-Dare*

THE President did not mince words in his latest request for that $150,000,000. Conditions had not changed since the first of the year, he said. If it were not granted, somewhat more than a million persons would have to be laid off by the W.P.A.: 400,000 immediately, 600,000 the first of May, and 200,000 between then and June 30th. He expressed doubt as to whether such a course would add to the country's prosperity. At any rate, he did not care to assume the responsibility for taking it, and he was therefore tossing the problem back to Congress.

Congress was not happy over this economy chicken that came home to roost. Even the hardest-boiled retrenchers found it necessary to swallow the President's blunt statement borrowed from the late Grover Cleveland, "We face a condition, not a theory." They may suspect that the condition is the result of a theory, but that does

### *Guam*

GUAM, a pin-point 7,000 miles away from the United States and surrounded by 1,450 other pin-points which comprise some of the Japanese Mandate Islands, today is a dot of land rising out of a black sea of doubt. Its primary claim to the spotlight of recent years is that, as the largest of the Mariana Archipelago (the Ladrone Islands), it is the last hop-off base for the Clipper planes on their westward wing to Manila, 1,500 miles further toward Asia.

Present proposals to fortify Guam have caused considerable alarm. In Japan, to whom the Guam defense plan can mean but one thing—a direct and deliberate threat—there are two distinct views on the subject. Development of the Guam base would place American guns and battleships into the very midst of the Japanese Mandated Islands, many of which have undergone harbor, port and landing field developments but which, so far as is known, are not fortified, in accordance with the Versailles treaty that ceded them from Germany. Saipan is but 90 miles from Guam and is one of the best natural bases that Japan has in the Marianas. Not far off are the strategically important Japanese islands of Yap (over which Washington and Tokyo disagreed violently as to ownership some years ago), Truk, Palau, Ponape, Jaluit, Rota, Wotje, and the fortified Bonin Islands. Furthermore, since Guam is but 1,300 miles from Yokohama—almost 1,000 miles closer than Hawaii is to San Francisco—there has grown up a natural fear among certain Japanese elements that the United States has more than evil designs on Japan and quite possibly on China itself. The usually cool-headed vernacular Tokyo *Asahi* goes so far as to see in the Guam plan an American attempt to establish a foothold in the Western Pacific "to carry out an aggressive design against Japan while branding Japan as aggressor."

Meanwhile, the Japanese Foreign Office seems little concerned with the Guam plans, and doubts that the United States will spend the millions needed to carry them out. They recall that Tokyo already has received permission to use the well-equipped Pan-American Clipper plane facilities for a projected Tokyo-Manila and Tokyo-San Francisco airline, due to go into operation some time this Summer. Foreign Office officials point out that, if the United States had serious plans to fortify Guam, this permission would never have been granted, as the topography of the island would become too well known to Japanese fliers and therefore quite useless as the site for strong secret fortifications. —Condensed from *The Living Age*.

not remove it as a fact. Neither does it remove the challenge to throw more than a million people out of work for the sake of another theory.

### Deeper Into the Red

THE economy crusade has struck several tougher snags than that item of $150,000,000 for W.P.A. Among others, it has struck a tremendous defense program, an ambitious housing program, and a badly jammed agricultural program.

The prospect for a balanced budget, reduced taxes and stabilized debt goes glimmering. Some time ago, while Secretary Morgenthau was testifying before a Senate sub-committee, he remarked that a Federal debt of at least $50,000,000 was on the way. Wishful dreamers set up a great clamor, but those of a practical turn of mind accepted this grim outlook with the best grace they could; they knew Mr. Morgenthau was putting it conservatively. Whatever else may be said of it, the New Deal rests definitely on the idea of recovery through borrowing and spending. Borrowing and spending will continue as long as the New Deal remains in power and probably for a long time afterward, for precedents have been set, programs have been launched, and obligations have been created which no administration could immediately disregard.

Meanwhile, Congress has set the debt limit at $45,000,000,000. What is it going to do if, as, and when the debt goes beyond that limit? Will it establish a higher limit, or will it copy the style of those governments which wage war without declaring it?

### Billions for Defense

GOOD-NATURED Congressmen still talk about our tremendous rearmament program as purely defensive, as entirely disassociated from our foreign policy, as a measure of preparedness against possible invasion, and as having little or nothing to do with the idea of balking Europeans unless or until they come over here. Still they approve the program: 6,000 airplanes for the army alone, and nearly $800,000,000 for the navy, including more than $50,000,000 for the establishment or improvement of naval bases, not to mention a lot of other items. To illustrate the speed with which the rearmament program is being rushed, the astronomical figures it involves, and the way it is being woven into our foreign policy—particularly the Monroe Doctrine—here are a few matters that were being considered on March 15th:

1) The Senate Naval Affairs Committee ended hearings on the Naval, Air, and Submarine Base Bill which would authorize $65,000,000 to be spent on new bases or the improvement of old ones.

2) The House Naval Affairs Committee reported on authorization of more than $38,500,000 for dry docks, ordinance depots, and so on.

3) The House Military Affairs Committee considered the expenditure of $100,000,000, with a four-year period to build up a stock of needed metals and materials which this country must purchase from abroad.

4) A grand row was in the making over Senator Pittman's resolution to permit the construction of warships for Latin American republics by our navy yards.

5) The proposal to spend $5,000,000 for "improving" the harbor at Guam, which Congress had previously squashed, appeared due for resurrection.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

*Collective Bargaining*

### Business Rubs Its Eyes

TAKING is cue from many Republican and Democratic leaders, business accepted what happened last summer and fall as indicating a marked change of sentiment. It was encouraged in this by the President's statement that reforms were finished and that from now on recovery would be the Administration's sole objective. It was further encouraged by the attitude of such important officials as Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, Under-Secretary Hanes, and a little later on by Harry L. Hopkins, especially after he was shifted from the job of running relief to that of running the Commerce Department. His optimistic Des Moines speech of February 24th, which he took a month to prepare, came like a tonic to captains of industry as well as to small fry. Some of them looked not only for another breathing spell, but substantial relief from burdensome taxes, irksome regulations and complicated bookkeeping. They are now wondering whether they were overly optimistic.

Apparently, the Roosevelt Administration was too "sot" in its ways or too deep in its ruts for any such change as business hoped for. At any rate, on the very same day President Roosevelt made his third request for that $150,000,000 for W.P.A., he told a press conference that Congress could not reduce revenue though it might revise some statutes. Whatever else this was intended to suggest, the country at large interpreted it as meaning that the "inner circle" of social reformers was back in the saddle; that reform persists as a cherished objective; and that

Chicago News

Richmond Times

*Two cartoonists find Disney's "Ferdinand" a good vehicle for their ideas.*

recovery must climb out of the mire the best way it can.

The "inner circle" is and always has been against the idea of placating business. It is against the idea of tax revision and liberalized regulation to help business. It looks upon Mr. Hopkins as a near traitor, upon Morgenthau as no more than should have been expected from a man of his circumstances and upbringing, upon Hanes as just another Wall-Streeter. It is sincerely desirous of saving the country, but just as sincerely sold on its own ideas as representing the sole method of salvation. It won't yield an inch regardless of what Morgenthau, Hanes and Hopkins say, or Pat Harrison's attitude, or the election returns last November.

Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of *The New York Times*, sums up the situation this way:

"Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Hanes did their best . . . Mr. Hopkins . . . boldly supported them. By the time Mr. Roosevelt returned from the Caribbean, these three had encouraged Congress to a point where thorough and effective tax revision required only the assent of the President. But just then the White House 'inner circle' got to work and, in addition to showing him a terrifying assortment of waxworks, they produced a bright new ashcan. In earlier ashcans rest the remains of Lewis W. Douglas, Dean Acheson, T. J. Coolidge, O. M. W. Sprague and all others who have either insisted upon putting recovery over reform or have disagreed with some major social economic recovery experiment. But the President has never sanctioned such a mass disposal as would be involved in similarly stowing away Messrs. Morgenthau, Hopkins, and Hanes. Maybe it can't be done."

### *Labor Answers Appeal*

IN his well-remembered Des Moines speech Harry L. Hopkins said: "Even with the best of good-will toward collective bargaining, business finds it difficult to progress in face of a divided labor front."

This was one suggestion that seems to have found favor at the White House. On February 25th, President Roosevelt sent letters to A.F. of L. head William Green and C.I.O. head John L. Lewis asking them to appoint committees "to negotiate terms of peace" by which unity could be established between their respective organizations. Messrs. Green and Lewis complied, of course. Refusal on their part was unthinkable. Not only the President, but the public, business and labor itself wanted the three-year-old quarrel ended. Being a glutton for work, Mr. Lewis appointed a committee, with himself as its chairman. Being a little subtler, Mr. Green appointed a committee, of which he was not a member. The committees are conferring as this is written and with some prospects of success. Their labors, however, have been interrupted by several incidents, among others a conference between coal-miners and operators of the Appalachian field. As President of the U.M.W., Mr. Lewis had to quit negotiating for peace between the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. to attempt to patch things up in the coal industry.

### *A Sick Man*

AS a Russian Czar once said of Turkey, in this coal industry, "We have a sick man on our hands." It lo[st] a lot of money last year; it has bee[n] doing so for the past several year[s]. Its trouble is oil-itis. Oil is being sub[-]stituted for coal all along the lin[e]. Notwithstanding this known fact, th[e] miners came to town with three sti[ff] demands. First, they wanted a reduc[-]tion of the working day from seve[n] to six hours. Second, they wanted a[n] increase of fifty cents in the daily wage. Third, they wanted a guaranty of tw[o] hundred working days during the yea[r].

Operators rejected all these demand[s] on the ground that it would mea[n] a loss of $230,000,000 next year, i[f] existing conditions prevailed. The[ir] counter-proposal was a reduction o[f] the daily wage by 50 per cent. M[r.] Lewis met this counter-proposal b[y] suggesting that the present contrac[t] expiring April 1st, be continued.

### *Bombshell*

ON the very same day that M[r.] Roosevelt sent his appeal fo[r] peace to Messrs. Green and Lewis, th[e] Supreme Court of the United State[s] outlawed sitdown strikes and ups[et] Labor Board rulings in three impo[r]tant cases. All three decisions were b[y] a 5 to 2 majority, with Justices Blac[k] and Reed (Roosevelt appointees) di[s]senting, Justice Frankfurter taking n[o] part, and one seat vacant.

Chief Justice Hughes minced n[o] words in expressing his opinion of th[e] "Fansteel Metallurgical Corporatio[n] case," where the Labor Board ha[d] ordered re-employment of sitdow[n] strikers.

"It was a high-handed proceedi[ng] without shadow of legal right," [he] said. "To justify such conduct b[e]cause of the existence of a lab[or] dispute or of an unfair labor practi[ce] would be to put a premium on reso[rt] to force instead of legal remedie[s] and to subvert the principles of la[w] and order which lie at the found[a]tions of society."

Commenting on this opinion, Sen[a]tor Wagner, author of the Labor A[ct] said: "I have always stated that th[e] sitdown strike is illegal and shou[ld] never be resorted to by workers."

Most people—many labor leade[rs] included—accept the Supreme Cour[t] decision as one more argument [in] favor of modifying the Labor A[ct] but for some curious reason, Admi[n]istration forces appear lukewarm [to] such a proposition. Pressure for mo[di]fication of the Labor Act, however, [is] rapidly becoming irresistible.

# Business Follows a Red Herring

## The administration's gestures toward "appeasement" should be examined with considerable skepticism

By RAYMOND CLAPPER

> Among newspapermen, Raymond Clapper is considered one of the best of the Washington correspondents. His reporting is solid, unbiased, thorough. For many years he worked semi-anonymously as a reporter in the nation's capital; several years ago he was picked by the Scripps-Howard newspapers to write a daily Washington column. Today, his column is syndicated throughout the country.
>
> In addition to his regular work, Mr. Clapper finds time for lecturing and outside writing.

TO UNDERSTAND what is happening in Washington in these early days of Spring, we must remember what occurred in the fall of 1937. That sudden economic collapse, I believe, changed the course of domestic politics fundamentally. Politically it was to Roosevelt what the crash of 1929 was to Hoover. In Roosevelt's case, the impact was less severe. Nevertheless, like Hoover, he was caught in a sudden national mood of disillusionment and widespread desire for a change.

Even before the economic decline which began suddenly late in 1937, the legend of Roosevelt's infallibility had been seriously impaired by his defeat in his struggle to enlarge the Supreme Court. During that battle, which lasted through the spring and summer of 1937, many of his most vocal supporters both in and out of Congress turned against him. The opposition of men like Governor Lehman of New York was bound to have an unsettling effect upon public confidence in Roosevelt's judgment. It seemed to many that the impossible had happened when the invincible man finally was beaten. Nothing is so necessary to a miracle man as success.

But this episode did not shake confidence fatally. Economic conditions were excellent. Industrial production indices stood at 110, the highest since 1929, and it was still possible for masses of persons to believe that, even if Roosevelt had been mistaken about the Supreme Court, he was correct fundamentally on the main problems. There was a disposition to overlook that defeat as one of those inevitable strikeouts that goes down occasionally on the score of the most consistent home-run slugger.

But when it was discovered that a depression could occur under the New Deal—ah, that was something different. Hoover had a depression, but that was to be expected. We had suffered depressions many times before. Under the old order we fluctuated through cycles. But under the New Deal, we had taken precautions to prevent that sort of thing, or at least to ease the swing of the cycle until you would scarcely notice it.

Monetary controls, experience in regulating the volume of money and credit, the pumping in of government funds to sustain mass purchasing power—these and many other safeguards which had been introduced during the first five years of the New Deal were counted upon to insure the more abundant life. The 1936 elections, occurring while economic conditions were improving, bespoke the country's confidence in what Roosevelt was doing. The Hoovers, the Liberty Leaguers, the economic royalists were still complaining. But profits were good. The New Deal seemed to have made the grade.

This mood prevailed until, without warning, the bottom fell out of the Roosevelt boom in September, 1937. Never before in our history has there been a decline so sudden and so precipitous. The New Deal had not found the answer after all. Unemployment had not been eliminated. Agricultural surpluses and prices were about as ominous as in the dark days of Hoover, although government measures did spare the farmers the wave of foreclosures which always before had accompanied depressions. Washington still had not mastered economic forces.

Coloring the mood of disillusionment was a general disgust with the idea of government management as it was being observed abroad. I do not, to the slightest degree, mean to intimate any similarity between the New Deal and the regimes in Germany and Russia. But the general disgust with both those regimes had its effect upon American political thought. Particularly the bloody purges in Russia, and the cruelty of the dictatorship there in contrast with the ideals of Communism, were bound to make Americans more suspicious than ever of governmental power, no matter how exalted its professed motives.

Both Fascists and Communists have demonstrated before our eyes that strong governmental power is apt to degenerate into ruthless force. The effect of that is to make Americans cling more tightly to freedom, to a minimum of governmental interference, and to prefer laissez faire, with all of its evils, to regimentation. The public becomes suspicious of increased federal power.

THOSE, I think, are the principal elements which have contributed to the reversal of the political tide in America, a reversal registered in the November elections last year. Roosevelt's defeat in the Supreme Court fight was a preparatory experience. The recession of 1937–38 was a major cause. And an undercurrent was provided by the resurgence of individualism as a rebound from the horror over brutal use of government force in Europe.

As yet, I do not believe this reaction touches the large field of social reforms accomplished under the Roosevelt Administration. There is no evidence of important public demand for repeal of legislation concerning social security, minimum wages and maximum hours or the protection of in-

vestors in securities. There is no evidence of any demand for withdrawal of the federal guarantee of collective bargaining provided in the Wagner Labor Act, although there is insistent demand for modification of the enforcement machinery. So far as public opinion goes today, I believe it is thinking in general terms that Roosevelt should let up for a while, should give the country time to digest reforms already instituted, and should in every possible way assist toward encouraging recovery.

That is the background against which Washington must be viewed today.

In Washington, this analysis, I think, is accepted generally among both Democrats and Republicans in Congress. It is accepted also by some members of the President's official family. But there is some doubt that it is accepted by President Roosevelt himself, except to a certain grudging extent. He does recognize the resistance in Congress and is of necessity compelled to let up. It is not certain that he yields any further than that.

You will recall that Hoover was unmoved by the collapse in his term. At the strong urging of his advisers, he did consent to prop up banks and railroads through the RFC. But to the ghastly end, he continued to call insistently for economy and a balanced budget. He believed that recovery failed to come, not because of those policies, but partly because they were not applied with sufficient vigor and partly because of world conditions beyond our control.

Similarly, Roosevelt now does not blame his policies for the collapse of 1937. He thinks that the contraction of government expenditure shrank purchasing power too sharply. Consequently, after some hesitation early in 1938, he resumed spending as an aid to recovery. Even in his last annual message in January, he defended, as a permanent theory of government, the necessity of public spending or investment—the theory of which Chairman Marriner Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board is the most articulate exponent in Washington.

Nor has Roosevelt indicated too much concern over the Democratic losses in the last elections. Time and again to friends he has analyzed those results, state by state, and has cited local conditions in each instance to account for reverses. He has not seen in the results a tendency to repudiate his Administration. His course of action since the election has been governed by that attitude.

When Roosevelt was asked by the press recently if he was in favor of business appeasement, he looked slightly surprised and asked what there was to appease. The word "appeasement" is in high disfavor in the White House circle. It is considered entirely out of key. Roosevelt wants business

*N. Y. Times*

*Harry Hopkins*

recovery as everyone in the Administration wants it. It is as necessary politically as it is desirable for the national welfare.

But Roosevelt is not disposed to seek recovery at the expense of his reform program. He is temperamentally opposed to any such retreat and he does not believe that concessions of that kind would produce recovery even if he were willing to sacrifice his program. He is determined not to permit the liberal stamp to be rubbed off of his Administration. In his Jackson Day address, on January 7th, he invited those Democrats whom he called Republicans at heart to leave the party and join the other party where they would be more at home. He voiced opposition to making the Democratic Party Tweedledee to the Republican Tweedledum. When he named Frank Murphy, Attorney General, he was strengthening his Cabinet by the addition of a thorough New Dealer. When he made Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, he was again strengthening his Cabinet with one of his strongest liberals.

The recovery activities of Hopkins come not so much from White House inspiration as from practical considerations as they appear to Hopkins. It can be stated as a fact that Roosevelt gave Hopkins no instructions as to how to proceed in his new post. But casting his eye around, Hopkins saw that recovery was badly needed by the country, badly needed by the Administration, and that it would be the test by which his own work as Secretary of Commerce would be judged.

Out of that situation, the present recovery drive within the Administration developed, not on orders from the top. Hopkins quickly came under the influence of business-minded people within the Administration, especially Undersecretary of the Treasury John Hanes, who came to Washington from Wall Street and who has been a moderating influence within the New Deal. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, an intimate and loyal friend of Roosevelt, is of the same mind. These three—Hopkins, Morgenthau and Hanes—are the champions, within the New Deal, of the idea that the Administration, for its own future, must do everything possible to recreate prosperity.

Morgenthau and Hanes have labored to win the Administration toward more economy and toward removal of taxes detrimental to business expansion. On the other side, Eccles continues to champion compensatory spending and to oppose drastic curtailment until recovery has progressed considerably beyond its present point.

As he has done so often when his advisers were divided, Roosevelt has chosen to play the middle, leaning first toward one side, then toward the other, always with a little more enthusiasm on the left side, a little greater reluctance on the right side. In the fall of 1937, he encouraged Secretary Morgenthau to make the now historic balance-the-budget speech, but within a couple of months he was veering around to spending again. In January, the President indicated to Congress that new taxes to produce perhaps $450,000,000 in additional revenue would be needed; in February he said no new taxes were in order.

He may be expected to support some steps designed to give business men encouragement, but he will not desert the aggressive New Dealers. He will tell Congress, as he has done already, that he is for economy if it can be effected without crippling needed government activities. Even

while lip-service is being paid by all to the objective of the economy pleas. Congress votes huge sums to be spent on the defense program.

In stimulating economic activity, there is little difference between an armament program and a public works program. So that, at the moment, Roosevelt is able to carry on large public spending in the form of re-armament. It is doubtful if he is yet convinced that our economic system can go forward without considerable government spending during the next year or so. His encouragement to economy agitation, therefore, is likely to remain perfunctory.

To expect any fundamental change of direction or of attitude on the part of Roosevelt seems to me to ignore the tenacity with which he has fought throughout his Administration. He is firmly set in his emotional attitude, extremely stubborn, and as suspicious of business as business is of him. Give in to business on one point and business will demand something else. Labor has never been satisfied in its demands on the Administration and business is not likely to be. It is not to be expected that Roosevelt at this late date will announce that he has been wrong for six years and that henceforth he will be a different man. Such things do not happen.

There will be conciliatory gestures from time to time as there have been throughout his administration. In 1935 he issued his "breathing spell" letter to Roy W. Howard. His second inaugural message was regarded as a conciliatory document in some respects. Early in 1937 he held a series of olive-branch meetings with spokesmen of big business, men like Alfred P. Sloan and Thomas W. Lamont. At no time has he changed fundamentally his course—for the reason that he does not believe his policies injure legitimate business. He would like to see business go ahead, but he believes the initiative lies largely with business. He is in no mood to bribe it. That, I believe, summarizes fairly the White House attitude.

Here and there, on special propositions, Harry Hopkins may make a sale at the White House. Morgenthau and John Hanes may make sales and obtain presidential endorsements. Too much should not be expected.

Meanwhile, the hopes of Republicans have risen rapidly in recent months; they have great expectations of a return to power in 1941. Many Democrats share these expectations and a defeatist attitude has spread within the Democratic party. Among some, like Secretary Hopkins, this has produced a stronger determination to try to win the support and cooperation of business. Among others, it has had a different effect. For instance Robert Jackson, Solicitor General, in a recent speech told his fellow Democrats that it was hopeless to try to take the conservative path. If the country is in a mood for a conservative administration, it will pass the Democrats by, even if they nominate another John W. Davis, and go for the Republicans. The Democratic party, he said, only thrives when liberal government is demanded, in periods of reform. That view is widely held among Democrats and is shared, I suspect, by Roosevelt himself.

Despite its rebellious mood against the New Deal, Congress is not to be counted upon to alter the situation materially. While Senators and Representatives talk of economy, they will practice little of it. Only with the most resolute support of the White House could expenditures be materially reduced, and at the White House there is no such resolve.

Business men who follow affairs at Washington more closely than the general public does are well aware of all this. That is why there has been only the most restrained response to the conciliatory gestures out of Washington in the last several weeks. Business men say that, if they could feel confidence, industrial activity would leap forward. They seem disposed to have no confidence until Roosevelt is out.

Around Washington you can hear New Dealers muttering: "Let them have their change. Let them put in Dewey. We saw Hoover take his place under the pile driver, promising two chickens in every pot and not realizing that it was he who would go into the pot. Maybe the Republicans will win in 1940. Well, in that case we'll watch young Dewey take over.

"He'll be smiling as Hoover was. Everything will seem rosy at first. We'll be calling it permanent recovery. Then the pile driver will come smashing down on him just as it did on Hoover.

"Maybe we New Dealers haven't found the answers. The Republicans won't know the answers either. When the country finds that out, then what will happen? That is the day we ought to dread."

N. Y. World-Telegram

*What, Again!*

# Falcons of the Sea

## When war comes, Germany's new fleet will try to starve Great Britain into quick submission

### By GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

MUCH is being written about Germany's air power, and its threat to the security of Germany's neighbors, especially Britain.

Little, so far, has been written about Germany's new navy, which under certain conditions might be just as serious a threat to Britain, especially if its operations could be combined (as they could in war) with those of the German air force.

Two months ago, Germany launched the first of her new 35,000-ton battleships, the "Bismarck," almost simultaneously with the first of Britain's new battleship fleet, the "King George V." The twin launchings evoked some newspaper comparisons of British and German naval strength, some speculation as to Germany's reason for building such ships, when, obviously, it will be many years before she can hope to match the British in numbers.

Probably she does not intend to try, at least for the present. The "Bismarck" and her sisters, when they are completed, will be able to control the Baltic against any prospective Soviet fleet, and will afford Germany some reasonable comparison with France. To overtake Britain in capital ship strength is hardly a reasonable possibility just now.

The potentialities of the German fleet as a threat to Britain lies in the development of other types of ships. It is in the study of what Germany is doing along these lines that we may derive a clearer idea of just why she is spending so much money on naval development.

At the moment, Germany's effort to maintain her air superiority is proving a grave strain on her resources. At the moment, she is desperately trying to make up, in the development of her army, for the lost training years 1919–1934—a fifteen-year gap which has put her far behind France. Why, then, should she maintain anything in the way of a navy beyond just enough to control the Baltic against Russia and perhaps a few defensive types (small submarines, minelayers and what not) for the North Sea coast?

**Major George Fielding Eliot, the country's leading military expert, has been widely acclaimed as the author of *The Ramparts We Watch,* published last fall. Although born in Brooklyn in 1894, he received most of his education at Melbourne University, Australia, and served during the World War with the Australian forces in the Dardanelles, Egypt, and on the Western Front. Back in America he became a Lieutenant in the Missouri National Guard and later a Major in the Military Intelligence Reserve of the U. S. Army.**

**Major Eliot is co-author of *If War Comes* with Major R. E. Dupuy, U.S.A., and has been an important contributor to magazines and newspapers.**

The answer is to be found in the naval lessons of the last war, and their application by the German naval staff to their present building program.

Recently Germany announced her intention of using an "escalator" clause in her two-year-old naval agreement with Britain which permits her "under certain circumstances" to build up to parity with Britain in submarine tonnage. At the same time, the British were informed that the two 10,000-ton cruisers Germany is now building would be armed with 8-in rather than 6-inch guns.

Applying these two changes to the German fleet as at present constituted, and disregarding for the moment the 35,000-ton battleships, what sort of fleet do we find Germany possessing?

First, she has two battleships completed last year, "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau," of 26,000 tons and 27 knots designed speed (both are said to have exceeded 30 on trial). They are armed with nine 11-inch and twelve 6-inch guns each, plus an extraordinarily heavy anti-aircraft battery, and carry four aircraft. They are equipped with Diesel engines for cruising and geared turbines for full-power steaming, giving them a very large radius of action.

Next consider the three so-called "pocket battleships," "Deutschland," "Admiral Scheer," "Admiral Graf Spee," vessels of 10,000 tons and 26 knots, powered with Diesel engines and said to have a radius of action of 10 000 miles. These ships are armed with six 11-inch and eight 6-inch guns, plus anti-aircraft, and carry two airplanes.

The outstanding characteristic of all five of these ships is that any of them can easily destroy any British cruiser. Moreover, any of them can run away from any British capital ship except the three battle-cruisers "Hood," "Renown" and "Repulse." Indeed the first two can probably show a clean pair of heels to any British capital ship except "Hood." In "Scharnhorst and "Gneisenau," no attempt has been made to equal in offensive qualities, especially gun caliber, contemporary foreign battleships such as the French "Dunkerque" (armed with 13-inch guns) or the British "King George V" (armed with 14-inch).

This gives rise to an interesting line of speculation. It can be carried further by considering the characteristics of the two new German aircraft carriers, the first of which ("Graf Zeppelin") has also just been launched. These ships are of 19,250 tons, almost exactly the same size as our own "Yorktown" and "Enterprise." They are said to carry 40 aircraft, whereas "Yorktown" at full capacity can handle 100. Immediately, on wonders why.

The normal duty of an aircraft carrier is to carry aircraft to work with the fleet; the more aircraft she can carry, the better. She does not need powerful guns; her protection is the

duty of other types. Yet much of the tonnage of the new German carriers has been diverted from aircraft-capacity to provide for a battery of sixteen 6-inch guns, in addition to her anti-aircraft battery, and for a considerable armor protection and large cruising radius.

One might further ask, why does Germany build aircraft carriers at all? The answer is not the Soviet navy, for the theater in which Germany and Russia might clash is the Baltic Sea, dominated by shore-based aircraft to an extent which carriers could never hope to equal.

Consider further the other new German construction—notably the five heavy cruisers, armed with 8-inch guns, of which two and possibly three will be completed this year, and a total of ten light cruisers, of which six have been completed while the others are in various stages of construction.

Then (without taking into account destroyers and torpedo boats) add to this the new German submarine program, which, to a total of 71 submarines now built or building, proposes to add approximately 44,000 tons of additional U-boats, largely of long-range, ocean-going types—say 36 boats if one may assume an average tonnage of 1200.

It is perfectly silly to contend, as German official explanations have attempted to contend, that this submarine program is intended for use against Russia. There is no conceivable use for any such force of submarines in the German-Russian naval situation. The submarine is useful for certain defensive purposes—especially in narrow waters, such as the entrances to the Baltic—but its principal use in war has been in the field of commerce-destroying. Now Russia has no very considerable sea-borne commerce. And, submarines or no submarines, what she has (in the Baltic, at least) would come to an instant stop in case of war with Germany. The nation which possesses sea-borne commerce which is vital to her, without which, in fact, she cannot live, is Britain.

The outlines of German naval policy, of the purposes which lie behind the expenditure of so much money and material on the new German navy, now begin to take form.

German naval policy is designed for just one purpose: for an attack upon Britain at her most vulnerable point, her sea-borne trade.

To understand how this may be done, recall the experiences of the last war.

German strategists have not forgotten that they came very near to winning that war by the ruthless and unrestricted use of the submarine against British merchant shipping. The British Isles are particularly vulnerable to this sort of attack. In peace as in war, British industry is dependent on raw materials brought from overseas. British prosperity depends upon keeping open the sea-lanes which carry British manufactured goods to the markets of the world. Moreover, the British people are dependent on sea-borne commerce for the very food by which they live. Cut off those sea-borne supplies, and they starve.

This lesson both Germans and Britons learned in the grim days of 1917, when submarine losses were mounting month by month until at last a First Sea Lord was compelled to say despairingly to the War Cabinet: "Gentlemen—there is no use talking about the 1918 campaign. There is not going to be any 1918 campaign for us unless we can find some way to stop the German submarines."

Fortunately for Britain, the way was found. The answer to the submarine—American naval officers had no small part in finding it—was the convoy system. Merchant ships sailed in groups from regular convoy-assembly ports and were escorted through the submarine zone by destroyers, patrol vessels and armed trawlers. Coupled with increasingly effective patrol of the waters about the British Isles, the convoy system put an end to the submarine menace. Once it hit its stride, it brought in safely 99% plus of all the ships entrusted to its care.

Only once was it seriously threatened. That was on October 17, 1917, when the so-called Scandinavian convoy of twelve ships, escorted by two British destroyers, was attacked by three German cruisers. Both destroyers went down, and nine of the twelve merchant vessels under escort fell prey to the Germans. This lesson, also, German naval strategists have taken to heart: just as convoy is the answer to the submarine, so the answer to convoy is attack by superior surface forces.

But, under normal conditions of sea warfare, this is not an answer which the inferior navy can make. So long as Britain possesses a superior battle-fleet, on which all the rest of her naval operations are based, she should be able to contain the German surface forces in their fortified harbors, or to destroy them if they come out. The geographical position of Britain, sadly unfavorable in the matter of defense against air attack from Germany, is highly favorable as regards naval blockade of that country. So it proved in the last war, and so it should prove in the next—except for one very important factor.

That factor is the matter of time. Even a very superior navy cannot, on the declaration of war, immediately wipe the oceans of the world clear of enemy warships and merchant ships. The sea is an enormous and trackless expanse, the search and control of which takes time. In the World War, it will be remembered how long it took for some forty searching cruisers to run down just one German cruiser, the "Emden," and how much damage she did before she was destroyed. The war began in August. It was not until the following January that the last of the various scattered German cruisers were brought to book at the Falkland Islands.

Suppose for a moment that for this five-month period these various cruisers had all been operating in the North Atlantic, in conjunction with

## A BRITISH VIEW OF NAZI NAVAL POWER

**ACTUALLY in submarine tonnage Germany is now some 20,000 tons below Great Britain in the total amount built and building. That means, with the rather smaller types which she builds, about 25 to 30 more craft. There is reason to believe that both for reasons of raw material and for lack of shipyard facilities she would not be likely to put that number of new boats in hand in one year.**

**A second point worth noting is that even when Germany achieves parity in total tonnage with Great Britain the number of submarines in her navy will not exceed a hundred. Yet during the last year of the War, when she was putting forth a strenuous effort to enforce a U-boat blockade of this country, she had more than 170 craft, many of them twice the size of those she builds to-day.**

**Admittedly a hundred submarines would be a formidable menace to sea-borne trade, but all experience goes to show that there are rarely more than one-third of the total ever at sea at one time.**

**Germany's change in cruiser armament, though strictly permissible under the Anglo-German naval treaty, has deeply disappointed naval authorities here. It means that Germany will be building two new 8-inch-gun cruisers when all the other navies except Japan have agreed to limit themselves to 6-inch-gun vessels.**

—Condensed from *The Manchester Guardian.*

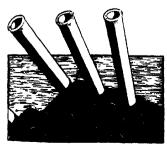
as strong a fleet of submarines as Germany had in 1917. Suppose they had been attacking the vital British trade-routes at the points where these converge toward the Channel—the north of Ireland, the Strait of Gilbraltar, the passage between Africa and the northeastern corner of Brazil. What would have been the result? It is very likely that the British people would have come close to starvation, and the British government close to surrender.

For the submarines would have taken a tremendous toll of single ships, and the cruisers could have dealt with the convoys. Of course the British cruisers would have been out and on the job, as a matter of fact; and the German cruisers of 1914 would not have lasted very long, especially as they would have had no bases from which to refuel. In 1914, therefore, Germany could not have hoped for any great measure of success from such operations.

The point is, today the conditions are quite different, for Germany is building a navy precisely adapted for this very purpose. Indeed, as to some of its most important units, it is of comparatively little use for any other purpose.

The "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" could not fight in the line of battle against the more heavily armed battleships of France and Britain. In a fleet action, the "Graf Zeppelin" and her sister could not provide anything like the number of aircraft which the new French and British carriers can put into the air. But all four of these ships are admirably suited for commerce-destroying duties, for the attack of convoys, for working with German shore-based aviation in sweeping the seas clear of British merchant ships.

The two German carriers could cover a vast area of sea with their 40 planes each—and they have the gun armament to enable them to fight off British cruisers. The two battleships are individually able to deal with any possible convoy escort short of one containing capital ships. In both carriers and battleships, other qualities have been ruthlessly sacrificed to obtain precisely the characteristics adapted for such duties.

The new and vast German submarine flotilla will compel the British to use the convoy system. The armored ships, backed by the aircraft carriers and the new heavy cruisers, will locate, break up and destroy the convoys.

Of course, this cannot be kept up forever. Eventually the powerful British navy will be able to overcome the German force. But—will it be able to do so in time? Will it be able to rid the seas of these pests before the British people have been starved into submission?

The answer to this question lies largely in the matter of bases. The Germans cannot hope to operate such an ambitious commerce-destroying campaign from their own bases, contained and smothered as these are by the geographical advantages of the British, and even though the German air force is able to inflict serious damage on British dockyards. They must put their hope in other bases, bases with direct access to the Atlantic Ocean and its vital trade routes.

What bases are available? One thinks instantly of Spain, of the Canary Islands, of Spanish Guinea. One begins to understand why there have been so many rumors of German technicians at work in these places, of German activities in northern Spain, looking out across the Bay of Biscay at the great focal point of British overseas trade, the mouth of the English Channel. And one perceives, in Germany's demand for the return of colonies which were ever an economic burdent to her, a strategical rather than a political or an economic purpose. For the old German colonies would give Germany bases in the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

In these consideration we may perceive the purposes of the new German fleet, the German interest in Spain, the German colonial demands, all forming part of a well-coordinated and far-reaching plan. In case of a "surprise war," that plan undoubtedly would be furthered by striking at a moment when the German ships were already at sea, already taking station on the vital trade routes of the British Isles.

This is by no means the least of the problems which face Britain in weighing the issues of peace or war. The German air force may not be able to win a decision by bombing London. But the new German navy, provided with Spanish or African bases and capable of operating directly against the food supply of the British Isles, can present an even more serious menace to the people of those islands than any air force—a menace which may possibly prove decisive unless means are found for dealing with it quickly and effectively.

# The Man from Coshocton

## By GORDON HAMILTON

*William Green*

IT WAS front page news in the New York Times of December 20, 1924, that the first snowstorm of the winter was sweeping East, that London was planning a seven-story apartment house, that John McCormack, the Irish tenor, had not been blackmailed, and that Christmas at the White House would be a quiet family festival.

It was not front page news that, the day before, one William Green had been elected President of the American Federation of Labor. That story slept quietly in an inconspicuous column on page three.

In March of 1939, however, Green's name made the front pages of all American newspapers day after day when the President of the United States appealed to him, and to his arch-rival John L. Lewis, to forget their differences and weld together their two great labor organizations, each numbering close to four million members.

Few Americans knew much about William Green in 1924. Commentators noted that "he was always overshadowed by his more dynamic associate," President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, of which Green was Secretary-Treasurer.

No one quite knew why Green had been elected President of the A. F. of L. except that he was the choice of Lewis and had become a Federation Vice-President ten years earlier only because another man was too proud to accept the job. There was a widespread disposition to conclude that Green had been put forward to keep the seat warm for Lewis.

For the sod was still fresh on the grave of cigar-maker Samuel Gompers, for forty years the Moses of American labor. Once only had Gompers' rule been seriously challenged. That was two years earlier, when Green himself committed the heresy of nominating Lewis. Gompers' re-election, however, was clinched by Matthew Woll, head of the Photo-Engravers, and in gratitude Gompers named Woll heir apparent. Lewis upset that plan by plumping for Green and seeing him elected.

The gods laughed, therefore, when Green, in his fourteenth term as President of the A. F. of L., appointed his former enemy Woll to help negotiate a truce with Lewis. A truce with Lewis—the man whom Green once besought President Hoover to name as Secretary of Labor!

Green had been a member of Lewis' United Mine Workers since 1890 when, at 17, he toiled in the mines in Coshocton, Ohio, during his vacations from school. His father before him had dug coal in England. His mother was Welsh. Even as a boy, Green knew what it was to suffer hunger on the picket line, to be injured repeatedly in the mines, to be blacklisted and forced to leave town to find work.

But aside from these dramatic interludes, he lived a non-spectacular life. He wanted to be a Baptist preacher. When he found he could not afford that career, he taught Sunday School. He worked like a horse, he studied economics at night, he never drank or smoked. At 21 he married Miss Jennie Mobley, a childhood chum, and now has five daughters and a son.

In time he bacame an Elk, an Odd Fellow, a Mason. He rose slowly but surely in the Union. The year 1900 saw him elected a sub-district president. Union office freed him from bone-wearying toil in the mines. By 1912 he was the union's Secretary-Treasurer.

During two terms in Ohio's State Senate—he was as good a Democrat as Lewis was a Republican—he pushed through a number of reform laws, including an Ohio Workman's Compensation Act—"That law is the greatest thing in my career."

When his term as President of the Federation began, the conservative press rejoiced that "Labor is safe under his leadership, capital has nothing to fear during his regime, and the public is fortunate in having him as the responsible spokesman of a highly important group."

As $12,000-a-year President, he came to resemble a small-town banker. Lewis is shaggy, but Green's white hair is always combed, his suit always pressed. Pince-nez screen his dark brown eyes. His cheeks are pink, his jowls are heavy, his jaw is determined. A diamond ring adorns a stubby finger of a hand still powder-marked from the mines. A gold watch-chain sets off the barrel chest he developed as a result of his years as a mine-digger.

In time he moved to Washington, into a plain office in the Federation Building. He lives in a hotel in the Capital, but likes to visit his home-town of Coshocton as often as possible.

Under his leadership the Federation has had its downs and ups. When he succeeded Gompers it had 2,800,000 members—2,000,000 less than its peak of four years earlier. The drop continued. By the depths of the depression the Federation was down to 2,100,000, but gained a million under the NRA.

Then came the C.I.O. secession. Almost overnight, Lewis snatched away one million members, including Green's own union, the United Mine Workers. From that time until the day, a few weeks back, when President Roosevelt urged Green and Lewis to bury the hatchet, the C.I.O. signed up three million more members with a high-pressure organizing campaign based on industrial unionism. When Green's Mine Workers persisted in backing Lewis, he expelled his own union from the Federation, and, after forty-eight years of membership, reluctantly penned his resignation to his brother Hugh, secretary of the Miners' Local at Coshocton.

At that time his future looked none too inviting. Many a hasty observer dismissed Bill Green as a goner, and the Federation as another, when Lewis banged into action with the C.I.O. The fact is, however, that Green has more than regained his loss to the C.I.O. At its last convention, the Federation boasted 3,623,087 dues-paying members. When President Roosevelt made his plea for peace, it was ready to deal with the C.I.O. on equal terms.

# Health for the Millions

## Spending over three billions annually in medical care, we loose ten billions in preventable illness

By JAMES RORTY

TWENTY years of struggle by advocates of a national health program are climaxed in a measure now before Congress—the National Health Act of 1939. Introduced a few weeks ago by Senator Robert Wagner of New York, it takes the form of amendments to the Social Security Act. If enacted, this bill, by progressive steps, will fundamentally reorganize our health services. It will affect occupationally more than 1,500,000 persons in the medical profession, including 169,000 doctors and 300,000 nurses. It will also affect, as consumers of medical services, most of our people.

"No social legislation projected in our time," says Senator Wagner, "is more closely related to the general welfare than a national program for health protection. No legislation was launched with more widespread approval among persons in every walk of life. We must take action now to conquer this last remaining frontier of social security in America."

In effect, the bill embodies the National Health Program discussed at the important National Health Conference which met in Washington in July, 1938. Called by Josephine Roche, chairman of the President's Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, the Conference was attended by 200 delegates representing important professional bodies in the field of health services, as well as labor, farmer and consumer organizations.

This National Health Program set up a ten-year perspective leading to an estimated annual cost of $850,000,000 at the full level of operation. Half that amount would be paid out of Federal funds, half out of State and local funds. The Wagner Health Bill calls for a Federal appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, of $80,000,000 in the form of grants-in-aid to the States. But it, too, would increase appropriations progressively in succeeding years.

Neither the National Health Program nor the Wagner Health Bill sets up compulsory health insurance—that *bête noir* which organized medicine has fought for many years, and against which the American Medical Association is still formally committed. But both the National Health Program and the Wagner Bill contain provisions which, in actual operation, would permit the Federal Government to extend grants-in-aid, *if, as, and when particular States choose compulsory health insurance as their method of financing and delivering a general service of medical care to employed workers.*

The National Health Program does not say this, of course. The Wagner Bill does not say it. The strategy is one of tactful omission, the effect of which will be either to postpone the battle between organized medicine and the Administration, with its farmer and labor allies, or to transfer it from Washington to the State capitals. The battle is already raging in Wisconsin and California, where compulsory health insurance bills are being actively pushed. It is likely to break out elsewhere. Both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have endorsed compulsory health insurance *and* the National Health Program, and both are expected to endorse the Wagner Health Bill.

Briefly, the Wagner Bill provides for grants adjusted on a sliding scale in proportion to individual resources of states. These grants are to promote child and maternal health, public health work and investigations, construction of needed hospitals and health centers, general programs of medical care, and insurance against loss of wages during periods of temporary disability. (A billion dollars a year is now lost in this way.)

"The fullest development of this program," says Senator Wagner, "would bring the benefits of modern medical science, both preventive and curative, within the reach of all groups of the population, especially in rural areas and areas suffering from economic distress. Under no circumstances will the Federal Government undertake to furnish medical care. Administration in all cases will be through the States, which will develop their plans only after careful surveys of local needs and conditions, and with a view to supplementing, not displacing, the existing efforts of the professions, the localities, charitable organizations and the hospitals."

An exhaustive survey, first sponsored and later partly suppressed by the California Medical Society, preceded the present battle over compulsory health insurance in California. A similar survey is currently being conducted by a New York State temporary commission to study the need of medical care, functioning under the terms of a bill introduced by Senator Wagner's son, State Senator Robert Wagner, Jr. The latter also has sponsored a compulsory health insurance bill.

Whether or not Senator Wagner's bill passes Congress at this session—the chances would appear to be about fifty-fifty—doubtless we shall have plenty of State health surveys in the

**James Rorty, whose book *American Medicine Mobilizes* has just been published, is a travel-mined, incurably-inquisitive writer who will cross the country at the drop of an argument in order to get facts to prove his point. Indeed, this article and his new book stem directly out of a recent village-to-village tour of the country, seeking an answer to the question, "Are our health services adequate to meet the people's needs?"**

**Mr. Rorty has been writing professionally since he was 17, when he edited a small upstate New York newspaper. His books include *Where Life is Better, Order on the Air,* and *Our Master's Voice.***

immediate future, just as we have had many such surveys, both State and national, in the past. It is significant that the American Medical Association, after officially denying for more than twenty years the existence of any serious problem of unmet medical need, is now conducting a survey of its own. Another evidence of the AMA's revised attitude towards the entire question of national health and national care is its relatively mild objection to the Administration program. This is in sharp contrast to its head-on opposition, seven years ago, when the privately-subsidized Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, headed by Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, submitted much milder and less far-reaching proposals.

After listening to an abstract of the recent national health survey, sponsored by the United States Public Health Service, Dr. Hugh Cabot, addressing the 1938 National Health Conference, said ironically: "I do not quite remember when the first [survey] was made, but I think it was before 1492. They have been made quite regularly, the general drift of them has been the same, and I take the liberty of suggesting to this group that we get over this survey business and get on with the war."

The war is now on, and nobody knows it better than Dr. Hugh Cabot, of the Boston Cabots, until recently consulting surgeon of the Mayo Clinic. Ever since the appearance of his book, *The Doctor's Bill*, in 1935, Dr. Cabot has been the more or less recognized leader of the progressive wing of the American Medical Association—the group which organized itself in 1937 as the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care.

The Roosevelt Administration did not start this war. It merely had it on its hands the moment it took office. The depression precipitated a crisis in health services. The New Dealers had to do something about medical relief, just as they had to do something about other forms of relief.

Under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and later under WPA, various provisions were made by which relief funds were used to pay physicians for serving relief clients. These arrangements were never regarded as adequate by the relief clientele, the physicians or the relief administrators. Studies of medical relief under FERA, made by the United States Public Health Service in 1934 and 1939, showed that in none of the States which adopted the forms of medical relief devised in Washington did they meet more than about one-quarter of the acknowledged need. The problem in depressed rural areas —particularly the drought States— became acute and, once having tried to do something about it, the Roosevelt Administration has never been able to let go. The Farm Security Administration is currently organizing county health cooperatives as a means of enabling its own clients to maintain sufficient health to cultivate their farms and, incidentally, pay back Farm Administration loans.

### FOUR HEALTH PLANS

**GROUP PRACTICE:** An association of physicians who share office equipment and overhead and consult one another in treating patients. The out-patient department of a hospital represents one kind of group practice, some types of industrial medicine another. A superior example is the Mayo Clinic of Rochester, Minn., which provides complete diagnostic, laboratory and hospital facilities, but charges on the traditional fee-for-service, sliding scale basis. There are about three hundred group practice units in the United States.

**GROUP PRE-PAYMENT:** the voluntary application of the insurance principle to payment of all or part of the medical expenses of a given group of persons. Some group practice organizations, like the Ross-Loos Clinic of Los Angeles, contract with groups of patients to deliver all needed medical care in return for the payment in advance of an annual fee. Group hospitalization plans, applying the insurance principle to payment of hospital costs, have recruited over three million subscribers since their inception three years ago.

**MEDICAL COOPERATIVE:** A group of men and women, organized to purchase medical and hospital services collectively, usually on a pre-payment basis. The Group Health Service of Washington, D. C., is a medical cooperative which combines the economy and efficiency of group practice with voluntary health insurance—the group pre-payment of costs. Three years ago the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. organized the Bureau of Medical Cooperatives, directed by Dr. Kingsley Roberts, with offices at 5 East 57th St., New York. The Bureau issues a monthly magazine and has helped organize about fifty medical cooperatives now in operation or in formation.

**COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE:** Under the compulsory health insurance systems established in Germany, England, France, and about twenty other countries, employed workers and their employers each contribute a percentage of the weekly wage to the compulsory insurance fund, which is then used to provide more or less complete medical care to the insured workers. In some countries the government also makes a contribution. No country which has adopted compulsory health insurance has ever abandoned it.

As with general relief, it became increasingly apparent that medical relief was not an emergency problem: it was a permanent problem, and for its solution a far-reaching reorganization of the health service was required. Indeed, it is only because of the relatively high American wage level and the relatively huge flow of philanthropic funds into hospitals, clinics, and other forms of health subsidy that we have been able to evade the issue of "socialized medicine" until now. Bismarck gave compulsory health insurance to Germany in 1883. Lloyd George put through the English panel system in 1911. Our turn is coming, it would seem, either this year or, at most, next—not necessarily in the form of compulsory health insurance, but more probably in expanded Federal and State subsidies for maternal and infant care, the public health services, hospitals and health centers, and sickness disability payments provided for in Senator Wagner's bill.

Health insurance is likely to come slower and harder, although, in the judgment of many experts, it is needed as much as, if not more than, any other item of the program. The model health insurance bill prepared by the American Association for Social Security has been introduced in a dozen states, and, as the Capper Bill, in the Federal Congress.

Even during the booming Twenties, as shown conclusively by the Wilbur Committee, the increasing complexity and consequent cost of medical care had outgrown the capacity of the average family to pay, although the average rank and file doctor never has made much better than a living wage.

The depression raised this disparity to tragic proportions. Today the simple fact is that, whereas everybody needs a doctor—preferably *before* he is sick —the majority of our people cannot

*Dr. Hugh Cabot*

really afford a doctor. They cannot afford, and more than a third of them do not get, that minimum of security against sickness without which the struggle of the individual family is hopelessly handicapped; without which the vitality and stability of society itself are impaired; without which the mounting costs of preventable illness, preventable deaths, and preventable public dependency gnaw dangerously at budgets of local and national governments.

We are spending about three-and-a-quarter billions annually for medical care of all kinds; but we are wasting and losing something like ten billions a year in terms of preventable illness and preventable death. It is that huge waste that Surgeon-General Thomas Parran and other leaders of the Administration's health forces are shooting at. As for the opposition—and this is where the war comes in—that arises partly from medical politics and partly from the pains, protests, and readjustments that are bound to accompany any major process of inevitable social and economic change. A brief review of medico-economic history will suffice to show this.

In 1934, the House of Delegates of the AMA passed its famous "Ten Commandments" for the profession, which in effect forbade either voluntary or compulsory health insurance, or indeed any real advance in the forms of medical service. An exception was made for group hospitalization, which the American Hospital Association had approved in 1933.

Hospital insurance plans (which incidentally helped save the endowed voluntary hospitals from bankruptcy) spread like grass fire. Within three years, sixty plans were in operation, serving 3,000,000 subscribers—over 1,000,000 in New York City alone on the three-cents-a-day plan. There hospital insurance is available for $10 a year; that is, up to 30 days' hospital care, including use of operating room and anesthetist, sometimes other technicians, but *not* medical care. Inevitably the customers want more, better, and cheaper plans. Hence, many of the plans are now expanding their scope to *include* medical care while in the hospital, with home care almost certain to be added sooner or later.

All this was progress, so far as it went. But it did not sufficiently help the majority of the employed industrial workers. For them compulsory health insurance long since had been adopted by most other industrial countries. Yet in the winter of 1934-35, when an attempt was made to include a compulsory provision in the Social Security Act, the AMA swung into action and Washington was blanketed with telegrams, driving advocates of change to cover.

HOWEVER, among many physicians, opposition to the AMA's attitude became more pronounced. The Association's Ten Commandments were challenged with impunity. In Los Angeles, Drs. Ross and Loos started their big practice-group pre-payment clinic, and were promptly excommunicated by the local medical society. They appealed to the Judicial Council of the AMA, were reinstated, and have not been seriously molested since.

About the same time, out in Oklahoma's dust bowl, a Syrian doctor named Michael Shadid organized the Elk City Community Hospital as a medical cooperative, backed by the powerful Farmers Union. The Oklahoma State Medical Society attacked him violently and everybody in the know said Dr. Shadid would not last six months. He has lasted seven years, and has already built two fine additions to his hospital.

Similar battles have been fought in a dozen other cities. Chicago, Little Rock, Milwaukee, Akron, St. Louis, San Diego, Washington, D. C.—each city became in turn the scene of unhappy and wasteful struggle. Always the opposition was the same. An indictment voted by the Federal Grand Jury at Washington, D. C., in the case of the Group Health Association charged that local medical bodies, prompted by officers of the American Medical Association, instituted an active boycott of the Group Health Association; that hospitals were closed to the cooperative's staff; that members of this staff who were also members of the local medical societies were either expelled or forced to resign their salaried positions; that specialists were forbidden to consult with the cooperative's physicians, and that white lists of approved medical institutions were published on which the cooperative's name did not appear. These are the grand jury's charges, as yet unproved.

One of the most unfortunate consequences of the growth crisis through which the health services are passing, and which organized medicine has vainly resisted, is the damage done to the reputation of the medical profession. It is almost entirely undeserved. We have, on the whole, an abler and better-trained medical personnel than any other country in the world. Moreover, the average doctor has almost nothing in common with politicians of medicine who claim to speak for him.

Since the average doctor rarely attends meetings of his local medical society, it often falls into the hands of a self-perpetuating clique of medical politicos. Sometimes his feeling against the clique breaks into print. For example, when the will of Dr. Arthur J. McLean, brain specialist of Portland, Oregon, was probated, it was found that he had bequeathed:

> To 94 per cent of Portland's medical practitioners, and their

*Senator Robert F. Wagner*

ethics, and the whole organized medical profession, a lusty, rousing belch.

It is not only medical misanthropes who have challenged their reigning politicians. During the very period when spokesmen of the AMA were denying the existence of any sizable volume of unmet medical need, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, a former president of the AMA and chairman of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, as well as Secretary of the Interior under Hoover, was saying this to a national radio audience:

> The lack of adequate medical care lays a burden of pain, suffering, and inefficiency on this nation which, rich as it is, exceeds what we can afford. The question which faces the American people in the next ten years is not whether we can afford to provide ourselves with satisfactory medical service, but rather whether we can afford to provide less than adequate medical care.

During the summer of 1937, members of the profession opposed to the obstructionism of its official spokesmen organized as the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, headed by Dr. Hugh Cabot, Dr. John P. Peters of the Yale University Medical School, and other outstanding physicians and teachers of medicine. Against the purely negative provisions of the AMA's Ten Commandments, this Committee pitted its "Principles and Proposals," signed by 430 physicians and calling for government subsidies for medical education, research, and the care of the medically indigent.

By this time the State and county societies all over the country were seething with the controversy. Small in number, the proponents of change were powerful in prestige and ability. They could and did strike heavy blows, as when Dr. James H. Means, in his presidential address at the 1938 convention of the American College of Physicians, denounced the political "standpatism" of the American Medical Association.

Three months later, the committee of rebel medicos, its membership more than doubled, played a decisive role at the National Health Conference in Washington when the Interdepartmental Committee's National Health Program was presented to the two hundred delegates. That conference made history. Flanked by these medical progressives, as well as by farmer, organized labor and consumer cooperative allies, the Government dared for the first time to defy the hitherto unchallenged medico-political machine. Organized medicine has been in retreat ever since, fighting defensive battles and spreading voluntary health insurance plans, under medical auspices, all over the country.

**DISSENT**

**The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association, in considering the National Health Program, approved expansion of public health service where need could be shown, approved medical care to the indigent and to the medically indigent where need could be shown, and approved even expansion of hospital construction, provided the need could be demonstrated, recommending, however, utilization of existing facilities to the utmost before a new building program was authorized. The House of Delegates also approved the principle of assistance to the worker for temporary disability resulting from illness. Now the Wagner Act goes far beyond these recommendations: First, it authorizes the expenditure of vast sums before the need has been shown; second, it expands tremendously the work of the Children's Bureau, the United States Public Health Service and the Social Security Board, without any demonstration that such expansion is warranted; third, it proposes to place the state health officers in a commanding position so far as concerns the dispensing of the funds allotted, subject only to approval of all plans by the federal agency to which the task is assigned. Vast funds are provided for the construction of hospitals and health centers and for their maintenance, notwithstanding the fact that there is not yet available any dependable determination of the exact nature and extent of needs that prevail. Who can imagine for a moment that the money once appropriated will not be expended? Finally, the measure introduces the principle of allotment of federal money to the individual states for medical care, by the Social Security Board, without specifying the means to be used in the individual states for providing such service other than to demand the approval of the Social Security Board. . . .**

**The advisory councils to be set up are vague as to their membership, their duties and their responsibilities. There is one criticism that is to be made above all others in relation to this proposed legislation, namely its extreme vagueness in the light of the vast sums of money to be dispensed and the great powers conferred on certain federal officers in the control of the spending, and particularly the decision as to which of the individual states shall benefit by the expenditures.**

***From The Journal of the A.M.A., edited by Dr. Morris Fishbein.***

MANY of the changes now clearly in prospect will come about without benefit of legislation. Almost certainly we shall see a rapid spread and expansion of group practice and group pre-payment organizations and medical cooperatives. We shall see, too, a considerable expansion of industrial medicine paid for in whole or in part by employers, together with a marked improvement in the quality of this medicine. Finally, we shall see a fundamental change in the attitude of the organized medical profession, the beginning of which is already manifest.

Not all the medical opposition to changes in the organization of the health services is wrong-headed or "political." Some eminent and liberal physicians are worried, not without reason, at the prospect of the abuses that may grow up within a greatly expanded government-subsidized health bureaucracy. These doctors are entirely right when they say that no new forms of medical care will be good, or even tolerable, unless they materially improve the position of the doctor both economically and professionally.

The average rank-and-file doctor is badly treated in our society. He knows his job is important; it amounts to nothing less than the conservation of our human resources. He knows that only good medicine will accomplish this conservation; bad medicine will make matters worse, no matter how much bad medicine is distributed. Once he is convinced that new programs, new forms of medical practice, mean paying him decently for practicing decent medicine, he will be for them. And when he is for them, his professional organization will have to be for them too.

The British Medical Association fought health insurance bitterly in 1911. Today it leads the movement for expansion and improvement.

Something similar is likely to happen in this country—with one difference. Because we have a better health personnel and a better health apparatus, we can and should do more than any other country in the world has ever tried to do. The resources are at hand with which to achieve a hitherto undreamed of level of national health.

# Chamberlain's

## The British cannot lampoon officials but the law is silent about umbrellas

*Marianne, Paris*

***Chamberlain helps prop the lire.***

"It's a little international goodwill idea of my own, Sergeant."

*Lee in The London Evening News*

THE average man-in-the-street may long since have forgotten the specific extortions that comprise the Munich Pact, but he has it immemorially pegged in his mind by a commonplace and tragi-comic symbol—an umbrella.

Around the subject of Prime Minister Chamberlain's ever-present bumbershoot there is a growing saga. Since the meeting at Munich September 30, several baffling questions have arisen with respect to the now-famous "implement for inclemency," as an umbrella is referred to in court circles.

Is it fifteen, or sixteen, years old? Has it been lost and recovered nine times, as is hotly maintained by the curators of the Umbrella Museum of Gignese, Italy, or merely four times? The latter contention is championed by the managing director of Thomas Briggs & Sons, in St. James Street, London, who originally sold the article to Mrs. Chamberlain in 1924 (or was it 1925?) on the occasion of (a) a wedding anniversary, (b) a birthday or (c) a rainy day. Diligent scholars have found evidence to support all these explanations.

Since the day last fall when the Chamberlain umbrella became the object of a fabulous amount of international abuse, satire, sublimation and miscellaneous comment, it appears that a young Oxonian in search of a thesis for his doctorate has seized on this as his subject. It will be recalled that a Ph.D. thesis must be "an original contribution to the sum of human knowledge." This scholar has unearthed invaluable data.

For example, the world may now be told that the umbrella cost Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain 57s., 6d. (or about $14.75). The shop from which it was purchased is also patronized regularly by Captain Anthony Eden, the Dowager Queen Mary, and Earl Baldwin. The malacca handle is seven-eighths of an inch thick, is spiked on a Tonkin (Indo-Chinese) cane, and is decorated with a gilt—not gold—band. It is said that the immaculate Captain Eden once disparaged his older colleague's umbrella because it is not equipped with a silk tassel. But the cover is of finest silk, it is soundly hand-sewn, and all the hinges are hand-rivetted. Finally, the ferrule is of brass, tipped with steel. In a pinch, Mr. Chamberlain would find it a formidable weapon.

At Checkers, according to the London *Sunday Express*, a familiar sight is that of Mr. Chamberlain riding his bicycle with the celebrated umbrella held aloft to protect him from rain or excessive sunshine. But these appearances are becoming more rare, since the Prime Minister is said to have become sensitive on the subject of the umbrella, particularly since the simultaneous death of Czecho-Slovakia and the Chamberlain "appeasement policy" in mid-March. A British law forbids ridicule of living persons, but that protection does not extend to the inanimate appurtenances of the famous. The Prime Minister has even been seen in

ENGLAND'S RUBBER MAN

REFUSES TO STAY DOWN

***Cartoon by Strube.***

**THE SIGN OF THE YEAR**

*Lidove Noviny*

***A Czecho-Slovak view of British diplomacy.***

# Bumbershoot

By
LAMAR MIDDLETON

recent weeks in Downing Street without the umbrella, moving one newspaper to refer to the "appearance of Mr. Chamberlain in an extraordinary state of nudity."

Because he is invariably losing this famous symbol of appeasement, Mr. Chamberlain has been deluged with requests, both serious and humorous, to bestow it on the British Museum. The Umbrella Museum Gignese wrote him an elaborate request for it; the curators called it "an instrument fraught with the historic." But the Prime Minister turned down the request, saying modestly: "My umbrella is far too ordinary and old." The Museum authorities were just as pleased; they were able to exhibit the letter.

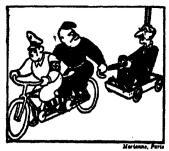
With Paris newspaper commentators and cartoonists the *parapluie* of the British Prime Minister is a favored subject. When the French Government recently appointed an emissary to negotiate with General Franco, a movement was launched in the Chamber of Deputies to give the diplomat an "umbrella of honor." To defray its cost Jean Chiappe, former Paris police chief, contributed a gambling chip from Deauville. One deputy disgorged fifty centimes; another donated two 25-centime stamps. There was also a proposal to give one to Franco.

The French now have a street dance known as "La Chamberlaine," a concession to stags. After the dancers have taken to the floor, the stag wanders around seeking a partner. When he spies her, he hooks her dancing companion's arm with the umbrella. The latter then has to find himself another girl, the symbolical point being that the umbrella legitimizes theft.

The satirical political weekly, *Le Canard Enchainé*, never fails to make some reference to the umbrella. One of its commentators declared that Mr. Chamberlain took it to Munich to serve as a parachute. In the United States it has also been the butt of countless skits and songs. At present it is used as a prop in *Pins and Needles*, labor-sponsored Broadway review.

Replicas of the umbrella are widely sold in London as a "symbol for peace," and the enterprise actually receives the public endorsement of Queen Elizabeth, whose sense of humor is reportedly not the greatest. The umbrella also has taken the form of highly palatable cakes and candies. On March 18, three days after Der Tag, two thousand organized British spinsters, desirous of celebrating the Prime Minister's seventieth birthday, bought him a new unmbrella tied with a lilac-colored bow. Said their spokesman, somewhat illogically, "I am sure that, when he looks at it, it will take his mind off that man Hitler."

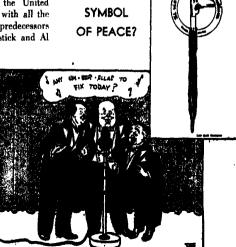
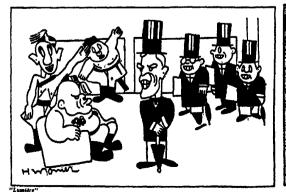
As these two pages indicate, the umbrella has been a boon to cartoonists all over the world. In the United States they have seized it with all the avidity shown by their predecessors in exploiting T. R.'s big stick and Al Smith's brown derby.

*Marianne, Paris*

*Chamberlain in tow.*

*Nebelspalter, Zurich*

*Glasgow Record*

*Close harmony.*

"Lumière"

*"Excuse us for presenting ourselves in this informal attire."*

# Refugees from the Dust Bowl

## At the mercy of disease, hunger and privation, 200,000 good Americans are living in misery

### By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

**In the short space of three years, Richard L. Neuberger has moved into the front rank of American journalists and has earned for himself a reputation as the ablest interpreter of news from the Northwest. He likes to talk to people, is a sensitive political weathervane. Many of his magazine articles—he is a frequent contributor—are the results of his almost uninterrupted journeys through the country he knows so well.**

**Neuberger is on the staff of the *Portland Oregonian* and author of *Our Promised Land,* a book about the potentialities of the Columbia Basin.**

WHEAT grows again in the Dust Bowl. Rains occasionally dampen it. Scientists and government experts hope the region can be saved. But 350,000 of the inhabitants have already departed. The great migration has occurred. These refugees are upright, substantial citizens of the United States—men and women from the drought areas of the Middle West who have pilgrimaged to the Pacific Coast. Long caravans of dilapidated automobiles have made the westward journey in the last five years. They are scattered along the Pacific seaboard today from Puget Sound to the Gulf of California.

The trek is practically ended now. A few of the nomads even have gone back to the Middle-Western farms they once abandoned to the dust dunes. The present problem is to settle the migrants still on the Coast. Lest the proportions of the pilgrimage be minimized, note that the 350,000 wanderers are considerably more than twice the number of people who trudged westward in the first half-century after the Lewis and Clark expedition.

The migration of the drought victims has been one of the most amazing hegiras in American history. No modern pilgrimage in this country parallels it. Now that it is about over, it is time to survey the trek and appraise its significance to the nation. Approximately 200,000 of the refugees are in California. The rest are in the Pacific Northwest states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho. The bulk of the wayfarers have been farmers. Some, however, are ministers, merchants, schoolteachers and artisans in small towns mantled by the dust.

The nomadic farmers who have gone to the Pacific Northwest are better off than those who have sought sanctuary in California. The states along the Columbia River boast the last frontier in this country, and on that frontier thousands of families from the Dust Bowl are finding new homes and new opportunities. More than 250 migrant families have just been settled in a single county of Oregon. Here is a typical dispatch in the *Oregonian* of Portland:

> Centralia, Feb. 2.—(Special)—Five families from the drought area have recently been placed on farms in this vicinity, it was announced yesterday.
>
> Mr. and Mrs. Byron Hoxsie of Salix, Nebraska, have taken over the R. Willrich 20-acre place at Rochester; Magnus Garthe of Lafayette, Colorado, has purchased the Elmer Hastings property at Rochester; Roland Bethune of Mountain Grove, Missouri, has acquired five acres at Rochester to raise poultry and fruit; Mrs. R. Trimble has brought two sons and a daughter from Stanley, Iowa, to specialize in poultry and truck-farming on an eight-acre place at Toledo, and a new home, chicken house and barn have been built by Robert Abshire of Octavia, Nebraska, on his 40-acre plot near Napavine.

Unfortunately, all the wandering Americans have not fared so well. In California, the problem of the migratory farmers is acute and serious. The gravity of the problem has not yet been understood by the nation, although Californians realize it only too well. More than 100,000 of them have just addressed a petition to Senator Hiram Johnson pleading that the Federal government take some action. The petition contends that the nomads are living in "squatter camps of unbelievable filth." The field secretary of the Gospel Army recently told the Associated Press that this squalor had produced tuberculosis, typhoid, pneumonia and syphilis.

"Malnutrition is the word written into the coroner's report," said Marquis W. Childs of the *St. Lous Post-Dispatch,* "but that is a polite description for the hunger that overcomes the weaker among these homeless people." The haggard spokesman for a caravan of starving farmers from Texas blurted out to relief authorities: "We're living like hogs—except hogs get food."

A Federal commission, investigating a strike of pea pickers in the lush Imperial Valley, reported, "We found filth, squalor, an entire absence of sanitation, and crowding human beings into totally inadequate tents or crude structures built of boards, weeds and anything that was found at hand to give a pitiful semblance of a home at its worst. In this environment there is bred a social sullenness that is to be deplored, but which can be understood by those who have viewed the scenes that violate all recognized standards of living." The people suffering these hardships are not shiftless ne'er-do-wells, but toil-hardened Americans whose unremitting effort once brought wheat and barley out of the stubborn soil of the Great Plains.

What is to be done? More than 16 per cent of California's population—900,000 men and women—are subsisting on Federal, state or county assistance. Can the load be increased? The petition to Senator Johnson hints there are more Dust Bowl refugees in Cali-

fornia than in the expansive Northwest because, "Agricultural wages in California have been from two to four times as high as in most of the agricultural states of the nation. All Federal relief agencies pay more in California than in any other state."

California requires a year's residence in the state before a person can qualify for relief. Thousands of citizens are demanding that the drought victims be returned to the states of their origin before they acquire a legal claim on California. Many, of course, are already bona-fide residents. Listen to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, edited by John Boettiger, son-in-law of President Roosevelt: "Undoubtedly, some Mid-Western and Southern states, failing to provide adequate relief, have encouraged indigent families, who would be much better off in their home localities, to move westward. Such situations must be ended."

But American citizens cannot be driven like cattle from one state to another. If indigent Dust Bowl farmers in California do not want to return to Kansas or North Dakota or Missouri, they have a constitutional right to stay where they are. Of course, they also have a constitutional right to perish from malnutrition. It is a responsibility of the nation to see that they do not use the latter prerogative. These homeless farmers are as much victims of natural catastrophe as any families trapped by rampant flood or raging forest fire. When the heat seared their farms and the dust storms completed the destruction, they had to move on. They could not raise crops on land as dry as talcum powder. Nor can California entirely evade liability for the influx. An abundant supply of cheap agricultural labor has long been an objective of its vast corporation farms. In the *New York Times* Douglas W. Churchill recently wrote: "The key to profit on such large ventures, California has found, is cheap labor and plenty of it." The California labor unions are afraid the great horde of unemployed migrants may become a dangerous threat to wage scales in the state, whether for picking strawberries, loading ships or cutting down trees.

Various agencies of the Federal government are working to take care of these American refugees. One is the WPA; its function is obvious. Another is the Farm Security Administration, formerly known as the Resettlement bureau. It once was headed by Dr. Tugwell. In the Far West this organization is concerned almost exclusively with nomads from the Dust Bowl. Also, its offices in the Great Plains states are trying to discourage further migration. Thousands of farmers in the burned-out stretches of the Dakotas, for example, are receiving subsistence grants from the FSA to keep them on their ranches.

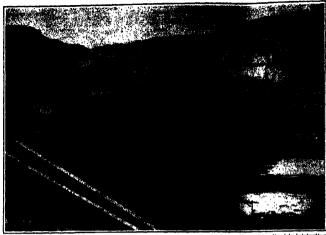
What does the Farm Security Administration—the FSA, in government vernacular—do about families which already have made the hegira westward?

Here are Ralph Moore and his wife and their two children; they are from Nebraska. Their home is a flimsy shack in California's San Joaquin Valley. Ralph wants to farm. It is all he has ever done. But he has no money. The FSA can loan him money to buy equipment, but it cannot finance the purchase of land. The migrant must do that himself. Otherwise the FSA would be undertaking the entire job of settlement. However, farms can be rented. An FSA agent goes with Ralph to see that he is not fleeced by a land speculator. They finally find a small farm which seems to have possibilities. Ralph rents it.

The FSA investigates Ralph Moore's background. It learns that he was forced out of Nebraska by drought and not by any lack of effort or skill. He seems to have character and tenacity. He gets an FSA loan of $2,000. With this he can establish himself and buy seed and equipment. If he is fortunate and the California soil proves fertile, he can make repayments on the loan and ultimately own the farm.

Of course, the procedure of the FSA varies with individual cases. Most of the migrant farmers helped by the FSA are being rehabilitated on private lands. But some of the nomads are homesteading on government tracts. They do this through the General Land Office, which is in the Department of the Interior. More than half of Oregon, for example, is owned by the Federal government and some of the Dust Bowl refugees in the Pacific Northwest have taken up homesteads on the public domain, as did the covered wagon pioneers almost a century ago. A publication of the FSA, *Suggestions to Prospective Settlers in Idaho, Washington and Oregon*, has kept numerous families from buying or renting or homesteading sterile land. This folder maps and catalogues the

*Lange-Farm Security Administration*

***Here are three forlorn refugees from the barren horror of the Dust Bowl and on the right is the type of "home" they have built in a California migrant camp***

Lange-Farm Security Administration
*Grand Coulee Dam, the world's biggest construction job, will supply water for 1,500,000 acres and 100,000 families*

whole region according to rainfall, elevations, growing seasons and soil.

The FSA estimates that a capital investment of approximately $5,000 is necessary for a farm which will support a family. Settlers should have half this amount to obtain stock and supplies, make a down payment and provide living expenses until the first crop cracks the soil. This is where the whole problem begins. Most of the refugees are penniless or nearly so. One farmer from Oklahoma told me his wallet contained only $11. A few of the wanderers have some money, generally obtained from selling the stock and equipment of their deserted farms on the Plains. These wayfarers generally go to the Northwest. That is one reason the problem is not nearly so grave in the Columbia River basin as it is in California. As these words are written, 245 families in the Northwest have just been colonized on the Vale-Owyhee reclamation project. The land was purchased from the irrigation district, and the FSA advanced loans to finance the farm equipment.

The FSA and WPA are immediate measures to take care of the homeless wanderers *now*. But the most spectacular of the government's plans is concerned with the future. At Grand Coulee on the Columbia River rises the great dam which will irrigate 1,500,000 acres of land in the state of Washington. The dam will be completed by 1941—and perhaps by 1940 in time for President Roosevelt to dedicate it. This project is close to the President's heart. He thinks it will create a "promised land" in the Western wilderness. He first suggested it in 1920. Mr. Roosevelt hopes Grand Coulee will provide the means for settling 100,000 Dust Bowl families. Speaking at the vast dam two years ago, he said:

"There are thousands of families in this country in the Middle West, in the Plains area, who are not making good because they are trying to farm on poor land. I look forward to the day when this valley, this basin, is opened up, giving the first opportunity to these American families who need some good farm land in place of their present farms. They are a splendid crowd of people and it is up to us, as a nation, to help them to live better than they are living now."

Grand Coulee is closer to reality than most of the country realizes. Already the enormous dam is the biggest structure ever built by man. Irrigation districts are now being formed to make ready for the river-like canals. The land to be irrigated is considerably more vast than the whole state of Delaware. General George W. Goethals once said these canals would irrigate a project more important to the country than the Panama Canal. No person will be permitted to own more than 40 acres at Grand Coulee. A family will be limited to 80 acres. Of course, not all the families will be on farms. Small towns will be essential to provide services for the people tilling the soil.

Under an anti-speculation law just put through Congress by Senators Schwellenbach and Bone, the average price an acre at Grand Coulee will be approximately $15. A perpetual right to water will cost between $85 and $90 an acre. For the first four years the settler will pay nothing for the water right, thus getting a chance to start with the burden lightened. For the next four years he will pay $4.60 an acre. For 32 years after that the cost will be $5.10 an acre. By that time he will own a perpetual right to water for irrigation. The only charge will be an annual $2.60 an acre for pumping and maintenance. Incidentally, Grand Coulee will not only be the world's greatest irrigation undertaking. It also will have the biggest power plant on earth.

The late Dr. Elwood Mead, United States commissioner of reclamation,

Lange-Farm Security Administration
*Small wonder this so-called farm was abandoned. Wind and drifting soil have made these acres as useless as a desert*

once decribed the land to be reclaimed at Grand Coulee as "the largest compact body of undeveloped land remaining in the United States and the most fertile." Hopes are high now that within a few years this stupendous undertaking will begin to provide farms for the migrants scattered along the Coast.

Other irrigation projects are also under construction in the West. On the Sacramento River the government is building the 560-foot Shasta Dam which will be second in size only to Grand Coulee. This will increase the agricultural opportunities in California by conserving the waters of the Sacramento, Pit, McCloud and San Joaquin Rivers. "Year by year," said the President last autumn, "we propose to add more valleys to take care of thousands of families who need a second chance in new green pastures."

"The population of the United States . . . has substantially reached its utmost inland western limit," editorialized *Harper's Weekly* in March of 1857—*1857!* Nearly a quarter of a million Dust Bowl refugees in California sadly wonder if that could have been true. The great dams are not completed yet, and now the Associated Farmers and similar organizations have begun a campaign to discourage further FSA migratory labor camps for these homeless people. The contention has been made that the camps will become centers of labor unrest.

But despite these fears, the people from the Dust Bowl are not leftwingers or radicals. They are average American farmers with whom the elements have dealt severely. In a shabby settlement of wayfarers near Sacramento there were two or three preachers who had come west, too, when their congregations packed up and departed. "The land just blew away," one of them explained. "We had to go somewhere." Most of the refugees have been educated to what happened in their old homes. They know about indiscriminate grazing that took away the buffalo grass which anchored the topsoil. They realize now that dams built a generation ago to prevent erosion and flood and drought might have paid for themselves a thousand times when the heat-spells gripped the nation. These victims of the dust storms know what conservation means. Most of them are for the New Deal and President Roosevelt. But they also are suspicious of the labor unions and many of them are as hostile to Harry Bridges and the National Labor Relations Board as is any conservative eastern businessman.

Lange-Farm Security Administration

***On the move! Battered jalopies such as this, sagging under its amazing load, are familiar sights on the highways of the west***

Gradually, the migrants in the Pacific Northwest are being absorbed into the population of that outpost region. There are many happy stories of wanderers who have found new farm homes at last. But the nomads in California are nomads still. Many of them have been attracted by the great lure of the famous Golden State—so many, in fact, that the California Citizens' Association is considering a national publicity campaign to discourage further migration. "This situation," warns the Association, "jeopardizes the economic stability of the state and the security of every California resident; and, with the recent curtailment of WPA funds, constitutes a double threat by throwing additional thousands of employable person onto an already glutted labor market."

Many Federal officials and other experts believe the only ultimate solution is for the government to buy small parcels of land in California and sell them to the refugees as long-term loans with no interest charged. This land would be on Federal irrigation projects wherever possible. It is certain some permanent answer to the problem must be found. Nearly 200,000 Americans of good stock cannot be left at the mercy of social diseases, seasonal unemployment, filthy camps and actual hunger and privation.

Lange-Farm Security Administration

***Lack of adequate shelter, and even rudimentary sanitation, have created a serious health problem in refugee camps***

The U.S. leans heavily on Brazil for Manganese..Carnauba Wax is an essential in the manufacture of electric insulation and phonograph records...
CATTLE
COCOA
CASSAVA
COCOA
BRAZIL NUTS
BRAZIL NUTS
•Manaos
COCOA
•Para
TOBACCO
CASSAVA
GOLD
GOLD
RUBBER
RUBBER
COPPER
COTTON
HARDWOODS
COPPER
COPPER
RUBBER
COTTON
Natal•
BRAZIL NUTS
HARDWOODS
DIAMONDS
CATTLE
RUBBER
CARNAUBA WAX
CARNAUBA WAX
SUGAR
CATTLE
Pernambuco•
IRON
COAL
TOBACCO
NICKEL
DIAMONDS
CATTLE
Bahia
DIAMONDS
GOLD
MANGANESE
IRON
COPPER
COFFEE
COCOA
GOLD
SWINE
COTTON
COFFEE
DIAMONDS
NICKEL
MANGANESE
CATTLE
COFFEE
GOLD
GOLD
COTTON
MANGANESE
COFFEE
RICE
COFFEE
IRON
SWINE
COFFEE
SUGAR
COPPER
RICE
GRAIN
COFFEE
Rio de Janeiro
São Paulo•
Santos•
COFFEE
COAL
CATTLE
COPPER
COAL
SHEEP
CATTLE
SWINE
BRAZIL, alone, covers nearly half of South America.
South America
BRAZIL's Area exceeds that of the U.S. by an area equal to California and Oregon
TOPOGRAPHY and WATERSHED
Brazil's water-power is vast, but as yet is largely undeveloped.
POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS
AMAZONAS
PARÁ
MARANHÃO
PIAUHY
RIO GRANDE DO NORTE
PARAHYBA
PERNAMBUCO
ALAGOAS
SERGIPE
ACRE
MATTO GROSSO
GOYAZ
BAHIA
MINAS GERAES
SÃO PAULO
ESPIRITO SANTO
RIO DE JANEIRO
PARANÁ
SANTA CATHARINA
RIO GRANDE DO SUL
BRAZIL
A Map-Study of the South American Giant
SCALE for the Large Map
Miles 0 100 500 1000
R.E. Falconer

# Cash for Brazil's Good-Will

## The United States, with hand deep in pocket, leads the race there for trade and influence

### By CARLETON BEALS

THE fourth country in the world in area, with 48,000,000 inhabitants, Brazil is potentially the wealthiest land on earth.

Strong links long have bound us closely to that country. Sixty per cent of all her exports are coffee, and the United States is the greatest coffee-consuming country. Although British investments in Brazil still total approximately $1,300,000,000, in a few short years American investments have swept up to over half a billion dollars—and still increase. In Brazil are great American meat-packing, transportation, light and power concerns, American mines, and plantations, among them the 3,700,000-acre Ford rubber estate. At Brazilian ports touch the fine vessels of our new good-will fleet. Out of the skies swoop down the fine skylines of Pan-American airways.

But in the last half dozen years, American trade supremacy and influence in Brazil have been seriously challenged. Shifts in Brazil's internal economy and the new trade methods of the German Reich have jeopardized our leadership and sent Britain's exports to Brazil down to fourth place, below Argentina's. Since 1935 German exports to Brazil have exceeded those of the United States.

The United States, however, has won the latest round in the contest for foreign influence in Brazil. The struggle was dramatized at the Pan-American Conference in Lima last winter. Brazil then swore friendship with the United States, but soon signed a new trade agreement with Germany and made new barter arrangements with Italy.

More recently the struggle has been emphasized by the almost simultaneous visit of a high Brazilian army officer to Berlin and of Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha to Washington.

The army officer went to buy German and Italian armaments. The outcome of Aranha's visit was revealed March 10 with the announcement that the United States had granted to the southern dictatorship credits that may total as much as $120,000,000—the largest American treasury outlay of this nature since the liberal days of the World War.

Of the sums granted, $19,200,000 was allotted by the Export-Import Bank, to cover bills due American exporters, unpaid because of Brazil's rigid exchange controls. Further sums will finance further exports if existing exchange obstacles are eliminated. Again, Congress will be asked to provide $50,000,000 gold for the establishment of a Brazilian Central Reserve Bank. Finally, Brazil is to be furnished experts to diversify its production along lines which will not compete with American industry. Rubber, manganese and vegetable-oil products have been mentioned.

Apparently Brazil has driven a good bargain; she has made her friendship pay dividends. Because Brazil owes American and British bondholders over half a billion dollars, American goods must be paid for with currency and are not directly bartered. As a result Brazil's exchange controls have discriminated against her best customer—ourselves. In view of our heavy purchases in Brazil we should not have to buy her friendship or the right not to be discriminated against. But if Nazi influence in Brazil can thus be checked, probably the outlay will have been worth while.

Brazil also agrees to resume payment on her foreign debt by July, 1939. This apparently means that a large share of the proposed credits will be used to amortize the Brazilian debt rather than to increase trade. In effect, the losses of private bondholders are transferred to the United States treasury.

We are therefore placed in the position, however inevitable our action, of giving definite aid to a non-democratic, military government, ruling without popular vote or a legally adopted constitution. Our loans help to sustain it, and experience has repeatedly shown that the financial arrangements of such governments are repudiated when popular government is re-established. The credits, consequently, must be considered not entirely as a business arrangement, but also as a political loan.

The whole loan policy toward Latin America, upon which the Administration seems about to embark with reckless generosity, should be scanned with a cautious eye. Undoubtedly it is pleasent to pay off American holders of Latin American bonds via the United States treasury. That this will bring about any great increase of trade for any enduring period is doubtful. Nor is it likely to create permanent friendships. Lend a man money and notice how often he avoids you thereafter.

But for the time being the new credits definitely will help the dictatorship, not in too happy financial straits. It will also make possible the carrying out of Vargas' program of national economy, of wide-scale armaments and public works, otherwise difficult to finance. Undoubtedly for a time a certain amount of increased trade will

**Among the Good Neighbors, the word has been passed around that no Latin-American ruler is a social success unless Carleton Beals has visited his country and weekended at his home. For distinguished as is Beals' reputation in this country as a reporter on Latin-American affairs, he is even more highly regarded in the capitals about which he writes.**

**Beals, who is *Current History's* contributing editor on Latin America, has been writing on his pet subject for twenty years. His latest book, best-seller, is *The Coming Struggle in Latin America*. He is also the author of *America South* and *Fire on the Andes*.**

come our way. Possibly some will come Germany's way as well.

Much of the explanation for the recent change in Brazil's trade relationships may be found in the expansion of her cotton-growing industry, in good part fomented by the Japanese. While the United States has been restricting cotton production, Brazil has been winning the world market we have lost, and today can put around 2,000,000 bales into the export trade. With lands far more productive, with infinitesimally cheap labor, Brazil is in a strong position, but must depend chiefly on Japan, Germany, and Italy for a great portion of her market.

The scramble for world armaments has led to new zeal in exploiting Brazil's great mineral resources, scarcely tapped. She has the richest iron deposits anywhere, about a fourth of the world's supply, and next to the Soviet Union, the greatest manganese resources. Bauxite, chromium, copper, gold, nickel, platinum, some tin tungsten and helium are but a few of the possibilities.

Inevitably, coffee will become less important in the total national economy. Efforts now being made to diversify industry probably will increase European influence in Brazil in a manner that will affect the Monroe Doctrine, our future trade, and our role as supervisor of the two continents. The new arrangements made in Washington to assist rubber and other industries helpful to American economy reveal that the Administration—whatever criticism may be levelled against the new financial arrangements—seeks to stay trends which might result in serious political and military repercussions to our disadvantage.

Geographically and culturally Brazil is far closer to Europe than to the United States. The outermost coastal point is nearly two thousand miles east of New York; the distance from Natal to Dakar in Africa is only 1,600 miles; Rio is approximately five hundred miles closer to Cadiz, Spain, than to New York. By air Rio is only five days from New York, but transatlantic planes from Berlin make it in forty hours. Air France and Lufthansa have had transatlantic service to the southern continent for years. Italy is inaugurating a service this month.

Brazil thus becomes the key South American country in international relationships. Closer to Europe than to us, now, with industrial diversification, she threatens to become increasingly a part of Europe's economic and political system. Since all these tendencies are still only partly defined, the country remains something of an enigma, with the powers of the world struggling for her trade and raw materials.

The pivot of all this is the smart little roly poly dictator, Getulio Vargas, who in 1930 climbed to supreme power by revolution. After a stormy rule of seven years, he staged his famous coup of November, 1937, by which he swept all previous constitutional law into the discard.

Vargas was born at San Borja in the far western cattle country. He attended military school, but participated in a student uprising, and never graduated. After a brief army enlistment as a private, he left to study law. Soon he started the polemical paper *O Debate* and barged into politics. In 1926 he was made Minister of Finance. In 1930 he whipped together a sort of Liberal Alliance, really a coalition of State Governors, and took the road of rebellion with a hard-riding cowboy army that landed him without a personal scratch in white Guanabara Palace in Rio.

His allies were depression, economic collapse, and the breakdown of the coffee market. Brazil had been trying to keep up world coffee prices by crop controls and the burning of excess supplies. The coffee exports of Colombia and Central America promptly expanded. Government management resulted in terrific treasury outlays. Brazil was tied in a snarl.

Sectionalism and class differences also aided Vargas. The western cattle and mining interests resented being ruled by the small São Paulo coffee oligarchy, and there were bitter regional differences between north and south. Southern Brazil is more predominantly European and Oriental: it has half a million Germans, a quarter of a million Japanese, and a million and a quarter Italians. The latter, especially, have mixed widely with the native population. Northern Brazil, more native, is a mixture of Portuguese, Dutch and French, with Indian and negro—a violent melting pot.

The general unrest of the submerged classes also played the cards for Vargas. Brazil is the paradise of large estates, *fazientdas*. In the coastal region of the south, thanks to foreign colonization, the land is more or less split up, but not even a tenth of the privately owned area of the country belongs to small proprietors. Some 400,000,000 acres are divided among 184,274 large properties. In other words, two per cent of the adult male population of the country owns nine-tenths of the land.

Living standards are incredibly low. Most rural labor is close to peonage. According to the United States Department of Commerce (May, 1938) the average Brazilian factory wage is only $11 a month. Of the western nations, Brazil is close to the bottom in *per capita* purchasing power.

Poor education and public health are the result. Seventy per cent of the population is illiterate. Of the twenty Latin American countries, probably only Salvador and Haiti have a lower percentage of children in school. Tuberculosis, leprosy, syphilis and malaria are terrible, mostly unchecked scourges.

And so undoubtedly a great deal of pent-up popular discontent rode behind Vargas to power. Vargas' Alliance was closely affiliated with the Tenientes, an organization of junior army officers, and several labor and socialistic organizations. A small group of Communists jumped on the band wagon.

Once in power, Vargas abandoned most of those who aided him, and made peace with his opponents. He continued the coffee control system and subsidies to the growers which he had

sworn to abolish. The coffee oligarchy of São Paulo continued to hold sway.

Vargas faced revolt after revolt, some serious, and throughout the nine years he has been in office, except for short interludes, he has governed with martial law. The jails, prisons, and island concentration camps have been constantly filled with political prisoners. At one time, 17,000 were said to be incarcerated.

Communist agitation played right into his hands. He accused all opponents of being Communists, even dissident Governors of States. Vargas ruled absolutely. The press was rigorously censored. The national labor federation and all Masonic orders were abolished. All political activities except those of the Green Shirt Integralistas, led by Plinio Salgado, a cadaverous hollow-cheeked man with a Hitler moustache, were outlawed.

Salgado issued his first manifesto in October, 1932, with all the mystic exaltation of a novelist turned demagogue, and from then on the organization grew like the tropical gourd vine. In a few years it claimed a million adherents and began winning local elections. Integralist phraseology, in eloquent misty Portuguese, was borrowed from Nazi slogans; the leaders postulated extreme nationalism, the corporate state, anti-Semitism, anti-Communism. "God, home and the fatherland" was inscribed on their banners.

Vargas exchanged congratulatory greetings with the organization and reviewed its parades. During the Prestes revolt, Salgado offered Vargas 100,000 trained men. Vargas called this a "spontaneous and patriotic" manifestation. Up through 1937 the Green Shirts became virtually the fourth military arm of the government.

In November, 1937, Vargas utilized them and their program for a new coup against the constitution. A new totalitarian state was born, but cut to an American pattern, with many typical features of traditional Latin American dictatorship.

Vargas had a new constitution ready. It abolished all existing local, state, and national governing bodies, removed all officials, except those wholly pro-Vargas. It provided for three governing assemblies, a Chamber, a Federal Council and a National Economic Council, none of them elected by direct vote of the people. The President may name, as governors of the states, federal interventors (usually militarists), who at will can kick out the local municipal councils. Thus, in a roundabout way, the president names all members of the various legislative bodies.

Even so, no legislation not originated by him can be enacted. All laws proposed pass immediately to the National Economic Council, a hand-picked body. If they are reported back favorably, the Chamber can vote on them after a single discussion. The President can withdraw or amend any legislation. He can also issue decree laws. Any congressman who criticizes the government can be expelled. Courts are completely under the executive's control. The President may nominate his successor to a hand-picked electoral congress. If his nomination is not accepted, he continues in office, pending popular elections (no time-limit specified).

*Getulio Vargas*

This mockery of constitutional law has never been submitted to popular vote. Since November, 1937, the President has been ruling entirely by personal decree.

A good share of his governing ideas were plucked bodily from the Green Shirt Fascist program. The Green Shirts provided the bulk of the marchers in military parades celebrating the new order. They loudly hailed the ceremony in which Vargas burned the flags of the twenty states, which comprise the Brazilian Republic, and kicked out nineteen governors. But they were not to taste the fruits of victory. A few leaders were taken into the government, and presently Vargas abolished all political organizations. The Green Shirts obediently converted themselves into cultural and sport units. But soon they were outlawed entirely. They had been cleverly utilized to further Vargas' dream of personal power.

The Green Shirts had been closely tied up with German and Italian propaganda agents and with German and Italian business firms. One of their leaders was the representative of German arms importing companies. The Germans, previous to the coup, had sold the governor of Rio Grande do Sul a million dollars worth of arms. Most German and Italian firms required their employees to belong to the Green Shirt movement. Green Shirt propaganda was tied in with Italian and German radio, press, and cultural penetration. The Brazilian police, once Vargas broke with the Integralistas, gave out many details of Fascist-Nazi tie-ups.

The totalitarian powers had been well aware that Vargas planned a coup. Shortly before it occurred, Federzone, head of the Italian Senate, predicted that a powerful American state was soon to be added to the Rome-Berlin axis. But Italian rejoicing was premature; Italian and German backers soon found themselves in hot water.

The Integralistas, cheated of victory, conspired. Plots were discovered, arrests made. In October, 1938, occurred the famous "pajama" revolt. Gun fire broke out all over the city. The navy arsenal, radio stations, and other strategic points were captured. A direct attack made upon Guanabara palace. Vargas and his family, cut off from all support, manned rifles at the windows until their perilous position was relieved. Navy officers were seriously implicated, as was also the son of Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha.

The government immediately announced that foreign powers were involved in the uprising, but never presented the evidence. Seven German bank employees and an Italian were arrested. Presently German Ambassador Karl Ritter was declared *persona non grata*. New restrictions were put upon German schools and organizations. There were several arrests of German and Italian secret agents. Exchange facilities for German Aski marks were curtailed.

Germany retaliated by threatening to buy coffee and cotton elsewhere. This was serious. Germany has become quite a European middleman for coffee, and, if the United States takes the larger share of Brazil's coffee,

*(Continued on page 64)*

# Chiang: Soldier and Symbol

## After two years of guerrilla warfare, Chiang is the personification of China's resistance to Japan

### By JOHN GUNTHER

CHIANG KAI-SHEK, the son of a village merchant, who became China's generalissimo and political leader, is a psychological puzzle. He is a terrific disciplinarian; but the enemies he has forgiven—and given jobs to—are many. He has united China (with help from Japan!) more than any man in centuries of history—but he spent ten dreary years fighting civil wars against his own people. He is a popular leader of the stature of Stalin or Mussolini—but he is a bad politician.

He is a strong Chinese nationalist—but he got much of his education in Japan. He is an extremely typical Chinese—who nevertheless believes in Christianity and the Y.M.C.A.

Physically rather slight, wiry, with delicate features, Chiang carries himself with a curious elastic grace. He is quite tall—five feet ten—but is rather short-legged, and likes to be photographed sitting down, or wearing the broad black cloak that is his favorite costume. He weighs 141 pounds. His eyes are remarkable: a very dark grey, deep, both piercing and luminous, and never at rest.

He rises early—at dawn usually—and works hard till nightfall. He thinks that the time between dawn and breakfast is the best hour of the day. He likes to lie down, and does as much of his work as he can on a sofa. After lunch he takes a brief nap, usually falling asleep to the tune of a wheezy old gramophone. His favorite record is Schubert's *Ave Maria;* his friends in the next room know that he is asleep when the record stops. In the afternoon he has half an hour for prayer or meditation.

He is abstemious and methodical. He does not drink or smoke, he avoids even coffee and tea, and for many years has kept a very full diary. Chiang's diary, it might fairly be said, once saved his life. When he was kidnaped in December, 1936, by a group of Sian mutineers led by the sallow-faced Chang Hsueh-liang, young war lord who protested Nanking's passive policy toward Japan, Chiang's diary was carefully examined. After reading not only the diary but a number of letters to his wife, his kidnapers were impressed enough to change radically their attitude toward him.

The things he likes best are poetry, mountains, and his wife. His idea of a really good time, if he ever has time to have a good time, is to walk in hilly country on a sunny day, or to have a picnic lunch outdoors. When he walks he recites poetry. His family life is happy, and Madame Chiang is his indispensable and beloved associate, but he is definitely a lonely man, a person who admires solitude. His closest foreign friend is W. H. Donald, the Australian newspaper man who has been his unofficial "adviser" for some years. Another good friend is an American missionary, Dr. George Shepherd.

The Generalissimo is sensitive and sometimes stand-offish. He seldom sees people socially. When touring the provinces, he gives the proper official dinner to the local dignitaries, and then makes no further attempt to see them. When thousands of deliriously happy Chinese sought to celebrate a victory in March, 1938, by gathering outside his house and cheering, he wanted to send them home without a word; his advisers had to appeal to him not to clear the streets. He does not like people in the abstract—or even the particular.

But when the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang see a foreign visitor, they are conspicuously urbane. Madame Chiang interprets for him, since his only foreign language is Japanese; I had the feeling, however, that he knew more English than he admitted. Madame (everywhere in China she is known simply as "Madame") knows his mind so well that there are no pauses, no interruptions. The Generalissimo is not a time-waster. When I saw him, he first paid a pleasant compliment to my wife, then asked if I would explain the "European situation" in "one or two" sentences. I did my best. He receives journalists for official interviews only rarely.

On occasion the Generalissimo is closely guarded—for instance, he has a bullet-proof limousine with windows almost an inch thick—but at times he mixes freely with his people. My wife and I once saw him on the crowded Hankow Bund, walking along, apparently quite alone. He was so inconspicuous that few people in the crowd noticed him. Members of his bodyguard did accompany him, but about 200 feet away.

Chiang has no hobbies, no relaxations, except reading—especially the Chinese classics. His favorite passage from Confucius is:

> In order to rule the country, one must first rule one's family;
> In order to rule the family, one must first regulate one's body by moral training;
> In order to regulate the body, one must first regulate one's mind;

**John Gunther, 38-year-old fast-traveling foreign correspondent whom Harold J. Laski, British historian, calls "one of the best reporters now living," has interviewed almost every important head of state since the World War. Best known for his *Inside Europe,* leading non-fiction best seller since 1936, he is also author of a half dozen other books which X-ray the inner workings of history.**

**Mr. Gunther's new book, *Inside Asia,* will be published next month. It will do for the Far East what *Inside Europe,* which has been translated into twelve languages and suppressed in three countries, has done for Europe.**

In order to regulate the mind, one must first be sincere in ones intentions;
In order to be sincere in intentions, one must first increase ones knowledge.

Chiang was born in the village of Chikow, in the central coastal district of Fenghua, Chekiang province, in 1887. He was certainly not of a rich family, but he was never desperately poor. The family slaved to send him to school, where his record was not brilliant. He was a dutiful boy, however. In 1907 he cut off his queue—symbol that he intended to be "modern." He studied first at the Paoting Military Academy near Peking, then in Japan where he entered the Shinbo Gokyo, or Military Staff College. He actually served several years in the Japanese army.

In Japan he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese revolution. This was in 1909, when Chiang was 22. Dr. Sun was in exile. Promptly young Chiang became infected with Chinese nationalism. He stayed in Japan two more years, but he joined the Tungmenghui, a secret society of patriotic Chinese which was the forerunner of the Kuomintang. When, in 1911, the Manchu regime was overthrown in Peking and the Chinese republic was born, Chiang instantly set sail for China to join the revolution, though this meant technical desertion from the Japanese army. It is recorded that punctiliously he sent back his sword and uniform—by mail!

For five years, roughly from 1911 to 1916, Chiang fought in the variety of minor civil wars and insurrections that implemented the revolution. He was one of Sun's best subordinates, but in 1917 he quit the army suddenly to go into business. He knew that for a successful political career he had to have money—a lot of money. He set out to earn it. First he worked as a clerk in a brokerage house. His consequence as a human being must have been strongly marked, because he was successively "adopted" by two rich and influential men, who became his patrons and helped him win his fortune.

By 1921 Chiang was busy with military affairs and politics again—i.e., he was a revolutionist. In 1923 Sun Yat-sen sent him to Moscow, where he spent six months as a liaison officer. In Moscow he saw Trotsky, among others. By 1925 Chiang was chairman of the standing committee of the Kuomintang, and when Dr. Sun-Yat-sen died he assumed office as commander-in-chief of the nationalist army.

In 1926 began Chiang's most amazing exploit. He set out on the gigantic, the illimitable, task of unifying China by military conquest. At this time the Kuomintang held power only in the extreme south; the Nationalists were considered in Shanghai to be little more than a gang of undisciplined reds; Chiang Kai-shek himself was called an obscure "Bolshevik." It is quite true that many forces helped Chiang in the campaigns that then electrified the world. The country was sagging with corruption and decay. Rival war lords were eliminating each other endlessly. Not much stiff resistance was encountered. Even so, his achievement was remarkable. He fought with arms; he fought with money. His armies (he himself was sometimes in the background) captured Wuchang in October, 1926; Hangchow in February, 1927; Shanghai and Nanking in March, 1927; Peking in July, 1928. This campaign is one of the seminal facts of modern history. Chiang made China, which was a continent, into a country—at least for the time being.

*Chiang Kai-shek*

Then, having consolidated China into what might have been a permanent modern entity, he disrupted it! Ten weary years of civil war began. Why?

At this point we must inspect background. In 1921, Dr. Sun had announced his Three Principles, which in theory at least are still the determining motives of Chinese political action. They were (1) Nationalism, (2) Democracy, (3) People's Livelihood. By this the eminent doctor meant that China must, by abrogating the foreign concessions, achieve proper national unity; that the country must be prepared for self-government through the establishment of democratic principles, with free elections to a national legislature; and that livelihood must be assured the starving millions by social reform, economic advance, and the redistribution of wealth. The gigantic nature of Dr. Sun's task may be gathered from the fact that, until he invented it, no *word* for democracy existed in Chinese.

In 1921 Dr. Sun needed help—badly. The western powers would have nothing to do with his struggling revolution, which might end their own privileges. They didn't want China strong; they didn't want China united. Dr. Sun turned to Soviet Russia. He sent Chiang to Moscow.

Russian political advisers then came to Canton, like Michael Borodin; Russian influence in the Kuomintang (National People's Party) spread, though the Kuomintang, it is important to state, never was a communist organization. When, in 1927, Chiang captured Hankow, a government influenced by the communists was established, though it was never a "communist" government. But a Chinese variety of communism, which was largely a program of agricultural reform, surged like wildfire through the left-wing of the Kuomintang, inflaming and irradiating the landless peasants. It was perhaps inevitable that the Kuomintang should split. The right wing, thinking mostly of Dr. Sun's first principle, nationalism, found itself more and more at variance with the left wing, which emphasized the third principle, social equality. The breach widened; the split became irremediable; and civil war broke out. The leftist government in Hankow was overthrown (1927). Chiang overthrew it.

Chiang went to the right. His friends were dumbfounded. He seemed to be destroying wantonly a large part of the program of the revolution. He seemed to be betraying his pledges, his friends, and the memory of Dr. Sun. Chiang, the revolutionist, became a counter-revolutionary. His former associates and brothers-in-arms, who joined the left, were ruthlessly hunted out and extirpated. A white terror of unexampled ferocity struck China.

Chiang might have been a revolutionist; but he never was a "radical."

And he came to feel that the revolution was bound to be destroyed unless he could make it respectable—that is, get the support of the powerful business and foreign interests in Shanghai and the Yangtze Valley. He went to Shanghai, bowed to the bankers and international concessionnaires (whom he had promised to throw out) and became their man.

Later his anti-Red campaigns served several important corollary purposes. His long pursuit of the Reds gave him an excuse to put his national army in many Chinese provinces which otherwise he could not easily have invaded. Again, the Red heresy gave him something concrete to attack persistently: an item useful to a nationalist dictator.

Chiang's ten-year series of "pacification campaigns" were unsuccessful. He tried literally to bleed China "white"; he didn't quite do it. The communists never succumbed, and never surrendered. Finally came the kidnaping in Sian and, as a result, a volte-face as astonishing on Chiang Kai-shek's part as the first one. The communists had Chiang at their mercy, he who had murdered so many of their men; and they let him go. The reconciliation was as remarkable as the original split. Chiang made a United Front with these "enemies." After terrible dilemmas, terrible delays, a new chapter in Chinese history began.

The keynote to the Generalissimo's remarkable character is his stubbornness, his tenacity. This delicately featured soldier is a bull-dog. He has no tact. During the Sian kidnaping he dug himself in, emotionally, morally, and never budged—and kept begging his captors to kill him! His Sian diary gravely notes that Shao, the civil governor, advised him to be more "lenient" in his conversation with the Young Marshal, his captor! Chiang talked to the Young Marshal with complete confidence, and never glossed over his contempt for those who had captured him.

There is cruelty in his character, and the ruthlessness of his war against the communists is well known. He had thousands of people executed, many of them for no crime except that they disagreed with him. He is shrewd, suspicious, calculating, and not above the use of guile. On the other hand, both his physical and moral courage are indisputable. He has proved more than once that he has no fear of death.

He is so sure of himself that he is willing to wait until others see their errors, admit that he is right, and come to him repentant. Thus the extraordinary succession of war lords who, after revolts, have been pardoned, paid soundly, and sent abroad to "recuperate their health." Chiang in this way turns his late enemies into valuable supporters.

Another characteristic is his almost illimitable, dogged patience. Five years ago Chiang was submissively bowing to Japanese demands. He lost Manchuria; he lost Jehol; he saw Inner Mongolia threatened; yet for years he made no resistance, said nothing against the Japanese, and indeed punished Chinese who did. Several of his best officers, appalled at what they called his weakness, his pro-Japanese policy, flared up in civil wars. Still Chiang did nothing. Then the war of 1937, still raging, broke out. Chiang fought. But copies of secret lectures delivered in 1934 prove that even then he was passionately telling his best officers in confidence that eventually they must fight Japan; he implored them to prepare themselves for the war that was bound to come. Chiang probably knew, in the early 30's, that successful Chinese resistance was impossible; that at all costs the Chinese must buy off Japanese attack until the last minute, at which time they might have a chance to win.

*Madame*

Chiang makes shrewd use of money. Early in the war he invented a system of wound bounties unique in military annals; he paid bonuses for wounds. Every private soldier wounded in action in China gets $10 (Chinese) per wound, which is more solid satisfaction to the realistic Chinese than a stripe on the sleeve. Officers get $30 to $50, and generals $100. The success of this system was immediate.

The Generalissimo's salary is $1,000 (Chinese dollars, worth roughly 25¢ in American money) per month. His private fortune is not believed to be great, though he made money freely in his early Shanghai days. The fortune of the Soong family, into which he married, is quite another matter. The Soongs are among the richest folk in China, and represent one of the most striking concentrations of power in the world; for the family includes not only the three Soong sisters, but Dr. H. H. Kung (the prime minister of China) and T. V. Soong, China's ablest financier.

The eldest Soong daughter is the present Madame Kung. The second daughter is the widow of Sun Yat-sen. Third is Mei-ling (often Anglicized into Mayling), Madame Chiang Kai-shek. All three daughters were brought up in a religious atmosphere; all went to missionary schools in China before completing their education in the United States, and all—most importantly—were associated from childhood with the Chinese revolution, for their father was Sun Yat-sen's trusted friend.

Madame Chiang, the youngest, is the most brilliant of the sisters. She is probably the second most important and powerful personage in China. Chiang makes his own decisions, but she is a competent adviser, a counselor, an indispensable agent for contact with foreigners and foreign opinion.

When he was 15, Chiang married the daughter of a neighbor, a Miss Mao of Fenghua. The marriage, arranged by his family, was terminated by divorce in 1921. This Madame Chiang is believed to be an old-style Chinese, with bound feet. The Generalissimo never sees her these days, though he continues to support her dutifully. She bore him one son, Ching-kuo, now about 30. Subsequently, he adopted another. After his divorce, the Generalissimo met Mei-ling Soong in Canton.

MADAME is exceptionally good-looking and extremely *chic.* She went to Wellesley, and is perhaps a bit more Americanized than her sisters. She is alert, smoothly polished, full of graceful small talk, enormously competent.

Her courageous devotion to China and Chiang is beyond dispute. She goes everywhere; she does everything; she is like Mrs. Roosevelt. When an air raid comes, Madame Chiang drives up to the scene, sometimes in slacks or

any costume, to superintend care of the wounded. She has been especially active in fostering rehabilitation work in rural areas, in encouraging development of simplified language instruction, and in the creation of the "New Life Movement," a popular program of self-help and betterment.

Her "last" message to Chiang at Sian, relayed by her brother, T. V. Soong, expressed a good deal of her character: "Should T. V. fail to return within three days, I will come to Shensi to live and die with you." (Chiang, reading this, records "My eyes got wet.") But Madame did not wait the stipulated three days; she arrived the next afternoon to make her husband's cause, his life, her own.

On October 23, 1930, Chiang Kai-shek was baptised into the Christian Church. All the Soongs are strong Christians, and when the Generalissimo was courting Madame, his suit was rejected at first because he was not a believer. Old Mme. Soong demanded that he adopt Christianity; the general, stubborn as always, said that she would think the less of him if he assumed a new religion merely to make marriage possible. She was impressed by this; then he promised that if the marriage took place, he would study Christianity seriously and become a convert if he came to believe in it.

Still his courtship met with disapproval, but Chiang was persistent. He interrupted the revolution; he rushed back and forth between Canton, Hankow and Shanghai; he was a man possessed. Finally, in 1927, Madame Kung, elder sister to Mei-ling, summoned a small group of newspaper men and, to their surprise, stated: "The general is going to marry my little sister." The marriage took place on December 1, 1927. Immediately after the ceremony Chiang said: "The work of the Revolution will now make greater progress, because henceforth I can bear my tremendous responsibility with peace at heart."

Subsequently he became a Christian, and is now a devout and even ardent believer. He chose "Why We Believe in Jesus" as the text for his most important radio address in 1938.

The Generalissimo is said to be as much in love with Madame today as in the days he courted her. His last message to her from Sian, when he thought he would die the next day, was, however, couched rather impersonally:

"As I have made up my mind to sacrifice my life, if necessary, for my country, please do not worry about me. I will never allow myself to do anything to make my wife ashamed of me or become unworthy of being a follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Since I was born for the Revolution I will gladly die for the same cause."

**AND WHAT OF CHIANG NOW?**

**Early Spring may see the virtual end of Japan's undeclared war in China, according to competent observers. What that may mean for Chiang Kai-shek is a matter of conjecture. Safely entrenched in the western hills of wild and rugged Central China, the Generalissimo is expected to continue his guerrilla warfare with the aid of the Eighth Route (Communist) Army and at the same time weld China more closely to the Soviet.**

**The Japanese, meanwhile, have declared that they are no longer interested in extending their lines beyond Hankow, the Hub of China. Many minor, but no major battles have taken place in China this year; the Japanese have concentrated on mopping-up activities against guerrillas and on "renovating" the occupied areas. Giant bombers occasionally zoom over Chiang's provisional capital of Chungking—now largely deserted by the civilian population—as a reminder to Chiang that Japan has lopped off more than 600,000 square miles of the "good earth." On the basis of the establishment of law and order in Manchukuo, Japan is confident that a New China will arise from the ashes of the "scorched land" left behind by Chiang in his Westward flight—a land devastated at tremendous cost and at terrific loss of civilian lives, with whole cities razed and entire villages, farms, peasants and livestock washed away by the dynamiting of the Yangtze.**

**Chiang refused several peace offers in 1938, and at the beginning of 1939 announced a "fight to the death." These refusals to accept peace and then bicker afterwards for better terms have turned many of his once devoted followers against him.**

**Moreover, at the plenary conference of the Kuomintang in February, there was seen a sign of a rift between Chiang and his communist advisers. Soviet Russia's support to Chiang—the only official outside support he received until late in 1938, when Washington (later followed by London) extended a $25,000,000 loan as a political slap at Japan—has been thrown up at him every time he started to veer from the communist line. Polish and Finnish papers last July, when the Sino-Japanese hostilities were a year old, reported that Moscow up to that time had sent 1,300 Soviet officers to China, that more than 800 Chinese officers were assigned to 26 Russian Army divisions for training, and that the value of munitions, tanks and planes shipped to China averaged 47,000,000 rubles a month. This aid was doubled at the end of 1938. Thus, while Chiang denounces the puppets set up by Japan, he raises in some minds the question whether he himself will emerge as a puppet of Moscow.**

EVERY Monday morning, wherever Chiang's government happens to be, a remarkable and significant ceremony occurs. About 600 men file briskly into a hall near his headquarters. The military band plays a march, and the audience comes to attention. Then everyone in the hall uncovers and bows three times to a portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. One—two—three. The bows are made with precision and éclat. The Generalissimo then reads the testament of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, uttering it a sentence at a time, which the audience repeats. It is exactly like a prayer meeting and the reading of the gospels.

The Generalissimo asks silent meditation for three minutes and then delivers a lecture which lasts an hour or longer. He discusses the military situation, exhorts his officers and ministers to further efforts, scolds slackers, points out abuses, and issues moral injunctions. During the entire performance, the audience—which includes everyone of consequence in the government—must remain standing. When it is over, the General does not say thank you or *au revoir,* but simply a single abrupt word, "Completed!"

Chiang Kai-shek, after 30 years of revolution and civil war, has become the symbol of Chinese unity, the personification of Chinese resistance against Japan. The Japanese know this very well; they have announced that if they capture him he will be decapitated.

Probably Chiang is the strongest Chinese individual since the third century B.C. when the Great Wall was built. His friends say that he is happier now than they have ever known him, more poised, more confident. It is not hard to guess the reason. He himself is now trying to build another Great Wall—a wall to keep the Japanese out, to permit China an authentic national development, to allow China to belong to the Chinese. He is fighting a foreign invader, and not his own people.

# Writers Look at the Reich

## *Eight new books explore aspects of Germany today*

***Women***

*Martha Dodd lived in Germany during the first four years of Nazi rule. Daughter of the former American Ambassador, Dr. William E. Dodd, she was part of the social-diplomatic life of Berlin. But her searching eyes strayed beyond the parties and receptions to the German people and their living conditions. Her observations on the place of women in Germany today are included in her new book* Through Embassy Eyes *(Harcourt, Brace)*:

WOMEN in Germany have been deprived of all rights except that of childbirth and hard labor. They are not permitted to participate in political life—in fact Hitler's plans eventually include the deprivation of the vote; they are refused opportunities of education and self-expression; careers and professions are closed to them; they can call themselves women only if they submit utterly, both intellectually and physically, to the desires and needs of their men.

There is not a woman in the world, whether feminist or antifeminist, who could raise her head proudly under such circumstances. And that is what the Nazis want. Women should be cowed in spirit, atrophied in intellect, emotionally loyal to the party, periodically and "with no foolishness" pregnant, strong and perfect-bodied mothers, slaves and servants in the home and in the state.

The furious sex jealousy that has been unleashed in the German male has destroyed what free spirit there was growing in German women before Hitler. Handmaiden to her man's work and his physical desires, beholden to the state for automatic reproduction, she has truly been thrust back centuries into the time when women were bought and sold like cattle for their healthy bodies and unprotesting submission. It will take many years before the German woman can once again raise her head and face herself as a human being.

***Family***

*The topic here discussed by Miss Dodd is also the subject of a book by Clifford Kirkpatrick, Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota. In* Nazi Germany; Its Women and Family Life *(Bobbs, Merrill) he presents the results of a year's study in that country. He has this to say about the attitude of mothers toward the roles of their sons under Nazi-ism:*

COUNTLESS German mothers have watched with anxiety the National Socialist agencies and organizations inculcate in their children attitudes and ideals which they cannot share. The intense nationalism, the race prejudice, the glorification of military virtues, disturb mothers reared in a gentler tradition. Ten-year-old sons march with knives at their belts, and mothers who lived through the war years see their sons marching toward manhood, toward military service and toward war.

Almost in the same breath of oratory which eulogizes the German home, the Nazis announce that the great task confronting the German youth movement is the building of community homes for the Hitler Youth. Needless to say, a child cannot be in the Hitler Home and under the parental roof at the same time. In May, 1937, 549 Youth Homes were simultaneously begun. It was expected that the cornerstones of about 1,000 homes would be laid in the course of the year in various parts of Germany. Around 52,000 in all are planned.

The story has it that in a typical German family the boys were called forth in the evening to attend a meeting of the Hitler Youth and the girls to an affair of the Bund Deutscher Madel. Each left a note of explanation on the table. Mother hurried away to participate in the activities of the Frauenwerk while papa performed his evening duty with the S. A. Men or with the Labor Front. Two more notes were left. Burglars broke into this deserted German home and stole almost everything except Hitler's picture. They added to the pile of notes on the dining-room table, "We thank the Fuehrer for the work."

***Terror***

*Like Martha Dodd, Nora Waln is an American woman—daughter of an old Quaker family—who lived several years in Nazi Germany. In* Reaching For The Stars, *(Little, Brown) Miss Waln surveys many channels of life in Germany under the Nazis. She found a strong fear of authority, a terror of secret arrests:*

AS accurately as I could learn, this is how the arrests by the National Socialist secret police have been made. The doorbell or knocker sounded. There stood two, or at most three, tall men with pairs of pistols in their belts—men between twenty-five and forty-five with the daily-dozen-followed-by-a-cold-shower look, the smoothly-tailored uniform, the precise manner, the direct speech, which characterize the National Socialist Party. The chosen hour was one at which they would find the wanted man relaxed, surprising him at a meal or in bed. They asked for their victim and were

**Ten years ago the Soviet Union, home of the "greatest social experiment of the twentieth century," was the chief gazingstock among nations. The writers moved in on Moscow and came out with material for books, magazines and lecture tours; as, indeed, they still do.**

**Today another converging point for destiny-chasing authors and foreign correspondents is Nazi Germany, where, in roughly six years, a nationalistic giant has come into being. Whether or not this giant is a Frankenstein, there can be no doubt of his size, no question of his challenge to the democratic world.**

**This is the giant whose muscles have been felt and whose pulse has been taken recently by authors of eight new books. Brief excerpts from their findings on various phases of the Third Reich appear in this section.**

admitted. He got together the things they allowed him to have and went away with them.

Other members of the household behaved as if hypnotized. They had no faith that he would have a chance to free himself by any legal means, no hope that the courts of justice would be open to his use. Their minds were filled with memories of what they knew of others who had been taken in this way—disappearing forever, returned in a closed coffin, or, if let out alive, coming back starved in body and crazed in mind. Yet they did nothing. Family and friends let their man go. They neither stayed the arrestors nor insisted that they be arrested with him. They did nothing.

"It would have been of no use. We should have been shot."

### *Persecution*

*A third woman writing about the Reich not only lived in Germany but married a German. She is Madeleine Kent, author of* I Married A German *(Harpers). Her book features this anecdote illustrating the lot of the Jewish shopkeeper:*

WALKING one afternoon down Dresden's main shopping streets my husband and I came on a dense crowd at the junction of one of the side-turnings. Hans noticed that the center of interest was not anything in the middle of the crowd but a small shop a few doors down the side-street, and pointed out that the name was Jewish.

"Why, it's my little stocking shop!" I exclaimed, following his gaze.

I had not realized, when I first began to deal there, that the two fair-haired girls who ran it were Jewish. I was now discovering with some amusement that my preference for quick, business-like service had from the first led me infallibly to them.

We now edged into the crowd and learned that the Jewesses had had the impudence to tear down from their shop window obscene posters which had been pasted on it that morning. Seeing the tell-tale smears on the glass which the girls had not had time to clean, an angry mob had collected. A Brown-shirt had gone to inform the police of this act of defiance, and it was hoped that an arrest would follow. For this the crowd waited with the immobility of hungry jackals, while a little farther down the street an anxious group of Jews, mostly men and boys of the poorer class, watched helplessly but unwaveringly. Meanwhile the unhappy girls were penned in their little one-roomed shop, which had, I remembered, no back exit.

Without stopping to think, I marched up to the solitary policeman who occasionally made a half-hearted suggestion that the crowd blocking the whole roadway should move on.

"Is it forbidden to enter that shop?" I asked civilly.

I have never seen a man look so nonplussed.

*Martha Dodd, daughter of the former American Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, and author of Through Embassy Eyes*

"No, it is not forbidden," he said dubiously.

"Good! I want to buy some stockings," I told him in matter-of-fact tones.

But when I turned the handle of the glass door I found that the terrified girls had locked it, and although I think they recognized me, they shook their heads when they saw me trying to enter. I could only smile and wave before retreating.

Feeling something of a fool, I turned with a momentary tremor to descend the two steps to the pavement. But the crowd only gaped at me, though the group of Jews had moved a few steps nearer. I crossed the road to Hans who was gibbering with rage at my rashness.

"Is the prosecution not enough for you that you try to start a riot?" he scolded, hurrying me away.

"I wasn't trying to start a riot. I only wanted to get the atmosphere back to normal by coming out of the shop with a purchase. I thought that if I did there might be one or two other sane people in the crowd who would follow suit."

"More likely they would have photographed you and had your portrait in *Der Sturmer*," Hans reminded me, referring to the favorite method of pillorying those who disobeyed the notices on every lamp-post: "Whoever buys from Jews is a traitor."

### *Austrian Discontent*

*Is the picture much the same in Austria, now a mere geographical section of Germany? G. E. R. Gedye, widely-quoted foreign correspondent of* "The New York Times," *provides a generally affirmative answer in his* Betrayal in Central Europe *(Harpers), but notes an undertone of resentment among the Austrian subjects whom Germany acquired in March, 1938:*

THE Viennese markets furnish a constant picture of domestic discontent owing to the rising shortage of products caused by the exigencies of underfed Germany, which find expression in the drastic price regulations issued by the Nazis.

The saleswomen on the Vienna Naschmarkt are a type in themselves, and it was no wonder that on one of the recent days of shortage half-a-dozen of these amply-proportioned ladies should have marched around the market with their empty baskets labeled with the Nazi slogan *Wir danken unserem Fuehrer*—"We thank our Leader"—until police intervened.

Such little protest demonstrations have occurred in many other Austrian markets. Comparison of the present fixed prices in the Vienna markets with those freely obtaining twelve months ago shows increases of from twenty per cent for turnips up to 500 per cent and more for lettuces.

The discontent of the workers has shown itself in the frequent burning of Swastika flags in the streets of Vienna, in wage movements in a number of Vienna factories, particularly in the metal trades, which have actually resulted in strikes and the extortion of small wage increases, and in demonstrations such as the chalking up on train loads of workers being transported to German labor camps such slogans as "Heil Moscow!"

These are small signs, but all the more significant since they are necessarily spontaneous. The underground machinery of the Revolutionary Socialists has been completely, and that of the Communists partially, thrown out of gear by the Nazi triumph. Although copies of the Communist *Rote Fahne* are already circulating in

Vienna and most Austrian provinces, and the Communist service of information already functioning, it will still be some time before reorganization of the underground movements enables the growing discontent to be canalised and efficiently exploited against the Dictatorship.

To what does all this disillusion and resentment amount? Not, clearly, to any immediate attempt at an Austrian revolution, which could only result in any case in a terrible blood-bath. It does, however, make Germany's new conquest a present liability rather than an asset, especially in the event of war. The whole Austrian army tradition is opposed to the spirit of Nazism and imbued with hatred of Prussia.

Among the rest of the population the conqueror has already to face a widespread spirit of sullen resentment.

### Comeback

*Though Graham Hutton's* Survey After Munich *(Little, Brown) is mainly concerned with what the author, who is a former editor of the* London Economist, *calls a "balance sheet of Europe," he has included this account of German resurgence:*

In five years the Third Reich has built up the biggest land army on the Continent (excluding that of Russia), the largest air force, a vast network of modern strategic highways, the largest economic war-machine, and a navy large enough to dominate the Baltic and, perhaps, to ward off naval assaults upon German harbors either in the Baltic or North Sea.

Moreover, the Nazi architects of the Reich have reduced "statistical" unemployment from 6,000,000 in a population of some 65,500,000 in 1932 to about 300,000 in a population of 80,000,000 at the end of 1938. The word "statistical" must be used, since in the meantime the number of men taken off the labor market and employed by the Nazi Party-State as conscripts in the Reichswehr, in the Blackshirt divisions, Brownshirt organizations (S.A.), Secret Police, labor camps, and concentration camps cannot be less than 3,000,000.

In the same period Germany's output of iron and steel in 1938 was half as much again as it was in 1929, compared with an increase of a mere 8 per cent in the British output; and her industrial production as a whole was running in 1938 at about a quarter more than in 1929, while British industrial production in the same period showed an increase of only 8 per cent.

### Foreign Influence

*But Germany has not concentrated upon internal development to the exclusion of her influence-seeking activities abroad. Several author-observers note that she is seeking—in Denmark, for instance, according to Joachim Joesten—to play a strong part in the internal affairs of other nations.* In Rats in the Larder *(Putnam), Mr. Joesten contends that Nazi influence has taken considerable hold in that "supposed Scandinavian Utopia:"*

**Madeleine Kent, English author of I Married a German, lived with her husband in Dresden from 1931 to 1936.**

The Nazi grip on Denmark manifests itself every day more markedly. German influences also reach deep into practically every sphere of Danish life and administration. Constant pressure from the German legation in Copenhagen, combined with the lasting effects of press scare campaigns, has gradually reduced the Danish government to a state of semi-vassalage where it no longer dares to manage the country according to its own principles of liberalism and democracy.

The Danish press today is no longer free to attack Herr Hitler or any other Nazi bigwig (as it did, with zest and vigor, up to the year 1934); for years, not a single caricature of Der Fuehrer has appeared in any Danish paper of importance, and if some of his lieutenants are still occasionally cartooned, this is done in such a mild way that not even the most fastidious Nazi censor could take offense.

Nor must the papers speak disagreeably of present conditions in the Reich; these are to be dealt with "objectively" and, as far as is humanly possible, with sympathy. But that is not all. It is not even allowed to discuss Germany's actions abroad in an "unfriendly spirit," let alone to oppose them. Example: while the vast majority of Danish editors strongly sympathize, at heart, with the Spanish Republican Government, they were repeatedly exhorted not to insist on the savagery of Nazi (and Fascist) intervention in Spain, or to discredit Berlin's protege, General Franco.

### Communism

*One device enabling Hitler to operate effectively in foreign countries, in the opinion of Pierre Van Paassen, author of* Days of Our Years *(Hillman-Curl), is his exploitation of the bogey of Communism:*

Hitler's declaration of war on Communism is a masterpiece of Machiavellian diplomacy. In raising the hue and cry against Moscow the Fuehrer has frightened the bourgeoisie of every country—of which he desires the disintegration—into looking toward himself as the champion of the established order and as the savior of Europe. With the aid of the Bolshevik bogey, the class spirit swept aside the national spirit, so that General Franco, under the direction of Duce and Fuehrer, could launch his war against the Spanish Republic on the pretext of ridding the peninsula of a non-existent Bolshevism to the applause of European conservatism. In reality, the civil war in Spain strengthened Hitler so enormously that in the perspective of history that dolorous episode may well come to be known as the starting point of the Nazi mastery of Europe.

By his intervention in Spain, Herr Hitler, moreover, rendered Britain the immense service of laying the ax to the French military hegemony in Europe (which had been a thorn in Britain's side ever since Versailles). By the creation of a third hostile frontier, he made the Quai d'Orsay so absolutely dependent on England that France lost her freedom of action entirely and was to all intents and purposes reduced to the status of a second-rate power, as much a vassal of Great Britain as Portugal or Greece.

# THEY SAY
## Quotations from the World Press

## Hutchins for President, Says Sinclair Lewis

Fresh from a tour of 29 midland cities and towns, Sinclair Lewis, red-haired author of "Main Street" and other novels and plays of American life, sat in a Chicago hotel and reported as follows as to what he and the Main Streeters were thinking.

"Dewey will not be the next President. At this distance people feel that he is too light and inexperienced for a job that must cope with problems that are chiefly economic. His conviction of a Tammany politician wasn't, after all, so difficult. Tammany was shattered and conquered before Dewey ever came on the scene.

"To get a Tammany leader now is about as difficult as shooting a Confederate soldier in 1900.

"President Hutchins of the University of Chicago is the man best equipped to succeed Roosevelt. I'd like to see the Democrats run him and the Republicans nominate Gov. Stassen of Minnesota. Then the country would be safe whoever wins. Stassen, however, won't be eligible in 1940. He's only 31. He's the man for 1944, big, calm, practical, progressive, with the most amazing eyes I ever saw—the eyes of a man who can calm anybody or any situation, and put common sense in the saddle.

"The people of the midlands, as I make out their thoughts, think the New Deal is in the main all right but too expensive. The country people don't think WPA is being run properly. They are afraid of higher taxes. In other words they want the major reforms of the New Deal kept but administered more economically."

The author of "Babbitt" and other novels, which satirized most sensationally midland Rotary and Kiwanis clubs and small-town chambers of commerce, is now wearing a Rotary Club seal as a watch charm. Drawing it from his vest pocket he displayed it with a grin.

"Given me by the Rotary Club of Vincennes, Ind., after a speech I made," he said. "I've addressed two Rotary clubs and several chambers of commerce, and a good many other kinds of clubs on this tour. I have made as high as four talks a town over radio stations."

Leaner than in 10 years, and bursting with vitality, the lanky Minnesota small-town boy, who became winner of the Nobel prize in Literature and scorner of an offered Pulitzer Prize, has been traveling on one-night stands with his latest play, "Angela Is Twenty-Two."

—Lloyd Lewis, in the *Chicago Daily News.*

## The New Yorker—How to Recognize Him

Alfred E. Smith, whose opinion ought to be authoritative, says that the typical New Yorker is a tolerant person who minds his own business. This definition is excellent, and within its limits probably sound enough, but for the benefit of World's Fair visitors we need something more comprehensive—a catalogue of characteristics, brands and earmarks which can leave no doubt when the real thing is encountered. Here, from many experts, is a list of some of the attributes:

The typical New Yorker will, likely as not, ignore a murder (none of his business) but will spend hours gazing moodily into the muck and debris of a building excavation.

He doesn't carry a raincoat on his arm. Coat carriers are tourists.

He will respond readily when addressed by policemen, taxicab drivers and almost anyone else, by the generic terms of "Boss" or "Mac."

He shows a most amazing patience with noisy, abusive and intoxicated persons in barrooms, and will submit to indignities which would cause a hot-headed Southerner or Westerner to swing into action.

When told that he has done a creditable piece of work, his reaction is: "So you didn't like it, eh? Well, what was the matter with it?"

His first question, on learning that someone has done something is: "I wonder what he got out of it."

On the rare occasions when he is ready to fight, he will say, "Want to make something of it?" When he says that, look out. It is the authentic battle cry of the New Yorker.

When he says, "Let's get together for lunch some time," it means nothing whatever, not even, necessarily, good will.

—Condensed from the New York *Herald Tribune.*

## Millions for Relief; Relief for Millions

Nearly twice as much money is being spent for public relief in the United States today as at the depth of the depression in 1933 and 1934. The enormity and permanence of the relief system now encompassing approximately 21.000,000 persons and costing about $3,000,000,000 in 1938 is being closely examined by Congress in connection with President Roosevelt's persistent request for an additional $150,-000.000 to be spent by WPA between now and June 30.

Public assistance to persons in need in the continental United States in the last six years has amounted to almost $13,000,000,000.

In 1933 the bill for all public relief was $1,048,896,000. The first full year of the New Deal—1934—it rose to $1,745,177,000. By 1937, according to Social Security Board records, it was up to $2,334,739,000. Last year it mounted to $2,995,705,000.

The 1938 total includes payments by the WPA, NYA, CCC, PWA, by the Social Security Board, the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the Farm Security Administration and by local governments for direct relief. It does not include transient care, cost of administration nor the cost of materials and equipment for works projects.

Nearly a sixth of the total population is wholly or partly dependent on these relief payments, Social Security Board studies show.

Another significant statistic revealed by the Board pertains to the percentage of total income payments in the nation that now go for relief payments. This figure has risen from .1 per cent in 1929 to 5 per cent in 1938. In 1933, 2.7 per cent of national income went into public relief. In 1934, the percentage rose to 4.3 and has been mounting

gradually ever since, except in 1937 when business revival sent it back to 3.8 per cent. In 1938 it was higher than ever.

"Hard times" which hit business in the last year were reflected in a 50 per cent increase of total relief expenditures. The greatest expansion was in the WPA program. For the current fiscal year, Congress has already authorized expenditure of $2,150,000,000.

"Why," ask many persons, "should government be doing far more for the victims of adversity at this time than ever before when business is improving and private employment is on the upgrade?"

One explanation lies in the lag with which the relief load follows a decline in business. Relief costs, experience has shown, often go up during a period of increasing industrial activity largely because resources of many of the unemployed are just then reaching a point of exhaustion and because of the temporary nature of unemployment insurance benefits.

—Condensed from Washington correspondence in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

## American Hebrew Medal to President Roosevelt

The *American Hebrew* Medal for outstanding service in promoting better understanding between Christians and Jews in America has been presented to a man so deserving, and in a manner so impressive, that we are thrilled at our part in the award.

Never was the power and strength and desirability of democracy more eloquently depicted than at the recent presentation of the medal to President Roosevelt in Washington. If ever there was a scene calculated to make a Nazi scratch his head in bewilderment, it was that presented when General Hugh S. Johnson, one of the President's severest critics, handed the medal to the President. To the mind schooled in totalitarian practice, to disagree is to hate—to speak freely is to commit treason. The dictators of the world brook no opposition because they aren't certain enough of their positions or their form of government to expose them to freedom of expression.

It has been, therefore, the natural conclusion of Nazis that, because of democratic conflict and argument and criticism, the United States is a country divided; that because things are not done in a democracy at the snap of a fuehrer's whip, democracy is weak. Imagine their confusion, then, at the strange picture of two men, at odds on so many matters, giving and receiving a medal founded upon one of the most vital concepts of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The President expressed it perfectly when he said: "I am proud to receive this award. And I like the broad spirit of good will which prompts the bestowal. I like also to think that no matter how diverse and conflicting and mutually contradictory our views may be on any number of questions and policies—there remains one issue upon which we are in complete accord. Embodied in the Federal Constitution and ingrained in our hearts and souls is the national conviction that every man has an inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

As if to emphasize to doubters the strength of our democracy, as well as its unity despite internal disagreements, General Johnson declared: "If trouble comes, the world may know from this how your country will unite to support you. That, I think, is the true meaning of this medal. And so, my old friend, differences of opinion do not count in our country at such a time."

—Condensed from *The American Hebrew.*

## Dali: In the News and in the Studio

Incensed because officials of Bonwit Teller had dared to make some changes in window displays he had created for them, Salvador Dali, the surrealist artist, went on a rampage inside one of the display windows yesterday and brandished a surrealist bathtub made of Persian lamb, with such vigor that he smashed the plate glass and toppled through the window into the street.

While the bathtub dangled inartistically on a jagged part of the big hole in the window, Detective Frank McFarland hopped down from a passing Fifth Avenue bus and arrested Dali on a charge of malicious mischief.

When the 35-year-old artist arrived here two weeks ago from Paris he was commissioned by officials of the store to create displays in the windows. At 6 o'clock Wednesday evening he went to work. Throughout the night he labored with zeal.

The walls of the south window were padded with tuft satin and studded with pre-Raphaelite mirrors. A manikin, garbed only in flowing red hair and some green feathers, was poised in the act of stepping into the bathtub. "Floating" on the water were three wax hands that held windows aloft. This creation was known as "Day," while the other was "Night" in the Dali conception of a theme on Narcissus. The "Night" picture had a bed with a water buffalo at its head-board. In the bed slept a manikin on a mattress stuffed with glowing coals.

After complaints came in, Bonwit Teller made changes. The would-be bather in "Day" gave way to a modishly attired manikin. The sleeper in "Night" was taken out and a standing manikin placed near the sleeper's couch.

After his day's sleep, Dali went to the store at 4:30 P.M. Aghast at what he saw in the windows, he stormed inside, saying things angrily in Spanish and French, declaring he had been "hired to do a work of art" and not to have "my name associated with typical window dressing." Deadlock ensued, but not for long. Dali surged into the south window and carved his name on the police blotter.

In Night Court Magistrate Brodsky suspended sentence, remarking that "these are some of the privileges that an artist with temperament seems to enjoy."

—Condensed from the *New York Times*, March 17.

About fifteen years ago André Breton, a French painter, in an attempt to create a new art, issued a manifesto declaring that he believed in the "future resolution of two states, dream and reality, into a sort of reality" (surréalité).

About the time this movement had begun to gain ground young Salvador Dali reached Paris. As he himself explained, the ideas which he was working out in Spain fitted in perfectly with this attempt to depict the world of dream, myth, metaphor and the subconscious," and his first exhibition in Paris, ten years ago, was a sensation.

According to Dali, surrealism should not be difficult to understand, because it deals with what he calls "the great vital constants." Yet as he described his theories he was as incomprehensible as some of his pictures. The "Weaning of Furniture Nutrition," with its woman whose chest had been removed so that the seascape showed

through her, and others with soft-shelled eggs, churches in boxes, melting watches, hats and umbrellas, remained as much of a mystery as ever.

No modernist is better equipped technically than Dali. One may hate or like his pictures; one may feel that they are the expression of a madman or the outpouring of a genius, or even sly jokes on the public; one may laugh at them or be carried away with them, but one cannot ignore the fact that he is a man who knows his trade.

He has said that the only difference between him and a madman is that he is not mad. If this is true, then one begins to wonder if, when he takes his brush in his hand, he does not also put his tongue in his cheek.

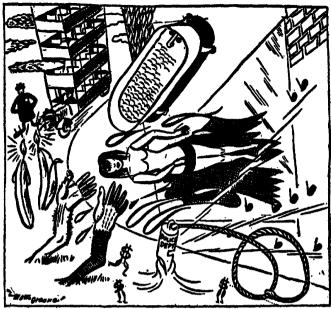
This doubt concerning his sincerity was increased the other day. It was increased because there was a fleeting glimpse of humor in his large hazel eyes as he spoke, and about his small sensitive mouth at times a furtive smile was detected.

A slight, slim young man, he was dressed immaculately in a form-fitting plum-brown suit, with tan shirt and large-stripe tie. His long, shiny, dark hair was carefully combed backward from his forehead. A mustache almost a hairline in breadth adorns his upper lip, and in front of each ear a curl is carefully set. There is little in his appearance to proclaim him an artist; he resembles more those lithe, agile youths who frequent the dancing floors of continental hotels.

"Surrealism," he says, "is an expression of the subconscious.

"I find that one form will often work into another and one object almost unbidden becomes a new one. Old painters have often done this, and some of them have made heads out of a conglomeration of different objects; turnips may serve as noses and radishes as eyes. It is a form of humor; and I should say that it corresponds, in a way, to puns in writing. I have indulged in it in some of my pictures, as, for instance, in one canvas where the head of a woman goes to form a part of a seascape.

"Besides this, however, no matter what one looks at, other images arise in the mind. Through an association of ideas, one does not only think of the object one sees. The surrealist gives tangible form to the images which a concrete object calls for.

"I am painting a woman, and she suggests motherhood to me. Motherhood in turn brings to mind the idea of childhood. One of the leading characteristics of childhood is curiosity, and curiosity cannot be satisfied better than by opening a chest of drawers and seeing what is in them. Accordingly, is it not perfectly logical, if these ideas come to my head when I am painting the figure of a woman, that I should make them a part of that figure in my picture?

N. Y. World-Telegram

*Dali and Bonwit Teller*

"When I attended art classes it was my habit to make little imaginative scrawls on the margins of my life drawings. I think you will call them 'doodles' in this country. They were a natural form of expression for me.

"When I went to Paris I found that many artists were painting doodles. They were depicting the processes of their minds, making reality subservient to inspiration. I joined in the progressive march.

"I should say that the two men who have influenced me most are Leonardo and Vermeer, the former by his spirituality, the latter by his objectivity."

At times he works eighteen hours a day for days at a stretch, but occasionally he permits weeks to pass without putting his brush to canvas. Some of his pictures have been completed in a couple of weeks. Others have required months before he considers them finished.

When he is not painting he devotes much time to reading, his favorite author being Freud. Apart from his work he has few interests, living a very simple life, for he believes for any one doing the kind of work he does the first essential is a normal state of mind.

—Condensed from the *New York Times Magazine*, March 12.

## Waiting Line Not Yet Formed for Gas Masks

Don't rush out with a $1.25 in hand to buy one of those new gask masks. They are not ready yet and the War Department, which has encouraged research in masks for civilians, hopes they won't have to be manufactured. But just in case, the War Department has a neat pilot model, thoroughly tested by the Chemical Warfare Service at Edgewood Arsenal, which can be used as a guide for mass production.

If mass production of the masks gets under way, it has been estimated that the cost would be $1.25 each—about double the price asked in England, but worth the difference, according to army officials. The proposed gas mask is described as consisting of a face piece and canister similar to that used by the army. Tests indicate that the mask is satisfactory protection against every kind of gas.

—Condensed from The *Baltimore Sun*.

# A Nation Half Deaf

Only about half of the adult population of the nation claims to have normal hearing, according to random samplings made in connection with recent United States Public Health Service surveys. Moreover, only 56 per cent of these people who think they hear perfectly passed audiometer tests for normal hearing. Many failed to hear the very high and the very low tones.

Wide differences were found among men and women. In general women detect the high tones better but fail to hear sounds in the lower range. Men do well in detecting low tones but frequently show loss of hearing for high pitched sounds.

The investigation was conducted as a phase of the National Health Survey, and in cooperation with prominent ear specialists. Hearing tests and ear, nose and throat examinations were given to about 9,000 persons drawn at random from the population in twelve cities. The most frequent defect among these persons who erroneously believed their hearing to be normal consists in loss of hearing above the range of sounds most commonly used in human speech, that is, above an audio-frequency level of 3,000 cycles per second.

It was demonstrated through tests with bone conduction vibrators, placed on the mastoid bones, that these losses for high tones are due to primary degeneration of the acoustic nerve. This degeneration results from infectious processes associated with certain systemic diseases—such as scarlet fever, meningitis, diphtheria, influenza, and the like—as well as from local infections of the middle ear (otitis media). The common head cold is a frequent cause of these middle ear infections.

The study of hearing loss among persons having noticeable impairments of hearing for speech reveals many new facts. Loss of hearing due to congestion and lesions of tissue in the middle ear, without accompanying injury to the acoustic nerve, is found to be characteristic of deafness among children of public school age. Practically all deafness among persons over 25 years of age involves some degree of nerve degeneration. This degeneration is more localized among males and rather widely distributed throughout the ear among females.

In terms of hearing loss as measured with the audiometer, females show typically a rather uniform loss of hearing for all tones from about 100 cycles up to 8,000 cycles. Males, on the other hand, show characteristically greater losses than females for tones higher in pitch than 2,000 cycles. Males also show relatively less loss of hearing than females for tones that are lower in pitch than 1,000 cycles.

Knowledge of this consistent difference between males and females with impaired hearing is of considerable importance to the manufacturer of hearing aids. A much different type

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

*Stranger in the Temple*

of instrument is required in most cases for males and females.

In the case of males, hearing aids should typically amplify sounds above 1,000 cycles relatively more than those below this frequency level. For females, hearing aids should amplify sounds in a fairly uniform ratio through the frequency range from 200 to 4,000 cycles.

—News release, United States Public Health Service

# Civil Liberties in American Cities

No city in the United States achieves more than a 50 per cent observance of the civil rights presumably guaranteed its citizens, it is revealed in a nationwide survey just made public by the American Civil Liberties Union. On a rating scale devised by the survey, three out of five of the 322 cities covered make no more than a creditable showing.

The right of free speech apparently suffers less assault than any other. As seems always to have been the case, the closely related right of public assembly is the most universally disregarded.

In addition to the 42 cities classed as "very good," 152 rank "good" and the remainder are "fair" to "very bad." Little Rock, Ark., New Orleans, La., and Tampa, Fla. received the worst rating. In order of general excellence, the 13 largest cities rate as follows: "Very good": Cleveland, New York, St. Louis. "Good": San Francisco, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh. "Fair": Buffalo, Philadelphia, Baltimore. "Poor": Chicago, Boston. "Very poor": Detroit, Los Angeles.

Generally, the survey shows, "conditions are probably better in the Northwest than in other sections of the country—but not much better. A greater respect for the Bill of Rights, by and large, exists in the largest cities of the country as well as the smallest, but it is worse in the middle-size cities."

The survey, conducted for the Union by Rebecca G. Reis under the guidance of a committee headed by Richard S. Childs, president of the City Club of New York, is based on responses to questionnaires sent to mayors, chiefs of police, superintendents of schools and city counselors, as well as to correspondents of the A.C.L.U.

As to censorship of radio, theatre and movies, New York City alone is rated "very good." Only Los Angeles, St. Louis and San Francisco, among the large cities, report that they have no form of censorship, state or local. Theatre licenses may be revoked without court action in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

All thirteen of the biggest cities claim to give adequate freedom for picketing "despite the record to the contrary in certain cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles." In cities of the smaller population groups, picketing conditions are worse on the whole. For all the urban communities, picketing stands next to public assembly as the right most frequently interfered with.

—Condensed from a Press Release by the *American Civil Liberties Union.*

# Changing Tobacco Habits

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics has recently published data showing the changes during the past

thirty-eight years in the consumption of tobacco per capita of our population. The total has risen from 5.4 pounds per person in 1900 to 7.3 pounds in 1937.

The most striking contrast is that between the declining consumption of chewing tobacco and the rapidly rising use of cigarettes. The per capita consumption of chewing tobacco was 2.4 pounds in 1900, but only half a pound in 1937. There was a notable temporary increase during the war. Cigarette consumption used only about two ounces of tobacco per person in 1900. When the World War began it had increased to over half a pound, and when it was over the consumption was more than three times as high. It declined in the depression of 1921–22 and again in the great depression, but by 1937 it had advanced to 3.6 pounds per person and was increasing.

The use of pipe tobacco calls for about twice as much leaf as that rolled into cigars. In the prosperity days of 1920 pipe smoking declined abruptly and cigar smoking sharply increased, but the shift was only a temporary one. From 1933 through 1937 the use of cigars has materially increased and pipe smoking has slightly declined.

Perhaps the strangest fact is that the use of snuff per capita is about fifty per cent greater now than it was in 1900, although it has been very slowly decreasing since 1923. It still accounts for about as much tobacco as is used for chewing, and for more than a quarter as much as is used in all cigars. Probably most Americans never saw anyone take snuff, but its production and sale still constitute a fairly sizable industry turning out products valued at many millions of dollars. —Cleveland Trust Company *Business Bulletin*

## Prediction from Paris

President Roosevelt will not run in 1940 but, instead, will allow four years to pass and then run for a third term in 1944. So far as 1940 is concerned, the President will leave the field open to an anti-New Deal candidate or, conceivably, to a Republican. —Jacques Fransalès, New York correspondent, in *Ce Soir*, Paris.

## Colonel Batista and Cuba's Future

In September, 1933, Fulgencio Batista, a sergeant employed as a court shorthand-writer, decided that the clique of *politicos* and army chiefs, who had ousted in the preceding month the "butcher-dictator" Machado, were themselves incapable of governing Cuba. Accordingly, on September 4, the erstwhile shorthand-writer gathered his men about him, deposed the army chiefs, seized the barracks and all strategic positions, and replaced the provisional government of Cespedes by a military junta.

Five presidents followed the luckless Cespedes in and out of office in the course of a few months. In the meantime, Batista settled down in a fortress home, gathered about him his loyal colleagues of the army, and held a watching brief. He got himself promoted Colonel and Commander-in-Chief of the Constitutional Army; the strong man was ruler of Cuba while the shadows flitted across the political stage at his direction.

In May of 1936 Batista decided that a show of return to normality must be made. He ordered elections. Dr. Miguel Mariano Gómez, a sound politician commanding general respect, was installed with all pomp and ceremony. Seven months later he was obliged ignominiously to quit the presidential palace and return to his home. The reason: he had refused to sanction a bill promoted by Batista.

The Vice-President, Dr. Laredo Bru, who was and is more tractable, automatically moved up one. And Batista, in his self-contained military garden city on the outskirts of Havana, saw the bill expedited through its last stages.

Now Batista, when he first broke into the political arena, was a man of the Left. His spectacular rise did not upset the resilient Right, which, as everywhere in Latin America, loses a revolution on the field of battle but wins it back in the drawing room. With unctuous adulation, the Right seduced Batista from the Left. For some time lately, however, he has tended to hold a balance in the middle, a feat of tight-rope walking that has all Cuba guessing.

He has now pledged himself to secure for Cuba a new Constitution more fitted to "present circumstances"; a new government, to be elected in May, is to sponsor the measure. In the meantime, a welter of political propaganda has split the electorate into two clear-cut groups. The Right, despite Batista's warning that he will not tolerate Fascism in Cuba, advocates a constitution on totalitarian lines closely following the Nazi and Italian models; the Left vehemently cries for government for the people and by the people on the Mexican pattern.

The Left, if there is no chicanery at the polls, is certain of an overwhelming majority; fully eighty per cent of the people stand firmly on that side of the political fence.

Batista, who is a great admirer of Roosevelt and of American baseball, recently paid an official visit to the United States, there to exchange views on Pan-American defense. It was rumoured on his return that he contemplated resigning from his post of Army Chief to run for President in 1940. The enigma of Batista prompts one to ask whether he will run for the Left or for the Right.

—Condensed from an article by René Rayneri in the *Latin-American World*.

## Hitler's New Hide-away

As you read these words today it is a ten-to-one chance that Adolf Hitler is looking out over the Bavarian Alps from a marvelous new steel and glass eyrie perched like an eagle's nest on the precipitous peak of the Kehlstein mountain on the former Austro-German frontier.

The Fuehrer has carved a new retreat for himself out of solid rock high above his chalet Berghof to get the solitude his hypersensitive nature demands. It can be reached only by a lift-shaft cut through the heart of the mountain, the entrance to which is guarded as carefully as the gold in the vaults of the Bank of England. Every chance he gets he sits up in a small glass pavilion, 5,500 feet above sea level, looking down on the snow-covered valleys and mountains below.

Hitler has always hated cities. When he made Bavarian Munich the headquarters of his German Nazi party he bought a little peasant house, Haus Wachenfeld, on the Obersalzberg mountain, 1,500 feet above the township of Berchtesgaden, nestling at the foot of the Bavarian Alps.

He went there to plan his political offensive against the Republican regime of post-war Germany. When he became Chancellor, with his headquarters in Berlin, he enlarged Haus Wachenfeld into the Berghof, which is German for "the mountain farmhouse."

But Berghof did not give the Fuehrer the solitude he wanted. It became the Mecca of Nazi pilgrims. From all parts of the country they herded

*Kansas City Star*

***HITLER'S HIDEAWAY***

***Details of Hitler's hideaway are secret, but here is an artist's conception of the 6,000 ft. perch.***

towards Berchtesgaden, trekked up the mountain road to stand outside the wooden lodge and chant in unison, "We want to see our Fuehrer!"

So Hitler early last year decided to go still higher into the Alps in search of the solitude he needs. He chose the Kehlstein, a peak of the Hohen Goell range, another 2,500 feet higher than Obersalzberg.

For months engineers and artisans have worked on his scheme. Although it was completed just before last September's crisis, the German newspapers have not been allowed to publish any details concerning it. Nor have his pet photographers been allowed to take any pictures of it.

Hitler wants no intrepid mountaineers risking their lives to shout: "We want to see our Fuehrer" from the crags around his new retreat.

Every chance he gets he bolts from Berlin, the atmosphere of which makes him nervous. In the summer he flies to Munich; in the winter he takes his private train. From Munich his powerful Mercedes car races him along his new concrete motor-road towards Salzburg. Then along the new German Alpine road, hewn out of the rock, skirting the German Alps, to Berchtesgaden.

He drives up the hill to the Berghof, past his chalet, up another five miles over winding mountain roads.

If you went with him you would see suddenly in the cliff face two vast bronze doors. As Hitler's car approaches, the doors swing slowly open. His car drives through into the vast cave cut at the foot of the Kehlstein. It is a hall-like cave, walled with unpolished marble, 130 yards long and twenty-feet broad, with garage space for a number of motor-cars.

You would go along a tunnel towards the heart of the mountain and come suddenly to the lift. It is spacious and lined with burnished copper. It has upholstered seats of heavy leather. You would sit on these with Hitler, while the lift ascended the 400 feet to the summit.

The retreat itself is only large enough to hold eighteen persons comfortably. It is painted white, furnished in simple Bavarian peasant style. You might feel giddy as you approached the vast windows, for the pavilion is on the edge of a precipice. It has a view on four sides and you would look down on the mountainous Berchtesgaden district with its snow-covered mountains and the snow-swept summits of the Bavarian Alps all around you.

You would not go hungry in this eyrie. It has every comfort. Water is pumped up to it by electricity. Electricity heats the room. There are a kitchen and a pantry to provide afternoon tea and the light vegetarian meals Hitler loves.

One thing you would be unable to do and that is to smoke. Hitler allows no one to smoke in his presence.

The eternal peace and his position high up in the air suggest to him, perhaps, the German mythology and folklore which is so much in tune with his own mysticism. It is up there that he broods about the future of his Third Reich. Alone in the snowy silence, he wrestles there with State problems and decides his future actions.

There is always the possibility of some madman trying to bomb the Nazi leader's eagle-nest from the air. So the Berchtesgaden district is protected by anti-aircraft batteries as perhaps no other district is in all Germany.

There is one other danger—that the lift should stop somewhere in its four hundred foot shaft imprisoning the Fuehrer between rock walls. An English friend of mine, one of the few foreigners who have been invited to the new retreat, was shown over the Kehlstein by Hitler. "What would happen if the lift stopped?" my friend asked the Fuehrer.

With a smile Hitler gave the immediate answer. "*I suppose world history would stop for a couple of hours.*"

—Silkirk Panton, Berlin correspondent in the *Sunday Express*, London.

## First-Rate Germans Caught in a Cleft Stick

I find myself compelled to consider Germans as much my fellow world-citizens as Australians or Londoners. I insist that I have as much right to discuss the mentality of the German leader as Germans have to discuss the mentality of Chamberlain, our King or President Roosevelt.

I have not only the right, but, under the democratic tradition still prevalent in all English-speaking communities, the freedom to do so. I am able to discuss things that scores of thousands

of my fellow world-citizens in Germany are debarred from discussing.

I insist that the average German is a first-rate human being, caught in a diplomatic cleft stick, and I will not have him blamed and penalized for the political misfortunes that have handed him over, gagged and helpless, to the present fantastic leadership.

After 1914 I did my utmost to maintain that the war was war against the Hohenzollerns and their militant ideas, and was not against the German common folk. But the baser elements among the victors were all for making Germany pay. Now, again, it is not the masses of the belligerent countries that want a second world-war.

One redeeming feature of Chamberlain's policy is the opportunity given to the common people of Germany and Italy to express their passionate craving for peace. And a study of the ravings and delusions of Hitler, a dissection of "Mein Kampf," a discussion of the problem how to cure Nazi obsessions is not simply of interest, but is the duty of all civilized intelligences.

It is hopeless to think of any permanent understanding with the German people unless we express freely and frankly what must be the secret persuasion of the majority of intelligent Germans. They will only think us time-servers and humbugs if we pretend to rationalize Hitler's vagaries.

—From an article by H. G. Wells in the *News Chronicle, London.*

## For Britain Dissolution; For France Decapitation

Immediately after Munich it was perfectly logical that Italy and Germany should put forward some request so as to find new equilibrium for their forces which were pressing against the narrow circle of their borders and to ask colonial revision as an efficient means of this settlement.

To prevent such a program, which is of elementary humanity for any one concerned with the European Continent's future, Britain and France accelerated their rearmament. They have obtained, through official speeches and by soliciting the greatly welcomed business-like intervention of the United States, ideological solidarity which is manifesting itself in measures of military organization for the present and future.

France and Britain also sought to undermine the totalitarian régimes through attempts to depreciate Franco's military victory by offers of financial help. We may add to this manoeuvre the accelerated and feverish purchases of raw materials in several markets. A race is on for the military and economic strangling of the totalitarian régimes, Italy and Germany.

*Le Canard Enchaîné*

***TWO FASCISTS***

***He is an enthusiastic believer in Greater Italy.***

If the French, British and American democracies want to lead Europe to war the only thing to do is to persevere on the road they have taken with such self-assurance. But it must be quite clear that the axis will not bend or recede before such a policy, and if an armed conflict occurs it will be faced with a determination so extreme that the enemies themselves will be surprised.

It is really to be wished that France and Britain realize the enormous danger they face. War would mean revision not only of the European map but also of that of the entire world.

A European war would mean dissolution of the British Empire and decapitation of the European and Imperial power of France. Is this what is desired rather than to grant justice?

—Condensed from the weekly, *Relazioni Internazionali*, Rome.

## Chinese Checkers

Mr. Ivan Luganetz Orelsky, Soviet Ambassador to China, is reported to have been recalled to Moscow as part of a broad Soviet program for revision of its China policy with a view toward checking the Japanese advance should the Chiang Kai-shek regime collapse completely, according to a Shanghai dispatch to the Nichi Nichi of Tokio.

The Soviet Government is said to be planning hurried revision of its Far Eastern policy. It is hoping, says the Nichi Nichi, somehow to turn to its own advantage the changes being brought about by the continued advance of the Japanese.

Despite notable progress in Communizing China, the newspaper points out, and despite the Kuomintang-Communist collaboration, the Japanese forces are ever extending their area of influence. Nor have the three democratic powers, the United States, Great Britain and France, had any effect in curbing the Japanese, as is evidenced by the recent occupation of Hainan. Should matters continue in this direction, all the Soviets' work of Communizing the Far East will be nullified before Japan's prowess.

To offset this tendency, the Soviet Government is said to be planning a set of counter-measures. The Communist elements within the National Government of China must, first of all, achieve an even stronger alliance with cials and become more active in pro- the radical-minded Kuomintang offimoting anti-Japanism under Kuomintang-Communist co-operation.

In the event of the complete collapse of the Chiang regime, the National Government would be reorganized into a national defense government under Communist dictatorship. The Chinese Red Army, now stationed mostly in northwestern China, would jump to the front lines to consolidate and strengthen the Central Army and the regional forces affiliated with it, all under Communist direction. The recent organization of the National Defense Council, at the behest of the Communists and with Communist participation, is cited as evidence of this part of the program.

The autonomous government of Outer Mongolia would be strengthened under the reported Soviet program, and the Outer Mongolian and Soviet Far Eastern forces would be reinforced. This would bring the Mongolia-Manchukuo border situation in line with that along the Soviet-Manchukuo border.

The construction of a spur of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Lake Baikal to Ulanbator, capital of Outer Mongolia, is seen as more an aid to this Soviet strategy than as direct aid to China.

—Condensed from the *Japan Advertiser.*

## Diplomatic Nerves

Typical son of the New Diplomacy is his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to Berlin, Sir Nevile Meyrick Hender-

son [recalled to London March 17 to report on the seizure of Czechoslovakia].

Tall, burly, sharp-featured, with piercing eyes set rather close together, he can be charming enough or brusque enough to make either great friends or enemies. Yet not even his enemies can deny his efficiency.

He is fifty-six, looks more the soldier than the diplomat, with his erect bearing, his bronzed face. Like the soldier, he says what he means. That is why he is a strong man in the present crisis, why he has been in recent Cabinet conclaves—rare occurrence for the diplomat.

He hoped to be the man to bring about Anglo-German friendship; presided at innumerable meetings of Anglo-German societies, and so far did he go in making complimentary speeches that many people in England felt he was becoming pro-Nazi.

Bachelor Henderson was educated at Eton. He began his career—and nearly ended it—as Third Secretary at St. Petersburgh. There was spy-fever at the time. For three nights Henderson, with thoughts of promotion, stayed up hoping to catch the spies who were supposed to be after British secrets. On the third night someone came into the room. Henderson pounced. But it wasn't a spy. It was his Ambassador, who had come down for a paper because he couldn't sleep—and he was not amused.

—From the *Sunday Dispatch*, London.

## Father Coughlin— A Fascist Tribute

Father Coughlin is not one of those priests who repeat parrot-like the words of their superiors. Father Coughlin is a man who has given himself up to God and religion, a proud man, ready to attack whoever uses either God or religion as a political tool.

In 1935, he created a powerful radio station in order that his word might reach everyone and to scourge those who represent a danger to liberty. After a few short months, his audience had grown to 150,000 followers; today, at least ten million Americans listen to his words. Father Coughlin, at the head of this army, keeps the White House in a state of awe and causes governments to tremble.

One night, his church was set on fire; Coughlin awoke, cast himself in the flames and rescued the sacred vessels. And as he watched the flaming wreckage, an idea came to him: he decided to exercise his mission over the radio. His first radio talk—a commentary of the Gospel—brought him numerous letters of admiration. Each succeeding broadcast was followed by an ever-increasing flood of encouragement.

As early as 1935, he defended the Duce, for whom he professes an ardent admiration. Lately, he has shown approbation for our policy and warned the world of the dangers which lie in wait for humanity and Christianity behind the demagogic, provocative and anti-Fascist words of the President of the United States. It is not possible for Italians not to express their heartfelt admiration for this apostle of Christianity.

—Editorial from *Regime Fascista*, Cremona daily, owned and edited by Roberto Farinacci.

## Income and Taxes in Britain and the U. S.

If it is not news to the average Briton that the *per capita* national income of the United Kingdom is equal to that of the United States, such a fact remains news of which the average American has little knowledge.

That the *per capita* income of the two nations was $500 for the year 1937 (and no significant change has since occurred) is one of the many interesting findings made by the National Industrial Conference Board in an exhaustive study of the depression and recovery in the United Kingdom and the United States. Here are some others which are beginning to attain significance, especially in the present session of Congress:

1. From the low point of the depression, 1932, the United Kingdom showed a recovery of 101 per cent in total national income and of 97 per cent in *per capita* income. On the other hand, the United States, from its low point, 1933, has had a recovery of only 49 per cent and 46 per cent in the two classifications.

| Year | Total Income U.K. | Total Income U.S.A. | Per Capita Income U.K | Per Capita Income U.S.A. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1932 } 1933 } | $11,759,000,000 | $43,326,000,000 | 254 | 344 |
| 1937 | $23,672,000,000 | $64,664,000,000 | 500 | 500 |

2. In the matter of taxation, receipts in the United Kingdom increased 11½ per cent between 1932 and 1938. In the United States the increase has been 193 per cent.

| Year | Receipts United Kingdom | United States |
|---|---|---|
| 1932 | $4,255,000,000 | $2,121,000,000 |
| 1938 | $4,745,000,000 | $6,564,000,000 |

3. The budgets of the United Kingdom for the seven years 1932-1938 showed an aggregate surplus of $415,000,000, including the $300,000,000 defense loan. On the other hand, the United States budgets for the like period showed an aggregate net deficit of $20,400,000,000.

National Budgets

| Year | United Kingdom | | United States | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1932 | $165,000,000 | surplus | $2,740,000,000 | deficit |
| 1933 | 30,000,000 | deficit | 2,607,000,000 | deficit |
| 1934 | 195,000,000 | surplus | 3,606,000,000 | deficit |
| 1935 | 100,000,000 | surplus | 2,983,000,000 | deficit |
| 1936 | 75,000,000 | surplus | 4,327,000,000 | deficit |
| 1937 | 40,000,000 | surplus | 2,685,000,000 | deficit |
| 1938 | 130,000,000 | deficit | 1,464,000,000 | dfecit |

—Dispatch from New York to The *Sunday Times*, London.

## "Alley Oop" in China

Do you breathlessly follow the trials and tribulations of this fate-forsaken little man as you sip your morning coffee or do you turn first to Jiggs, the hen-pecked husband?

Are you an admirer of the cavemen of the "Alley Oop" or your fancy runs towards the sinister "Boots and Her Buddies"?

*The China Press*—the only paper in China to present six comic strips every morning—is giving you an opportunity to express your preferences—and to win one of 44 handsome prizes.

—From an advertisement of *The China Press* in the *China Weekly Review*.

## New Fighting Power for the Soviet Navy

The Soviet Union has sufficient means to protect its borders from any enemy and not only to protect them but also to crush and sink the enemy in his own waters.

Ships, machines, artillery, mines, shells, torpedos and the most complicated and finest naval instruments—all that is needed for further expansion of the navy—can be produced by our plants and our specialists from our own domestic materials. Mighty ships born in our plants now plow Soviet waters.

Bolshevization of the fleet—insuring its complete loyalty to the Communist party, which Joseph Stalin heads—has also been pressed rapidly.

—I. Nadyezhin, chief of the Red Navy's political department, in *Party Construction*, Communist party magazine of the U.S.S.R.

# On Record

## Significant Speeches and Statements of the Month

### *"If I Was Right Then I Am Right Now . . ."*

*Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was seventy on March 18. On the eve of his birthday he faced a staggering task: to defend his central policy, of European appeasement, just two days after Hitler had shattered that policy by marching into Czecho-Slovakia. While the whole world hung on his words, to learn what Britain would do next, Mr. Chamberlain bent himself to the task in a speech at his home city, Birmingham. The significant parts of the address are these:*

Public opinion in the world has received a sharper shock than has ever yet been administered to it, even by the present regime in Germany.

It has been suggested that this occupation of Czecho-Slovakia was a direct consequence of the visit which I paid Germany last autumn and that, since the result of these events has been to tear up the settlement that was arrived at at Munich, that proves that the whole circumstances of those visits were wrong.

That is an entirely unwarrantable conclusion. The facts as they are today cannot change the facts as they were last September. If I was right then, I am still right now.

I might remind you that when it was first announced I was going, not a voice was raised in criticism. Every one applauded that effort and it was only later—when it appeared the results of the final settlement fell short of the expectations of some who didn't fully appreciate the facts—it was only then that the attack began and even then it wasn't the visit; it was the terms of settlement that were disapproved.

After all, the first and most immediate object of my visit was achieved. The peace of Europe was saved, and, if it hadn't been for those visits, hundreds of thousands of families would today have been in mourning for the flower of Europe's manhood.

Nothing that we could have done, nothing that France could have done or Russia could have done could possibly have saved Czecho-Slovakia from invasion and destruction.

Even if we had subsequently gone to war to punish Germany for her actions and if, after the frightful losses which would have been inflicted upon all partakers in the war, we had been victorious in the end, never could we have reconstructed Czecho-Slovakia as she was framed by the Treaty of Versailles.

But I had another purpose, too, in going to Munich—that was to further the policy which I have been pursuing ever since I have been in my present position, a policy which is sometimes called European appeasement, although I don't think myself that that is a very happy term or one which accurately describes its purpose.

I had hoped in going to Munich to find out by personal contact what was in Herr Hitler's mind and whether it was likely that he would be willing to cooperate in a program of that kind [European peace].

Well, the atmosphere in which our discussions were conducted was not a very favorable one because we were in the midst of an acute crisis. But, nevertheless, in the interval between more official conversations I had some opportunity of talking with him and of hearing his views and I thought the results not altogether unsatisfactory.

When I came back after my second visit I told the House of Commons of the conversation I had had with Herr Hitler, of which I said that, speaking with great earnestness, he repeated what he had already said at Berchtesgaden—namely, that this was the last of his territorial ambitions in Europe and that he had no wish to include in the Reich people of other races than Germans.

Herr Hitler himself confirmed this account of the conversation in a speech which he made at the Sportpalast in Berlin when he said: "This is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe."

And a little later in the same speech he said, "I have assured Mr. Chamberlain, and I emphasize it now, that when this problem is solved Germany has no more territorial problems in Europe." And he added: "I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more and I can guarantee it. We don't want any Czechs any more."

And then, in the Munich agreement itself, which bears Herr Hitler's signature, there is this clause: "The final determination of the frontier will be carried out by an international commission"—the final determination! And, lastly, in that declaration which he and I signed together at Munich we declared that any other question which might concern our two countries should be dealt with by a method of consultation.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, how can these events which happened this week be reconcilled with those assurances which I have read out to you?

Doesn't the question inevitably remain in our minds: if it is so easy to discover good reasons for ignoring assurances so solemnly and so repeatedly given, what reliance can be placed upon any other assurances that come from the same source?

Is this the last attack upon a small state or is it to be followed by others? Is this, in fact, a step in the direction of an attempt to dominate the world by force?

We ourselves will naturally turn first to our partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations and to France, to whom we are so closely bound, and I have no doubt that others, too, knowing that we are not disinterested in what goes on in southeastern Europe, will wish to have our counsel and advice.

I do not believe there is any one who will question my sincerity when I say there is hardly anything I wouldn't sacrifice for peace. But there is one thing that I must except and that is the liberty that we have enjoyed for hundreds of years and which we will never surrender.

While I am not prepared to engage this country by new and unspecified commitments operating under conditions which cannot now be foreseen, yet no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that because it believes war to be a senseless and cruel thing, this nation has so lost its fiber that it will not take part to the utmost of its power in resisting such a challenge if it ever were made.

### *Eden Sees Another Eleventh Hour*

*Anthony Eden, who left the British Cabinet because he strongly disagreed with "appeasement" toward Hitler and Mussolini—had a dramatic opportunity to say I-told-you-so after the*

*crashing events of March 15. Speaking in the House of Commons he issued this grave warning:*

Last autumn the House was sharply divided into two categories. One of those hoped that after Munich we would be at the beginning of better things and the others reluctantly were convinced that we had gained nothing but a brief respite, at the end of which more demands would be imposed by similar methods.

Is there any member in any part of the House who now believes we shall have more than another brief respite—perhaps briefer than the last—before further demands are made, before another victim is faced again with the alternative of resistance or surrender?

We are confronted with a situation in which there is a rapid deterioration of international standards. I am reluctant to put upon myself any panoply of authority, but the House knows I have spent ten years of my life within the walls of the Foreign office and I want in all sincerity to give the House this warning: I am convinced that if these present methods in Europe are allowed to continue unchecked we are heading straight for anarchy, for a universal tragedy which is going to involve us all.

### Conquest of Land; Not of People

*Six months ago, Edward Benes was President of Czecho-Slovakia. Today he is a voluntary exile in the United States, where he holds a teaching post at the University of Chicago. When he left Czecho-Slovakia he had the pledge of four governments that its new borders, as fixed during the Munich Conference, would be guaranteed. A few weeks ago he had occasion to reflect upon the character of that guarantee. Whereupon Dr. Benes sent this message to leading statesmen of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Russia:*

The Czechs and Slovak people are victims of a great international crime. The people of Czecho-Slovakia cannot protect today, and because of the happenings of the last month cannot defend themselves. Therefore I, as ex-President of Czecho-Slovakia, address this solemn protest to you.

Last September the Franco-British proposals and a few days afterward the Munich decisions were presented to me. Both these documents contained the promise of the guarantee of the integrity and security of Czecho-Slovak territory. Both these documents asked for unheard of sacrifices by my people in the interest of peace. These sacrifices were made by the peoples of Czecho-Slovakia.

Nevertheless, one of the great powers who signed the agreement of Munich is now dividing our territory, is occupying it with its army and is establishing a "protectorate" under threat of force and military violence.

Before the conscience of the world and before history I am obliged to proclaim that Czechs and Slovaks will never accept this unbearable imposition on their sacred rights. And they will never cease their struggles until these rights are reinstated for their beloved country and I entreat your government to refuse to recognize this crime and to assume the consequences which today's tragic situation in Europe and the world urgently requires.

### "Ridiculous, Stupid" Talk of Nazi Ukraine

*Two thousand delegates, in Moscow to attend the Eighteenth All-Union Congress of the Communist Party, leaped to their feet with shouts of "Hurrah!" when Joseph Stalin concluded his speech of March 12, three days before Germany seized Czecho-Slovakia. A striking feature of the speech was its lack of invective against Nazi Germany. Is Stalin seeking friendlier relations with Germany? The following sections of the speech raised that question in many national capitals:*

The majority of non-aggressor countries, and primarily England and France, have abandoned their policy of collective security, their policy of collective resistance to aggressors; they have taken up a position of non-intervention, of "neutrality."

The policy of non-intervention might be described in the following words: "Let each country defend itself against aggressors as it likes and as well as it can. It does not concern us. We shall trade both with aggressors and with their victims."

In actual fact, however, the policy of non-intervention is tantamount to connivance at aggression, to unleashing war—consequently to its transformation into world war. Through the policy of non-intervention there runs the eagerness and desire not to prevent the aggressors from perpetrating their black deeds, not to prevent, say, Japan from becoming involved in a war with China or, still better, with the Soviet Union; not to prevent, say, Germany from becoming enmeshed in European affairs, from becoming involved in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all belligerents to sink deep into the mire of war, stealthily to encourage them to follow this line, to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another and then, when they become sufficiently weakened, to appear on the scene with fresh forces, to come out, of course, "in the interests of peace" and to dictate their terms to the weakened belligerent nations.

It is cheap and it serves the purpose.

Take Germany, for instance. They let her have Austria despite Austria's independence, they ceded the Sudeten region, they left Czecho-Slovakia to her own fate, thereby violating all and every obligation, and then began to lie vociferously in the press about the "weakness of the Russian Army." about "demoralization of the Russian air force," about "riots" in the Soviet Union, urging the Germans on to march further east, promising them easy pickings and prompting them: "You start a war against the Bolsheviks and then everything will proceed nicely." It must be admitted that this looks very much like egging on, like encouraging the aggressor.

The fuss raised by the British, French and North American press about Soviet Ukraine is characteristic. The gentlemen of this press grew hoarse shouting that the Germans were marching on Soviet Ukraine, that they now had in their hands so-called Carpathian Ukraine with a population of some 700,000 and that not later than this spring the Germans would annex Soviet Ukraine with a population of more than 30,000,000 to so-called Carpathian Ukraine.

It looks as if the object of this suspicious fuss was to raise the ire of the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds for it. Of course, it is fully possible that there are madmen in Germany who dream of annexing the elephant, that is, Soviet Ukraine, to the gnat, that is, so-called Carpathian Ukraine. And if there really are such madmen in Germany, it is certain that we shall find a sufficient quantity of strait-jackets for such madmen.

But if we ignore madmen and turn to normal people, is it not clear that it is ridiculous and stupid to talk seriously of annexing Soviet Ukraine to so-called Carpathian Ukraine?.

# Religion

### *The World Greets the New Pope*

*Condensed from The Commonweal, Catholic Weekly*

THE joy that wells up in the hearts of Catholics throughout the world on the elevation of a new successor to Saint Peter is heightened by the election of a man of the personal attainments of Cardinal Pacelli. His native ability, the unparalleled experience he brings to the papal throne and his eminent spiritual qualities are widely recognized by commentators of every persuasion. Pope Pius XII's first brief message could hardly have been more indicative of his grasp of the world's needs today. It was primarily a plea for peace. It was explicitly a plea for peace with justice.

A primary emphasis in the secular press has been placed upon the new Pope's attitude toward Fascism—Italy and Germany. The secular press, and many individual Catholics, seem inclined always to view the Vatican's "foreign policy" as being on the same level as that of any nation, able to act in the same way and prompted to act for the same reasons. To such a view important exceptions must be taken.

The Pope has one primary function and duty, namely, the spiritual guidance of the faithful throughout the world. He cannot possibly run the risk of giving scandal to any of the faithful unless conditions are such that he cannot act without running that risk. A good example of how little Americans appreciate this point is given by those who have said that the Holy See favored Fascism because it did not at once condemn National Socialism when it appeared in Germany.

For the Holy See to have taken instant intransigeant action would have been to run the risk of giving great scandal to German Catholics, and of wounding their national faith and pride and loyalty. No such step was taken. On the contrary, a treaty was negotiated between the Papacy and the German State, and every attempt was made to establish friendly and proper relations. As time went on, it became clear that such relations could not be maintained, and in due course the late Holy Father took action.

In considering the role which Pius XII will play in world politics, then, we must always remember the fact that his first duty is religious and that he cannot lightly run the risk of politically disturbing any group of Catholics. We must, secondly, remember that he cannot commit himself to any particular system or theory of government as being better or more moral than some other system. We can expect that whenever the official policy of any country runs counter to Catholic doctrines; whenever the internal policy of any country threatens the freedom of action of Christians; whenever a government deliberately attempts to eliminate Christianity, he will emphatically protest, and further, that he will use every means in his power to prevent any of these things happening.

MEANTIME, the various tributes paid to Pius XII in the American press definitely reflect the political anxieties of our troubled times. Said the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*:

> Even in normal times Cardinal Pacelli's elevation would be hailed as a distinguished choice and another instance of the wisdom and spiritual integrity of the ancient Church of Rome. But in view of the special conditions now existing the action of the cardinals, in its rebuke to Europe's monsters on horseback, is no less than thrilling.

The Baltimore *Sun* included some personal reminiscences about Pius XII:

> Those who were fortunate enough to meet him when he made his unprecedented tour of the United States found him, first of all, an easy and agreeable companion. His English was weak, but that fact did not halt the flow of his ideas and only slightly handicapped those who talked to him. The reason was not far to seek. He had the gift of friendship. His eyes, though shrewd and penetrating, were kindly and not lacking in humor. There was sympathy in his glance even when it rested but momentarily on the one before him, the same kind of sympathy which so many thousands found in the late Cardinal Gibbons. Indeed the likeness between him and the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore was remarked upon by many persons. As Pius XII he puts on the Ring of the Fisherman at a time when the Church, though strong and unshaken, is beset by enemies more than ordinarily ruthless and brutal. No one can say with what success he will meet the continuing attack. But it is certain that he will meet it with wisdom, with dignity, and with a skill that, though inspired from within, will be the more resourceful because of his long training in the arts of diplomacy and his natural aptitude for meeting and understanding of all sorts and conditions of men.

Another commentary on Pius XII based on personal observation was one of the syndicated columns of Dorothy Thompson:

> Those of us who were foreign correspondents in Berlin during the days of the Weimar Republic were not unfamiliar with the figure of the doyen of the diplomatic corps. Tall, slender, with magnificent eyes, strong features and expressive hands, in his features and his bearing Eugenio Archbishop Pacelli looked every inch what he was—a Roman nobleman, of the proudest blood of the western world.

The San Francisco *Monitor*, official archdiocesan paper, intimated some of the religious aspects of the elevation of Pius XII:

> He is a man divinely ordained and a man historical. The life of the Church is the life of mankind. All else depends on it because the God-Man created it to be the life of men. The original creation, the sequence of natural life, is not independent of the God Who sent His Only Begotten Son to be the Light and Life of the World. Whom Christ chooses by the agency of men through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost to be His Vicar on Earth is the chief agent of the historical process in the time that is allotted to him.

# Science

### *Manifesto by a Physicist*

*Percy W. Bridgman, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard, is a towering figure in the scientific world. His researches on the effects of enormously high pressures, his books on that subject and on electrical conduction in metals, are considered of the first importance. Headlines flared across front pages, therefore, when he announced that he would no longer show his apparatus to or discuss his experiments with citizens of any totalitarian state. The announcement, published in* Science, *organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, follows:*

MANY scientists must have been profoundly disturbed by the revelations of recent events as to what the implications of the totalitarian philosophy of the State really are. There would seem not to be any room on the same planet for totalitarian States and States in which the freedom of the individual is recognized.

Many scientists must have been moved to try to find something to do about it. In my own case this urge to find something to do has resulted in the decision to close my laboratory to visits from citizens of totalitarian States.

I have had the following statement printed, which I hand to any prospective visitor who may present himself:

"I have decided from now on not to show my apparatus or discuss my experiments with the citizens of any totalitarian State. A citizen of such a State is no longer a free individual, but he may be compelled to engage in any activity whatever to advance the purposes of that State. The purposes of the totalitarian States have shown themselves to be in irreconcilable conflict with the purposes of free States.

"In particular, the totalitarian States do not recognize that the free cultivation of scientific knowledge for its own sake is a worthy end of human endeavor, but have commandeered the scientific activities of their citizens to serve their own purposes. . . .

"Cessation of scientific intercourse with the totalitarian States serves the double purpose of making more difficult the misuse of scientific information by these States and of giving the individual opportunity to express his abhorrence of their practices.

"This statement is made entirely in my individual capacity and has no connection whatever with any policy of the university."

Science has been rightly recognized as probably the only human activity which knows no nationalisms; for this reason it has been a potent factor making for universal civilization. Action such as this is therefore to be deeply deplored and to be undertaken only after the gravest consideration.

But it seems to me that the possibility of an idealistic conception of the present function of science has been already destroyed, and the stark issues of self-survival are being forced upon us.

Perhaps the only hope in the present situation is to make the citizens of the totalitarian States realize as vividly and as speedily as possible how the philosophy of their States impresses and affects the rest of the world. Such a realization can be brought about by the spontaneous action of the individual citizens of the nontotalitarian States perhaps even more effectively than by their governments. . . .

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### *Photographing Odors*

A physicist at the Sorbonne, Prof. Henry Devaux, has recently discovered a method of photographing the curious patterns created by certain odors on a thin film of talc particles floating on mercury. He affixes a flower petal to the under surface of a glass plate, which is placed over the open top of a shallow tray containing mercury. While one watches, the powdered talc slowly arranges itself into a definite pattern.

Professor Devaux says this strange action comes from the impinging upon the talc of minute particles emanating from "odor waves" radiated by the flower. These same particles strike the sensitive membrances of the human nose, causing the sensation we term "smell."

—*From the Kansas City Star*

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### *Man-Made Sea Level*

A little black gadget the size of a child's fist may solve for airline officials a problem as old as the industry itself: how to reassure people who shun flying because of heart trouble, dizziness, or pressure on the ear drums. It is a unique mask device designed for aircraft use by three scientists of the Mayo Foundation, of Rochester, Minnesota.

In developing the apparatus, which is light, easily attached, and which does not touch the mouth, the Mayo scientists have made stratosphere flying for commercial airlines possible. Within three years, a Northwest Airline executive predicted a few weeks ago, after personally testing the equipment at 30,000 feet, passengers will be zooming from Coast-to-Coast through the stratosphere in less than ten hours—and consider it as commonplace as they do the New York to Washington air run today.

The inventors of the device, which fits over the nose and is connected to a small artificial rubber lung, are Doctors W. R. Lovelace, A. H. Bulbulian, and W. M. Boothby. The device will provide sea level air in extremely high altitudes. Said Dr. Lovelace: "Some people are able because of their physical condition to fly at high altitudes without discomfort. Others may wish to use oxygen when flying at 10,000 feet or higher. Those who need it, or wish it, will have it available."

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### *For Believe It or Not*

Contributions of research laboratories of American Industry form the central theme of the General Motors "Progress on Parade" exhibit in the Golden Gate International Exposition. Built under the direction of Charles F. Kettering, head of the General Motors Research Laboratories, the presentation takes its audiences behind the scenes of a modern laboratory. One feature is the "Frig-o-Therm," a refrigerator upon which a complete meal can be cooked very rapidly. Housewives are given a peek into the future of kitchen equipment when they see an egg fried on a cold metal container of ice cream. The development of synthetics is dramatized by the display of raw materials made from sand, milk, wood and glass. Among the other marvels are a flashlight that "talks," light that can be poured like water, and an invisible symphony orchestra conducted by the mere motion of the hand through beams of light.

# Business

On March 14 President Roosevelt asked Congress for an additional $150,000,000 for the WPA and expressed doubt of proposed reductions in taxes on business. On the same day Speaker of the House Bankhead predicted that there would be no "serious effort made for general revision of the tax laws at this session of Congress."

All this confirmed pessimists among business men in forecasts that nothing would come of the so-called "appeasement" policy of the Government toward business. But optimists comforted themselves with the conviction that, if taxes would not be reduced, neither would they be increased—contrary to the prospect of three months ago. And they pasted in their hats these conciliatory statements made by Government officials since the first of the year:

> President Roosevelt: "We have now passed the period of internal conflict in the launching of our program of social reform. . . . The first duty of our statesmanship today is to bring capital and manpower together."
>
> —Message to Congress, Jan. 4.

> Secretary Morgenthau: "The business man should understand that the Administration wants him to go ahead, and legislation should be of such a nature that it will not be a deterrent, so the business man can make a profit."
>
> —Statement to press, Feb. 23.

> Secretary Hopkins: "With the emphasis shifted from reform to recovery, this Administration is now determined to promote that recovery with all the vigor and power at its command."
>
> —Address at Des Moines, Feb. 24

> Chairman Doughton, of the House Ways and Means Committee: "I welcome Secretary Morgenthau's suggestion that we reexamine the whole tax structure with the desirable objective of removing such deterrents to business enterprise and economic recovery as may be found to exist."
>
> —Statement to press, Feb. 24.

> Speaker Bankhead: "The President, the Administration, and Congress are all interested in cooperating with business. . . . I believe it is the definite policy of the Administration to do anything within reason without abandoning what it has done in the way of economic reform."
>
> —After a White House Conference, March 6.

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The War Department's new program of educational orders for American industry is now well under way. It seems likely that the $2,000,000 already appropriated will be increased by a further $32,000,000 asked for by the President in his recent special message to Congress on national defense.

The educational order is intended to spread through our industrial structure the experience and the facilities necessary for getting munitions to our armed forces in an emergency. As long as all War Department orders go to the lowest bidder, firms already equipped for this sort of work can underbid all competitors. Thus the private manufacture of war material would be confined to relatively few concerns. In time of war this would result in serious delays before other plants could "tool up," and acquire the experience necessary to go on a mass production basis. This was the case in the last war. "The art of arms production," observes *Army Ordnance* editorially, "is a dead art unless certain publicly-supported establishments keep that art alive. If private industry will be called upon to operate in that art in time of war, then it must be educated along practical lines."

Present laws require that educational orders be issued only for "critical items," which must be: (a) essential; (b) standard; (c) non-commercial; (d) required in mass quantities in war. And it must be shown that mass production could not be attained within six months by any other method.

The educational order system is a cooperative venture of the Government and industry. Production under any given order will be small; therefore no profit may be expected. No firm which has been given an educational order can receive another for three years.

Consider a hypothetical case. The War Department decides to place an educational order for the machining of 75-mm. shell. Circular advertisements, with drawings and specifications, are sent to bidders known to be competent to manufacture this item in time of war. The bidders also are referred to Frankford Arsenal for further information.

X Company is one of the firms receiving this circular. The problem is to set up the plant, to machine 5,000 shells, and to test the desired war production rate of 4,800 per eight-hour day scheduled for that plant. X Company's production department must then prepare its bids on the following bases: drawings and specifications for special aids to manufacture which will be required; manufacture or procurement of necessary special machinery, tools, dies, and gages (this equipment to become the Government's property on completion of the order, and to be stored and maintained by the bidder); actual machining of 5,000 shell; preparation of a permanent production study.

The study includes these features: (1) a general plan for converting the plant to produce 4,800 shell per day; (2) a list of new equipment required; (3) lists of accessories to be supplied on sub-contract, with preferred sources; (4) lists of raw or semi-finished materials; (5) skilled labor requirements; (6) estimated unit cost; (7) requirements of fuel, power and transportation.

X Company becomes the successful bidder, not necessarily the lowest bidder. Forgings are ordered from another producer (who incidentally learns how to make a 75-mm. forging in the process); tools and gages are made or purchased, and an experimental production unit is set up. Government inspectors gage and accept the work as it is completed.

During the work, notes are kept for permanent record. On delivery of the completed shell, the production study is handed to the Government.

There are 55 items on the War Department's "critical" list. Six were selected this year for a test of the system (gas masks, searchlights, 75-mm. shell, recoil mechanisms for anti-aircraft guns, and the new semi-automatic rifles). With additional appropriations, other items on the list can be "put into the hopper." A total of 248 plants may eventually receive education in some phase of arms production. Cooperation of industry so far has been highly satisfactory.—C.F.E.

# CHRONOLOGY

## Highlights of Current History, Feb. 8—March 15

## THE NATION

### *Foreign Relations*

Feb. 11—Senator La Follette urges the Senate to beware of the "deadly parallel" of 1917.

Feb. 12—In a Lincoln Day address in New York City, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace ridicules "Aryanism."

Feb. 18—Senator Nye of North Dakota, speaking before the National Republican Club in New York, proposes a "mind-our-own-business" foreign policy, in criticism of the Administration's activities in Europe and Asia.

At Key West, before departing to witness the naval maneuvres in the Atlantic, President Roosevelt warns the dictator nations to stay out of the Americas.

Feb. 20—22,000 Nazis of the German-American Bund hold a rally in Madison Square Garden, protected by 1,700 New York police.

Feb. 21—Representative Vinson of Georgia, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, says the United States will have to be on the side of France and Great Britain in the final struggle with the dictator states.

Mar. 2—Senators Walsh and Johnson defend isolation. Senator Logan comes out in favor of aiding democracies abroad.

Mar. 3—The election of Pope Pius XII arouses talk of the renewal of United States relations with the Vatican.

Mar. 4—Laurence A. Steinhardt is named Ambassador to Russia. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers is recalled from Spain for consultation.

Mar. 9—Secretary of State Hull and Brazilian Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha exchange notes regarding Brazilian-American commercial and financial arrangements.

### *Defense*

Feb. 15—The House, by a vote of 367-15, passes a bill authorizing the purchase of 3,000 more airplanes for the Army.

Feb. 21—Major-General Arnold, chief of the Army Air Corps, tells the Senate Military Affairs Committee that Germans could attack us from a South American base and that our defenses in that neighborhood should be strengthened.

Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Sayre, at a hearing of the Senate Territories Committee, says that our interests demand that we do not let the Philippines drift, in view of the general situation in the Far East.

Feb. 22—The Senate Millitary Affairs Committee recommends that the limit of the Army Air Corps strength be raised from 5,500 to 6,000 planes.

Feb. 23—The House rejects the Guam defense bill by a vote of 205-168.

Feb. 24—The Military Affairs Committee of the Senate approves a $102,000,000 bill for the purchase and storage of raw materials needed in time of war.

MAR. 1—Senator Lundeen says the people would be "shocked and stunned" if they knew what was said at the White House on Jan. 13, at the secret conference between the President and the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

The House Appropriations Committee reports favorably an appropriation of $499,857,936 for the War Department for the fiscal year 1940, largest since the World War. A sub-committee reports that military intelligence service in Latin America will be increased.

Mar. 3—The House approves the $499,857,936 Army Supplies bill unanimously.

President Roosevelt says the naval war games demonstrated the need of naval bases at St. Juan and St. Thomas.

Mar. 6—The Senate approves a 6,000 Army plane limit, to replace the 5,500 limit set by the House.

Mar. 7—President Roosevelt comes out against neutrality laws, and again opposes the passage of the Ludlow resolution for a war referendum.

Mar. 11—A United States Naval report shows a property investment of more than $3,500,000,000.

### *Congress*

Feb. 9—The House passes a bill to tax the income of all government workers, Federal, State, and local, 269-103. The bill goes to the Senate.

Feb. 23—A new reorganization bill is introduced in the House by Representatives Cochran and Warren.

Feb. 28—Senator Wagner introduces a bill for an extensive national health program in the Senate, calling for an expenditure of $80,000,000 in the first year.

Mar. 9—Representative Dies introduces three anti-Fascist, anti-Communist bills in the House, requiring registration of both, barring them from government jobs, and ordering deportation of those who are aliens.

Mar. 11—Senator Wheeler denounces the Reorganization bill as depriving Congress of its legitimate powers.

Mar. 14—Speaker Bankhead endorses the move for some sort of retirement pay for Congressmen.

### *Labor*

Feb. 8—Secretary Perkins, at a hearing of the House Judiciary Committee, defends her acts regarding Harry Bridges and other CIO leaders.

Feb. 10—The AF of L urges drastic revisions in the set-up of the National Labor Relations Act, proposing a board of 5 instead of 3.

Feb. 11—Mayor La Guardia of New York tells the Central Trades and Labor Council that President Roosevelt is the best friend labor ever had in Washington.

Feb. 13—The National Labor Relations Board orders the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation to abandon its "employee representation" plans at Fore River and Boston.

Feb. 25—President Roosevelt calls upon the AF of L and the CIO to make peace, and requests that they send negotiators to the White House.

Feb. 27—The Supreme Court outlaws sit-down strikes, 5-2, with Justices Reed and Black dissenting.

Mar. 1—The House votes 137-93 to transfer control over Wage-Hours funds from Secretary Perkins to Elmer F. Andrews, Wage and Hours Administrator.

Mar. 7—The AF of L rejects the CIO plan for joint formation of the American Congress of Labor.

Mar. 12—The President urges the resumption of AF of L and CIO talks.

Mar. 15—The House Labor Committee discusses changes in the Wage and Hours Law, looking toward the exemption of white-collar workers, and giving the Administration wider powers.

### *Business*

Feb. 17—President Roosevelt tells business and industry that no new taxes are planned.

George H. Davis, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, says, in San Francisco, that the New Deal is moving the country toward state capitalism.

Feb. 18—The Golden Gate Exposition (San Francisco Fair) opens.

Feb. 20—The House passes a bill extending the life of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to June 30, 1941.

Feb. 24—The Department of Commerce reveals that Japan's trade with this country fell off one-third in 1938.

Mar. 8—Department of Commerce reports that imports from Mexico in January of this year were $1,300,000 over imports in January, 1938.

Preston Delano, Controller of the Currency, reports that the total assets and deposits of the national banks as of December 31, 1938, were the highest in the history of the national banking system.

### *Law*

Feb. 13—Justice Louis D. Brandeis retires from the Supreme Court at the age of 82.

Feb. 22—New York Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora, retiring president of the National Lawyers' Guild, creates a split in that organization by his speech against radicalism.

Mar. 2—A Federal grand jury indicts former United States Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Martin T. Manton on charges of obstructing justice and taking money.

### *Relief*

Mar. 9—The WPA says it will have to cut a million from its rolls April 1 unless Congress votes additional $150,000,000.

### *The States*

Feb. 10—The attorneys-general of 39 States protest to the Senate finance sub-committee the proposed bill ending income-tax exemption for government workers, on grounds that the bill invades States' rights.

## INTERNATIONAL

Feb. 8—Arabs demand autonomy and abrogation of Balfour Declaration at Pales-

tine Conference in London. Jews insist on maintenance of National Home.

Feb. 9—Great Britain and France agree to recognize General Franco's regime.

Feb. 10—Pope Pius dies at age of 81, after long illness.

Feb. 11—Terrorist activities laid to Irish Republican Army continue to alarm Great Britain.

Feb. 13—Mexican government expropriates 50,000 American-owned acres for collective farms.

Feb. 14—Argentine government announces heavy curtailment of imports from United States.

Feb. 15—British government announces it will start building two more capital ships for 1939-40, bringing total of battleships under construction to nine.

Feb. 16—British and French fleets commence combined maneuvres in Mediterranean.

Feb. 17—The shooting of a Fascist militiaman before the Torlonia Palace is described officially as "the act of a madman." Rome press denies it was attempt on Mussolini's life.

Feb. 18—France reclaims land on Bab El Mandeb strait formerly ceded to Italy, fearing attack in Africa.

Feb. 19—Peruvian General Antonio Rodriguez is killed in an attempt to overthrow President Oscar Benavides.

Feb. 20—The British 35,000-ton battleship *George V* is launched, first of a series of line ships equalling total building programs of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Feb. 21—British House of Commons votes to increase government's borrowing limit from £400,000,000 to £800,000,000, all for national defense.

Feb. 23—Italian foreign minister Ciano leaves for Warsaw to learn extent of Franco-Polish alliance.

Feb. 24—Premier Daladier of France wins vote of confidence on recognition of Franco.

Hungary dissolves its Nazi Party, but signs Anti-Comintern Pact with the Axis powers.

Feb. 25—The Italian government orders all its nationals to leave France.

Polish students riot before German Embassy in Warsaw. Italian Count Ciano is welcomed by Polish press.

Feb. 26—The British delegation to the Palestine conference announces its intention of ending the mandate.

Feb. 27—Jewish delegates to Palestine conference reject the proposals for an independent Palestine.

Feb. 28—Chamberlain gets vote of confidence on recognition of Franco.

Mar. 1—Eugenio, Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, is elected Pope, and assumes name of Pius XII.

Mar. 4—German finances are strained by armaments expense, forcing payments in vouchers.

Mar. 5—French leaders confer in Tunis on African defenses.

Mar. 8—Great Britain announces it will put 300,000 men in France in case of war.

Mar. 12—Dr. Karl Sidor is named new premier of Slovakia. Nazis back separatist movement.

Mar. 14—Hitler orders Prague to set up three states, while German army prepares to move on Slovakia.

Mar. 15—Hitler dissolves Czecho-Slovak nation, making Bohemia-Moravia a protectorate. Nazi troops enter Prague.

Rumanian troops invest border towns of Carpatho-Ukraine to protect minorities.

Hungarian troops march across Ruthenia, making a common frontier with Poland.

### *Spanish Civil War*

Feb. 8—General Miaja, commander-in-chief at Madrid, ready to make peace. British warship sails to negotiate surrender of loyalist Minorca Island.

Feb. 10—Loyalist government transferred to Madrid.

Feb. 12—Loyalists broadcast appeal urging united resistance. Madrid shelled.

Feb. 13—French-Spanish roads blocked with throngs returning to rebel Spain.

Feb. 18—Loyalist government authorizes Great Britain and France to negotiate peace on a basis of clemency.

Feb. 20—Franco renews war as peace negotiations fail.

Feb. 26—President Azana abandons post in Paris and goes to Geneva, leaves powers to settle with Franco.

Mar. 5—General Segismundo Casado forms new national defense council, and ousts Premier Negrin.

Mar. 8—Defiant Communists fighting Miaja's forces in Madrid streets.

Mar. 12—National defense council reports the Communists' uprising totally crushed.

### *Sino-Japanese War*

Feb. 14—Japanese seize Hainan Island, off Indo-China coast, strategic spot on the British route between Hong Kong and Singapore.

Feb. 19—Chen Lu, director of foreign affairs in the new Nanking regime, is assassinated at Shanghai by a Chinese terrorist band.

Feb. 21—Liang Hung-chih succeeds Chen Lu as Japanese authorities accuse officials in the International Settlement of harboring terrorists.

Feb. 22—100,000 "national salvation" troops reported ready to rally around Wu Pei-fu, for drive against Chiang Kai-shek in April.

Moscow recalls ambassador from Chungking to prepare for establishment of a Communist dictatorship in China.

Mar. 1—Japanese mop up guerrillas in Chahar, driving 10,000 into Inner Mongolia.

Mar. 6—Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese ambassador to France, says in Paris that Chiang is training 200 divisions for a counter-drive, and estimates number of guerrillas behind Japanese lines as between 2 and 3 million.

Mar. 8—Chinese start drive along Hankow highway towards Ichang, but fall back in confusion as 2,000 desert.

Mar. 12—Fu Siao-en, mayor of Japanese-sponsored Greater Shanghai, demands that the International Settlement and foreign consuls extend greater control to Japanese.

Mar. 15—Soviet-Japanese dispute over auction of 293 fishing lots formerly assigned to Japan, off Siberian coast, brings threats in Diet meeting at Tokyo that Japan will fight over the valuable waters. Tokyo refuses to bid at auction as treaty expires.

# Travel . . .

## Go to Moscow

WITHIN the next thirty days, the early birds among American travelers will be off on spring trips to Europe. More and more of these fortunate wayfarers include a tour through the Soviet Union in their migrations. Among the sights that draw them to the U.S.S.R. are not only vast social and economic experiments, but also strange architecture, engrossing racial types and village scenes, and age-old as well as brand-new ways of doing things.

Moscow, capital of the Soviet Union and now fifth largest city in the world, is of special interest to appreciative American tourists. It is now easily accessible by train (for instance from Berlin), or by ship up the Baltic Sea, and in (let us say) through Leningrad. A North Cape Cruise and a good view of Finland, the little Baltic states, or the Scandinavian countries, can be conveniently combined with a trip to Russia. Or the contrasting Nazi and Soviet regimes can be compared in one train ride from Bremen or Hamburg, via Poland, to Stalin's headquarters in Moscow's historic walled citadel, the Kremlin.

Moscow was the old original capital and nucleus of Holy Russia. That great organizer, Peter the Great, built Petersburg (now Leningrad) early in the eighteenth century. But Petersburg, often called eastern Russia's western façade, was never distinctively Russian in character. Moscow was always thoroughly Russian, solidly patriotic and dependable. Hence, after the Russian revolution of 1917, the Bolshevists transferred the capital back to Moscow from Petersburg-Leningrad, after a lapse of two centuries. Since then, Moscow has thrived and expanded; it has seen vast municipal enterprises and great constructive works of all sorts.

To visitors of 1939, the American Russian Institute suggests three new special points of interest: the new Palace of Soviets, the Moscow-Volga Canal, and the all-Russian Agricultural Exhibition—the Soviet Union's first large exposition.

The "George Washington" of Soviet Russia was dynamic V. I. Lenin, father of the Russian revolution, who died in 1924. His beloved widow, Krupskaya, passed away a few weeks ago, a leader to the end in child-welfare and educational matters, and a determined woman never afraid to express her views under any circumstances. Meanwhile, the body of her husband lies on permanent display in a tomb on Moscow's Red Square, where millions of pilgrims from all over the world file past to look and wonder.

But soon Moscow will have brought

*The Khimkhy station on the Moscow-Volga Canal. Note the streamlining of the river cutter.*

to completion another monument to Lenin—one which will tower over the city, pointing up a hundred feet higher than New York City's Empire State Building. This memorial is the Palace of Soviets, which, when erected, will be the tallest structure in the world.

On the very summit of the Palace will stand a statue of Lenin, pointing on toward Utopia. The understructure of the immense Palace appears partly Grecian, partly modernistic, but the Lenin statue dwarfs the details of building itself. Spectacular in conception, it is entirely different in treatment from the restraint of our Washington Monument.

THE structure, whose foundations have been laid in seas of cement, occupies an area of more than 110,000 square yards. The plan features a Grand Hall, to accommodate 20,000 persons in a big amphitheater. During conventions, congresses, and the like, the arena of the Hall can be filled with armchairs, but these may be lowered beneath the floor to transfer the arena into a large platform for sports exhibitions and mass performances. A small hall will hold close to 6,000 people. Nearby is a library for half a million books, and four adjacent auditoriums. All told, the Palace of Soviets is designed to accommodate no less than 30,000 persons, with 100 elevators and 62 escalators to move them about.

Visitors to Moscow this year will be able to see this great project in process of speedy, efficient construction under the drive of Revolutionary zeal.

Another huge undertaking is the Volga-Moscow Canal, largest river waterway of its type in the world. The canal has three major tasks: first, to serve the millions of Muscovites with a pure supply of drinking water from the mighty river Volga—100,000,000 pails daily; second, to supply water to the Moscow river and its tributaries, which flow within the city limits; third, to link the Soviet capital with the Volga, and thus to make of Moscow a river port capable of receiving large ships which require deep water for navigating.

The Volga-Moscow Canal is 80 miles long, and nearly all of it has been excavated artificially. Its width is 85 yards—room enough to enable large Volga steamers to pass one another comfortably. Its depth is more than fifteen feet. There are three concrete dams, and eight dams of earthen construction, with ten sluices of reinforced concrete. Ornamental as well as useful, the sluice towers and stations boast sculpture, fancy stone patterns, and bas-reliefs of a political, social, or historical nature.

Work on the canal began in 1932. One of the main objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan, it shortens the water route between Moscow and Leningrad by nearly 700 miles. Since Moscow is sometimes known as Russia's "father," and the beautiful, graceful Volga as her "mother," the canal project serves as a sort of marriage tie between the pair.

Nor is the port of Moscow slow to meet its new responsibilities. Ten new bridges across the Moscow river are planned, one of them the widest in the world—over 40 yards. The structure is of reinforced concrete, faced with rose-colored granite mined in Russia's progressive Ukraine.

The great Russian exposition in Moscow's Pushkinskoe suburb, which will attract many tourists this year, covers 350 acres. Primarily agricultural, it branches out into a wide range of exhibits representing the varied regions of Russia. The central pavilion tells the story of farm collectivization and mechanization—a steady progress over a twenty-year period. To supplement this factual study, the more artistic fair managers have planted orchards, set up hothouses for tropical vegetation, and laid out Arctic "gardens." It must be remembered that Russia is a happy hunting ground for polar bears as well as tigers, for reindeer as well as camels, and that her flora varies as widely as her fauna. The startling variety reminds one of London's British Empire Fair at Wembley back in 1924.

The Arctic Pavilion, for instance, is managed by the heroic Northern Sea Route Administration, and portrays social organization in the Soviet Artic, with explanations of how vegetables are raised in the polar wastes, and how animals are cared for. Eskimos, Lapps, Samoyeds, Chukchees, are all on display. Their villages, dances, art and music may also be seen. These "little brothers" represent to Russians, what Sioux or Iroquois do to most Americans—a source of endless interest and academic study.

The state farms and collectives (Russian agriculture is now 90 per cent collectivized) won the right to dis-

play at the Moscow exposition on a basis of the yield per acre of their principal staple crops. In the same way, through competition, veterinaries, agronomists, and star tractor-drivers won the right to demonstrate. Tractor or "combine" chauffeurs are judged by how much ground they can "work" in a single shift, and agronomists by the "lift" in crop yield obtained under individual scientific management.

Rubber-bearing plants, Soviet camphor and tea and silk at Moscow's fair indicate that the Russian government strives to make up for its deficiencies in certain products under the guidance of local Luther Burbanks with inventive minds and laborious dispositions. The entire exposition is named after the Russian writer, Pushkin.

But these are only three of the aspects of Moscow. Not so long ago the huge metropolitan capital was more like a sprawling cosmopolitan village, built without plan, and with crooked, narrow streets. Since the revolution, 3,000 apartment houses have been put up, and the number of public libraries has been increased from 16 to 2,000. There are now 60 theaters, instead of the pre-revolutionary 14.

The city—with its 3¾ million people—covers perhaps 70,000 acres, but Moscow urban planners intend to double its size. Beautiful wooded areas in suburbs are being taken in, and the city's population is to be kept at a maximum of five million. According to these plans, density of population will be cut in half, as streets are widened and blocks of antiquated houses are demolished.

Greater Moscow is being surrounded by a "protective" forest belt with its parks close to 12 miles in diameter. A great boulevard from Dzerzhinsky Square to the Palace of Soviets is well under way, the thoroughfares of Moscow's ancient Chinatown have been reconstructed, and the Moscow Fifth Avenue, Gorky Street (named after the Russian novelist), has been broadened to care for the increasing automobile traffic.

Moscow now has 35 miles of subways, with additional miles yet to be completed. Also it has automobile busses, trolley busses, 5,000 taxicabs, street cars and droshkies.

There is yet another interesting phase of a trip to Moscow—the wide diversity of citizens seen on the streets, or in cafes. The Soviet Union is home for 180 different races and languages—Slavic, German, Jewish, Finn, Rumanian, Mongol, Armenian, Turkoman, and many another. Like the visiting American who notes their picturesque costumes in the streets, they too in many cases are on tour to Moscow, from all over the country.

ROGER SHAW

## Cash for Brazil's Good-Will

(*Continued from page 39*)

nevertheless the industry, to prosper, also must have large outlets in Europe. The cotton industry likewise must depend upon Germany, and a large part of the cacao and citrus fruit output must be sold to Central Europe.

And so, differences with the Reich in the economic field were hurriedly patched up. A general trade treaty, along barter lines, is now being negotiated. But there is little doubt that Brazil's feelings toward the totalitarian states are much cooler than a few years ago.

However, President Vargas has stated repeatedly that Brazil intends to maintain friendly relations and to carry on trade with all countries, except Soviet Russia, regardless of their ideologies. Despite the flurry of trouble with the Reich, the government censorship mostly stresses favorably the views of the totalitarian states. Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Japan, come in for constant praise. This attitude keys in with constant propaganda from all the powers named. Recently Franco's agents have built up Spanish Phalanxes or Fascist groups, which have been tolerated by the government. The Japanese have a diplomatic cultural attache, and invite officials, business men, writers and students to Japan at government expense. Naturally this propaganda persistently attacks the United States.

The large German and Italian and Japanese colonies in Brazil provide the basis for strong business connections, an immediate outlet for totalitarian goods, and the maintenance of fine steamship services. Germany and Italy maintain air lines within Brazil. The Lufthansa subsidiary there has over 5,000 miles of routes, with up-to-date flying ships and airfields.

Vargas cannot afford to antagonize either Germany or the United States. The ante can be run up on both powers. Apparently he is out for the highest bidder, and within limits the highest bidder will win the day. Though he had previously stated that he would accept no foreign loans, the vast monetary credits to Brazil now proposed apparently have swung the dictator more within the American orbit than at any time since 1930.

Vargas' elaborate five-year program of public works, highways, railway electrification, and industrial diversification, requires capital. Brazil also plans to build up her navy, army, and air force on a big scale. The financing of this elaborate program can come only from foreign loans or barter arrangements for necessary supplies. Both methods undoubtedly will be utilized. Certainly the Brazilian army caste is predisposed to get supplies from Germany and Italy. It believes that the Ethiopian and Spanish campaigns have brought about a practical demonstration of the effectiveness of such materials. But American influence is increasing even in the army. It is strong in the Navy—we have a naval mission there—and an effort is now being made to win Brazil over by constructing her vessels at low cost in our government naval yards.

Propaganda offsetting that of the totalitarian powers, increased cultural interchange, new steamship services, loans, credits—such things have shown that the United States can beat Germany at her own game. American influence has been expanding. The present round of the struggle for power there is by unanimous decision awarded to the United States.

Unfortunately in this hodge-podge of international intrigue and dictatorship—a game of power politics from beginning to end—the Brazilian people are largely lost sight of. Vargas, for all his absolute powers, sits on a shaky throne. He rules by force and denial of all civil liberties. If he shows favoritism toward any one foreign power to the exclusion of others, his position may grow shakier. Some day popular rights will be re-established in Brazil, and power politics may have to do its work all over again. But the rise of democratic government in Brazil would probably increase the advantages for the United States. Meanwhile the country remains a vast question mark in international affairs—though less so than before Oswaldo Aranha sold us good will for cash in hand.

# CURRENT HISTORY

[illegible]

There are [illegible] Italians against 1,000,000 Albanians, but there will be heroic resistance and when our men are dead the Italians will have to face our women—*Ex-Premier Mehdi Frashëri.*

Of course I'm interested in murder, but only as a human activity—*Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, British novelist.*

The facts in the case of the refugee doctors are not so black or so bleak as they are sometimes painted —*Dr. Henry Smith Leiper (See Page 20).*

I don't think there would be anything more helpful than to get rid of six or seven billions of dollars of gold and scatter it around the world—*Percy H. Johnston, chairman of the Chemical Bank and Trust Company.*

Just to fool you—I was brought up a Republican—*Mrs. William O. Douglas (See Page 64).*

The trouble with most light novels is that they aren't light enough. They neglect their irresponsibilities—*Charles Poore, New York* Times *book-reviewer.*

I get quite a kick out of knotting string—*William B. Bankhead, Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

It's a childlike impulse to watch a sign painter at work or a man making sand images at the beach—*Will Johnstone, cartoonist for the N. Y.* World-Telegram *(See Page 55).*

We shall not be able to enjoy ourselves until Franco's widow tells Stalin on his deathbed that Hitler has been assassinated at Mussolini's funeral—*Vernon Bartlett, member of Parliament.*

I can't understand why any cockeyed guy would get himself elected to come down into this bedlam (Washington)—*Dr. Arthur E. Hertzler, author of* The Horse and Buggy Doctor.

We liberals have the choice between the battlefield and the concentration camp and we shall choose the battlefield. We prefer to die on our feet rather than to live on our knees —*Harold J. Laski, English professor and author.*

The distinguishing feature of the W.P.A. in politics is that the machine politicians exacted their tribute from those who were too poor to contribute and too helpless to protest effectively —*Stanley High (See Page 23).*

If it lives up to its promise, the documentary film can become an impressive addition to what are called the forces of civilization—*James Miller (See Page 42).*



# Current History

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### ARTICLES



### DEPARTMENTS



COVER PHOTOGRAPH FROM GLOBE

Current History, Volume L, No. [illegible], May, 1939. Whole No. [illegible]. Published monthly by C-H Publishing Corporation, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. J. Hilton Smyth, President; John T. Hackett, Vice-President; I. H. Williams, Secretary; E. Trevor Hill, Treasurer. M. E. Tracy, Editor. John A. Curtis, Advertising Manager, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. [illegible] a copy; $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7, in the United States, possessions, Canada, Central and South America and Spain; elsewhere $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new addresses. Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Springfield, Mass. Entered in Canada as second-class matter.  Printed in U. S. A.

NORMAN COUSINS

# The World Today in Books

After a great deal of costly and futile experimentation with the kind-word-and-a-smile theory, England and France have at last realized that the best way to handle Germany's bad boy is by the good old-fashioned rod or threat of rod. This belated attitude has been hopefully greeted by anti-Nazi factions everywhere, although much of the general feeling seems to be expressed in the phrase, "It's about high time."

At any rate, this is the phrase you might well have used if you had read and agreed with Frederick L. Schuman's *Europe on the Eve* or Graham Hutton's *Survey After Munich*. For both books—written before the actual German absorption of Czecho-Slovakia and the consequent shift of British and French policy—offer evidence difficult to refute that the mistakes of Munich, if continued, would mean Europe's downfall in shorter order than any except the Nazi high command would like to anticipate.

Though the books are concerned with a similar theme—contemporary Europe as it is affected by German aggression and the threat of war—and though both are strongly critical of any policy towards Germany that is not dictated in terms the Nazis can understand, there is enough disagreement between Professor Schuman and Mr. Hutton over Europe's future to provide an interesting comparison.

Dr. Schuman attempts to foresee every conceivable eventuality. But no matter which way he holds Europe up to the light, no matter which side he examines, the color remains the same—black. The Western democracies—France and Britain principally—abdicated their responsibilities and all they can hope to do now is to delay the disaster. Regardless of what happens, France and Britain are bound to be the losers in the long run. Any war will mean their defeat.

Graham Hutton, however, is not so sure. Where Dr. Schuman concerns himself with what he feels to be inevitable historical forces and the clash of ideologies, Hutton concerns himself solely with hard-boiled, present-day actualities.

He, too, holds Europe up to the light. But what he sees can hardly be called a complete black. There are shades of grey and—believe it or not—even a little white. If war comes, Hutton is not at all convinced that the democratic powers will be summarily subdued. Impersonal things having nothing to do with ideology or historical trends—things such as raw materials, resources, economic advantages and armaments make it far from certain that France and Britain will lose.

Mr. Hutton, formerly one of the editors of *The Economist* in London, is not merely giving expression to his wishes; he has traveled through the length and breadth of Europe, he has seen and spoken to responsible statesmen, he has observed for himself the temper of the peoples. And what he has seen enables him to feel that the democratic powers, if they abandon their Munich illusions—which they have done—can very effectively defend themselves against Hitler, if such a defense proves to be necessary.

Dr. Schuman feels that his lack of optimism concerning Europe's destiny is entirely justified: "The fault lies not with those who write history but with those who make it. The present chronicle . . . is a narrative of madmen and morons engaged cooperatively in demolishing the ruins of European civilization."

Though Dr. Schuman deplores Europe's unhappy state and fate, he seems disposed to feel that, to a large extent, it fits into an historical pattern. Thus, such a phenomenon "reappears with dismal regularity in every epoch of cultural decadence."

He adds: "I know only that the Great Society of the Twentieth Century and the Creed of Liberalism which has inspired its most significant achievements and aspirations cannot long survive the assaults of lunatics and gangsters if its defenses continue to be entrusted to criminals and idiots. If such epithets seem too harsh, the reader may supply his own. The facts and events, if called by gentler names, will not smell sweeter."

As a *memento mori*, *Europe on the Eve* may be tragically accurate. We hope not. This is one of those books which ten years from now may prove to have been written either by a historian-genius with a strange gift of foretelling the future or by a historian who—well, by a historian who lacks that gift.

*Books Reviewed in This Issue*

| BOOK | AUTHOR | PUBLISHER | PRICE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Europe on the Eve* | Frederick L. Schuman | Alfred A. Knopf | $3.50 |
| *Survey After Munich* | Graham Hutton | Little, Brown | 2.50 |
| *American Earth* | Carleton Beals | Lippincott | 3.00 |
| *Blood Is Cheaper Than Water* | Quincy Howe | Simon and Schuster | 2.00 |
| *Autobiography with Letters* | William Lyon Phelps | Oxford | 3.75 |
| *Schacht, Hitler's Magician* | Norbert Muhlen | Alliance | 3.00 |
| *Democracy Works* | Arthur Garfield Hays | Random House | 3.00 |
| *The New Inquisition* | Konrad Heiden | Modern Age Books / Alliance | .50 (Cloth 2.00) |

## INTERNATIONAL LAW
### And Diplomacy in the Spanish Civil Strife

**by NORMAN J. PADELFORD**

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Dr. Schuman has not cloaked his conclusions in ambiguity in order to be on the safe side, come what may. His prediction is clearly stated: liberalism, as the western world has known it, is already on its way to a death-bed. Europe's future rests with either Berlin or Moscow. In any possible combination of circumstance, in any lineup of war—with Russia on the side of or against Germany—Britain and France are certain to be destroyed.

"Europe, Asia and Africa will live during the coming decades under the aegis of Fascist world hegemony or of Communist World Revolution—or perhaps of one followed in the fullness of time by the other . . . Western Liberalism—ever looking backward to the reason and freedom it will have lost forever—will pass into the tomb."

The conclusions and prognostications of Professor Schuman's book do not represent, however, the burden of his work. For the most part, *Europe on the Eve* is an interpretative account of the continent's diplomatic history since 1933. As interpretation, it offers a unique point of view. But this does not necessarily mean that the interpretation is foolproof all the way through. There are differences of opinion—serious differences—even among qualified authorities.

Graham Hutton, for example, is as well-informed as any observer in Europe or America on international affairs, yet he is not convinced that the picture is quite as dark as Professor Schuman would have us believe. His *Survey After Munich*, while agreeing with *Europe on the Eve* that Chamberlain's appeasement policy was disastrous, makes the point that the only chance the Rome-Berlin axis has of winning a war is by a lightning stroke—and even there the chances are slim.

For Germany is in no position, despite the advanced development of her military forces, to wage prolonged war. In fact, it is doubtful, says Mr. Hutton, whether Germany, even if it does not wage war against the West, can successfully dominate Central Europe over any great length of time. He makes the point that the millions of people in Southeastern and Central Europe—people whom he has observed and to whom he has spoken—cannot very easily be regimented into the type of economy or political pattern desired by Der Fuehrer. They have destroyed empires in the past and may do it again.

It is refreshing to turn to Mr. Hutton's calm, reasonable analysis of the current European scene after seeing Dr. Schuman hang the R. I. P. sign up over what he feels to be the prostrate body of Europe. *Survey After Munich* provides a number of salient facts without which any attempt at prediction would inevitably suffer—facts concerning internal economic conditions in the countries involved, facts concerning the aims, ambitions and requirements of each one, facts about military strength. In addition, it provides a valuable account of what territorial and economic expansion has meant to Germany. The book makes sense.

QUINCY HOWE is the Westbrook Pegler of the book field, with one notable exception: Howe is agin' a lot of things but he is not agin' everythin'. In fact, Howe actually likes some things and will take the stump for a cause in which he believes. But, like Pegler's, his typewriter is worth its weight in dum dum bullets. When he settles down to a job of satire every sharp word in the English language tingles in anticipation of an airing.

About two years ago, Howe turned his barbs on His Majesty's Royal Propaganda in the United States in a book called *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty*. In it, he revealed himself an ardent advocate of the stay-at-home-and-keep-our-powder-dry attitude. Today he is up in arms again over the prospect that someone may disrupt the peace.

But this time he is not worried about foreign nations as much as he is about what he feels are war-makers in our midst. Among these he lists President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull, Nicholas Murray Butler, Heywood Broun, Bishop Manning, and Earl Browder. In opposition to this group, he has lumped together, among others, Herbert Hoover, Charles A. Beard, Father Coughlin, William Randolph Hearst, Boake Carter, and General Johnson.

Of course, Quincy Howe doesn't say in *Blood Is Cheaper Than Water* that it is as simple as all that; that all you have to do is pick out a name you like and jump on that side. Nor does he fail to recognize that there are many shades of conflicting opinion even within the two broad groups he has classified as the "War Party" and the "Peace Party." But for purposes of ordinary identification, he has attempted to judge by what the leaders of public opinion in America are saying as to which general group they might belong.

Howe's own sympathies are with what he calls the "Peace Party" and he does not go out of his way to give the other side its full day in court. "Peace" is a beautiful word; "war" is short and ugly. What he refers to as the War Party may in reality be nothing of the sort. It may actually turn out to be the Peace Party. And vice-versa. At any rate, there is an honest difference of opinion as to whether the President's foreign policies—which Mr. Howe feels are warlike—might not have the effect of maintaining peace, in so far as they might leave no doubt in minds of the *real* war-makers in Europe as to the futility of risking a war. Even Mr. Howe is not too sanguine about the prospects of the United States remaining out of another European war. How, then, is it possible to say with certainty that we are doing peace a disservice by speaking out strongly now against those who would make war?

The core of the issue centers around whether our participation in another European war is "inevitable." If we are certain that we can stay free of entanglement—certain beyond any possibility of doubt or retraction—then we can agree with the "Peace Party" that we should pull down the blinds and refrain from even peeking in the direction of Europe. But if we are not certain that we can stay out, and our experience might give rise to some doubt on this score, then it might be wise to do what we can towards preventing any general war from starting. And the way to do this might be to state our position in unqualified terms *now*, demonstrating to war-making states the great odds they *may* have to face if they decide to embark on war.

Such, at least, is the argument. Mr. Howe, though anything but a conformist, is strongly opposed to the "War Party." This does not mean that he is necessarily sympathetic with the complete philosophies of several persons whom he identifies with himself as among the members of the "Peace Party"—persons such as General Van Horn Mosley and Father Coughlin, and an organization known as the German American Bund.

*Blood Is Cheaper Than Water* will not leave you neutral or undecided on our foreign policy. But even if the side you choose is not Howe's, you will have to acknowledge the brilliance with which he states and presents the issue. You will admire, too, his complete liberation from trite and meaningless slogans, his ability to marshal arguments and build up to a conclusion.

CARLETON BEALS' *American Earth* will make you squirm uneasily in your seat if you had built up in your mind the picture of an America which—despite bumpy little spells we call depressions—is a democratic country of equality and opportunity where the Star Spangled banner still waves over the land of the free and the home of the brave, and where starvation and extreme poverty are rare, or at least sufficiently under cover to cause no general alarm.

For Beals, who has written the fightingest and certainly the most provocative book of his career, is shouting on every page that for much of America the pursuit of happiness and liberty has turned out to be a wild goose chase.

He feels that from a running start toward what might have been the highest and most enduring national civilization in history we have slowed down to a clumsy jog—if we haven't stalled altogether. As pioneers in the taming of a new continent we were full of courage and energy and were quick to grasp the possibilities of the land beneath our feet. But as guardians of this heritage we have been something less than wise, careful planners.

"We have thrown away an empire," declares Beals. "We have half-destroyed its agricultural value. We have thrown away the security of millions. Most of whole states have plunged into decay, and community life over large portions of the country is breaking down, despite New Deal efforts, before our very eyes."

Beals furnishes statistics to reinforce his assertions—statistics backed up by first-hand observations in the Dust Bowl, in the marshlands and dried-up lands of the South, in the poverty-stricken areas of New England. "These statistics are shot through in my mind with the cracked and ulcered fingers and mouths of starving pellagra sufferers, and housewives dragging to their doom with malaria down in the marshlands of Georgia and Alabama."

*American Earth* is Carleton Beals' contribution toward what he feels is a long-overdue awakening of the American people. He wants them to realize, as he does, that we have allowed our land—and therefore our wealth—to decay to such an extent that it is a direct factor in the suffering of millions of Americans. Almost half the rural population, he says, has a standard of living insufficient for proper health. Moreover, "millions of lives are today being stunted, distorted, destroyed in America, more than all the airplanes of Mussolini ever blasted to death in the invasion of Ethiopia."

This not only sounds serious; it *is* serious. Quoting Mr. Beals again:

"We chalk the warning up now, because we don't like revolutions, we don't like violence, and because we believe in orderly and just solutions."

Mr. Beals' solution? As a reporter, he no doubt feels that his job ends with a statement of the problem and a warning; he points out, however, that Denmark, Holland and Sweden —with far more limited resources

than ours—have managed to think and act intelligently.

To a certain extent, *American Earth* introduces a new Beals. He has been writing about Latin-American affairs for so long that it might seem difficult to imagine him in anything but his customary role. And yet those who know him can provide ample assurance that *American Earth* is better suited to his special skills and special interests than anything he has yet written. For Carleton Beals has always been keenly conscious of the social struggle. Though his books on Latin-American countries have earned him the reputation as our outstanding authority on our Southern neighbors, his observations in those works could not possibly be as sensitive, as alive as when he is writing about his native country. His new book does for the whole of America what Pare Lorentz' "The River" did for the Mississippi. Greater praise hath no book.

It is reassuring, after exploring the gloom in America through the eyes of Carleton Beals, to be able to read the distinctly optimistic *Democracy Works*, by Arthur Garfield Hays. No system has ever been devised, he contends, which can provide as many genuine benefits as our democracy. Based on any standard of comparison—standard of living, culture, education, welfare of labor—democracy has proved its superiority over any other form of government. There is no need to turn to non-democratic doctrines for the solution of our many problems. For the genuine solution, he is convinced, can only be achieved under a liberal democracy. And only where people are free to talk and think and write can there be true progress. For liberty, he says, is an end in itself.

At this point, we can hear the voice of Carleton Beals: "Beautiful words. But how can we convince the forgotten millions of half-starved, out-of-work Americans that civil liberties are beautiful when their stomachs demand food and their hands demand work? Can civil liberties be turned in at the corner grocery for bread and butter or at the town factory for jobs?"

And this is what Arthur Garfield Hays, whose name embraces the names of three Presidents, would very likely answer:

"You don't have to tell me of the faults of our democracy. But what makes you think that these unfortunate millions would be any better off under any other form of government?

"Look at the record. See what we have done. Then compare it with alternate systems. There's only one hope for all these people—democracy and still more democracy. In Germany or Italy or Russia writers such as you, Mr. Beals, would not even be allowed to disclose the plight of the unfortunate. Here we at least know what our problems are, we have the free interchange of ideas, we know that something must be done and we can see to it that it is done."

To which Carleton Beals might say:

"Yes, I agree it would be foolish to discard whatever aspects of democracy we do have for a structure built along the lines of the German or Russian models. But just what do you propose to do about our cast-off Americans? What is your program? How *do* you plan to make democracy work?"

It is here that Mr. Hays, who has championed civil liberties for more than a quarter of a century, in court and out, comes to the fundamental idea in his book:

"I favor production of goods to full capacity and by any means possible; I favor increasing mass purchasing power by causing distribution to low income groups of any surplus above the normal; I propose that no law be passed that is ambiguous, indefinite or confusing. I urge trial by court instead of by commission, whatever the inconvenience or expense; I advocate the elimination of Hagues of all political complexions and the maintenance of all civil rights. Production and democracy, full speed ahead!"

The debate, of course, could be extended indefinitely. Out of it, however, two points emerge on which few will disagree: first, a problem does exist; second, it is a problem which can no longer be ignored, or even half-solved.

*Democracy Works* goes beyond the usual "we or they" theme; it not only states the ideological advantages of democracy, but analyzes—as did Mr. E. Tracy's recent *Our Country, Our People and Theirs*—the factual basis for comparison of the living conditions of people under totalitarian forms of government with that of the United States.

"I AM AFRAID," remarks William Lyon Phelps in his *Autobiography with Letters*, "by the soggy weight of nearly all books published during the last ten years . . . To read them is not an intellectual but a gymnastic exercise; one needs the wrists of an orang-outang to hold them . . . These heavy volumes are vulgar and the publishers should be ashamed of them."

America's famous Kidding Academician ought to be refuted on this score. Books ought not to be ruled out merely because they happen to weigh a lot. Some of the best-reading books of recent years have been fairly substantial in size. What about Lincoln Steffens? Or Margaret Mitchell? Or John Dos Passos? Or—oh, yes—here's another one. What about William Lyon Phelps?

His new book—he calls it *Autobiography with Letters*—rates favorably in poundage with any book this year. Though it weighs as much as two average volumes, it is far too interesting and colorful to be shunted aside. This definitely is not a book to cause its publishers to hide their faces in shame.

We are afraid the good professor has peppered—as he not infrequently does—his own fish. Nor can he plead that the size and poundage of his book were the devious conspiracy of his publishers. Anyone who writes a manuscript that comes close to a thousand printed pages must have some idea that the end product will not exactly resemble a vest-pocket pamphlet.

But inconsistencies do not trouble Dr. Phelps. Somewhere in his book he asks this question: "How is it possible to be consistent in such a tragi-comedy as this world where God Himself seems so inconsistent?"

And yet William Lyon Phelps' declaration against what he calls "stupendous weight" in books is a representative Phelpsicism. It is in line with what he has been saying—in classes and out—for more than a quarter of a century. It gives more than a hint of his strong aversion to ponderousness and pomposity. If he were President, dull writing would be ample justification for capital punishment.

William Lyon Phelps is the best example America has ever had of a college professor who could not only tell his students how to write colorful and meaningful English but who could do it himself. His writing—and

this is more abundantly evident in *Autobiography with Letters* than in anything he has done before—is full of flavor and reflects a rich and varied life. And when he says that he has enjoyed life to the fullest, no one can doubt his sincerity.

Yale's great literary critic, it has been said, "likes everything." But Dr. Phelps does not agree. He has drawn up in his book a partial list of the things he hates: night clubs, postum, buttermilk, cauliflower, parsnips, panatella cigars, good meat spoiled by thick gravy, high desks, the pronunciation of Joan with two syllables, any deviation from his standard breakfast menu, female legs in the daily news, free verse when it is not poetry, paint on young faces, overlong novels in the shape of trilogies, and personal items from Hollywood. Another pet hate—doubly significant in this case—is ascribed to biographies in which the author is important at the expense of his subject. It is doubly significant for this is the only criticism that can be made of his own book. He has written an autobiography but relatively little of it is devoted to himself, even though the title he has chosen does grant him some leeway. It is more a book *by* Phelps than it is *about* Phelps. William Lyon Phelps' talents as a writer and genial philosopher are manifest throughout, but he himself—as the subject—is somewhat neglected.

More than two dozen chapters of his book are devoted to people he has known, personalities like Henry James, Thomas Hardy, Sir James Barrie, Edna Ferber, Dorothy Canfield, William Graham Sumner, George Santayana (perhaps the wisest and most beautiful chapter of the entire book), Pirandello, George Moore and John Galsworthy. In addition, he has used a fair amount of material already published in books and magazines.

But even though the emphasis is not as strong as it might be on autobiography *per se.*, his book is far and away the brightest—and probably the most important—non-fiction literary work of the season. Books such as these—and men such as Phelps—do not come along very often.

ONE of the most interesting and amazing figures of contemporary Germany is Hjalmar Schacht. Despite his recent dismissal from the post of economics chief and President of the Reichbank, his "wizardry," as Norbert Muhlen calls it in *Schacht, Hitler's Magician*, may seriously affect the economy of Europe for years to come. For Schacht was able, without money and with very little variety in trading material, to get into Germany the raw material she needed and sometimes even a little cash return. It is sheer magic, says Mr. Muhlen, who has become so engrossed in Schacht's career, his philosophy, and his bag of economic tricks, that he has made him the subject of a book.

*Schacht, Hitler's Magician*, does two things: it provides a biography of the man who in four years talked Germany's foreign creditors out of 7,450,000,000 marks, and it explains and analyzes the strange method by which his system works—or rather worked.

Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht, as Johannes Steel points out in an introduction to the book, missed being born a New Yorker by less than a year. His father was a naturalized American citizen who had married in Brooklyn and lived there. But the elder Schacht did not have much luck in his various businesses and returned to Germany where young Hjalmar was born; he was given the middle name of Horace Greeley in honor of America's great newspaperman. His father knew Greeley and had a strong admiration for American democracy. In fact, Greeley's influence caused the elder Schacht to become an editor and he ran the *Heider Zeitung* and *Kieler Zeitung* for a number of years.

Young Schacht's upbringing, therefore, was hardly a fitting background for the political clothing he has been wearing in recent years. Yet the transformation is not difficult to understand when the long record of Schacht's opportunism is recounted and explained. It was an opportunism which he was not reluctant to share with any who could use and pay—with cash or glory or both—for his services.

Up to the last, Schacht operated on the theory, it is evident from Mr. Muhlen's book, that no trade was a good trade if Germany could not fleece its trading "partner" coming and going. There were two parts to the formula. The first was to obtain goods through barter or credit; the second was to lure money into the Third Reich and keep it there. Thus, through both devices, Schacht man-

aged in four years to take from the world some 18 milliard marks. It is more than double the anticipated revenue in the French budget, and exceeds by one-third the total state revenues of the United States in 1936. "The Third Reich, after liberating itself from the chains of Versailles, instead of making an end of them," declares Mr. Muhlen, "laid them on other nations."

Though his book was written before Schacht's dismissal, Mr. Muhlen predicted the inevitability of the collapse of the Schacht system. Schacht has gone, but much of the system stays on. It remains to be seen whether that, too, will be discarded. At any rate, Mr. Muhlen is convinced that the balance sheet of Schacht's contribution to German economy and to economic theory shows a strong liability. The man who professed never to fear liability has become its victim.

So much has been written about the agony of the Jews in Germany that it seems there can be but little that has not already been said a hundred times over. Yet, putting down Konrad Heiden's new book, *The New Inquisition*—it is a book to be read at a single sitting—one feels that never before has he felt the full impact of the crushing truth. It is no longer merely the knowledge that unspeakable things are happening in the world; there is a constriction of the throat, a softness in the knees.

Heiden writes with icy detachment. The lean, terse prose is down to the facts of last November's appalling pogrom. Glass tinkles to the cobble-stones; streets are strewn with the pitiful inventory of shops and homes; hob-nailed boots shatter the stillness of deserted small-town streets; soft flesh groans as it enfolds the truncheon.

"The food was good," writes one of Heiden's informants from the concentration camps, scrupulously striving to give pathetic credit where none is due. There was no water at Buchenwald and only one latrine for 10,000 men—but "the food was good"!

The book does not need these touches to confirm its authenticity; nor does it need the author's own patient explanations—why it was necessary to disguise all identities and places. From first page to last it unfolds in mounting suspense a story of calculated brutality transcending

powers of imagination. It is so internally, infernally true that its readers will have difficulty in regaining their complacency.

Translated by Heinz Norden with an introduction by Hendrik Willem van Loon, the book opens with the dramatic midnight oath of personal fealty administered to 50,000 S.S. recruits on November 9—an oath almost immediately translated into brutal action. After brief sketches of Nazi history and the history of the Jews in Germany and of the Grynszpan murder, used as a pretext for unleashing the pogrom, we hear the story of the "Isaac Affair" itself (as the Nazis called their rampage of November) told by victims, by foreign witnesses, by the German press, and occasionally from within the Nazi ranks. The wrecking of the shops and homes, the burning of the temples, the mass arrests, the confiscation of property—they are all carefully and irrefutably documented.

It is a bleak and bitter book. But Heiden's carefully reared record also shows, as never before, the widening chasm between the German people and their Nazi misleaders. The German people do not want war; they do not want pogroms, brutality, senseless destruction. They stood silent only because they had no choice; even so, it is a miracle that so many of them did succeed in expressing some form of opposition—and therein lies the book's hope.

Like no other book, this one makes the Nazi terror *real* to those who do not know it at first hand. It should, and no doubt will, reach tens of thousands—and they will not sleep easily thereafter.

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# Careful, If Not Calm!

## AN EDITORIAL BY M. E. TRACY

THE chaotic state of foreign affairs confronts this country with not only a critical situation but one which changes with such rapidity from day to day as to preclude reliable assumptions.

For weeks and months, we have gone to bed each night not knowing what the morrow might bring. Many of us, however, have preferred to prophesy rather than wait. What is worse, many of us have formed convictions on the basis of prophecy, and some have gone so far as to advocate the formulation of rigid policies on such a basis.

As a matter of fact, we do not know what is going to happen or how it may affect us and our country. As a matter of fact, nobody knows, even including those who think they are shaping the future. Hitler doesn't know; Mussolini doesn't know; Chamberlain doesn't know, and Stalin doesn't know. There are too many cooks spoiling the broth for anyone to say what it will be like when finally dished out.

It is of little use to advise the people of this country to keep calm. They are too excited over, and too interested in, what is going on. They are both awake and alarmed. But—and making due allowance for all that—there is one thing they can and should do: keep their heads and maintain a liberty of action which will permit them to adopt the most sensible course if, as, and when the necessity arises. This is no time to proceed on assumptions, especially assumptions which obviously rest on the lack of anything like a true perspective.

The foreign situation is not only obscured by men's inability to foresee the future with any degree of accuracy, but in this particular instance, it is obscured by a smokescreen of bluff, bombast, brag, hypocrisy, deceit and intrigue quite beyond the human mind to fathom or analyze.

We know that the dictators hate democracy. We know that they have done everything possible to undermine it. We know that their technique has been based on the theory of biting off a little here and a little there, but never quite enough to provoke general resistance. We know that they engineered a Franco victory in Spain so that they could use that unhappy country as the base of operation if occasion required. We know that they have tried to split England and France apart, and to keep Russia out of any opposing coalition that might be formed. We know that they have angled for the friendship of Japan; that they have done their best to establish an effective spy system in this country and in Latin America.

We know that the sum total of their strategy, activities, and maneuvering indicates nothing less than a power-drunkenness on their part, and that they may have reached a point where they would try anything that promised to feed their preposterous ambitions.

We know that they are in rather desperate circumstances from an economic standpoint; that they lack cash and credit; that they have actually starved their people in order to provide cannon and cannon fodder. We know that they feel the need of beating the tom-tom in order to keep their distressed millions in line.

But what they will do next, where they will strike, and how it will affect our own situation—we do not know.

War may have come before the ink is dry on this paper, or the entire strut may have collapsed, even if only for a breathing spell. The world has three gigantic military machines—those of Japan, Germany, and Italy—ready to go. Back of those machines, however, are comparatively empty treasuries and soul-weary multitudes. Their one hope of success lies in striking with such speed and such ruthlessness as would blast or scare their enemies out of countenance.

We know that this would be the basis of their tactics, if war comes. We know that they would spare nothing and nobody to gain quick advantage; that they would have no consideration for weakness, innocence, or non-participation.

We have seen them bomb defenseless cities, and we have heard their aviators explain what fun it was to behold women and children in flight from the raining dew of death. We know that the other side would pursue similar methods, no matter how much it might protest or complain. In plain English, we know that, if conflict arises throughout Europe, we shall behold such a shambles as never before.

We know that this might well include us, no matter how desperately we tried to stand aloof. We do not know how the line-up will shape itself; what issues will be involved; how definitely our own emotions and convictions will be affected, or what opportunities for real service to humanity might arise. Our obvious course, therefore, is to eschew all commitments, keep our eyes open, and wait until we can get a clearer vision of what is happening.

# Admiral Claude C. Bloch

## Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Fleet

If war should come to the United States, this is the man who would direct the backbone of our fighting forces—the Navy. A 61-year old Kentuckian, Admiral Bloch has put forty years of service behind him and today has reached the pinnacle of a distinguished career.

Barely 21, he took part in the Battle of Santiago where he won a medal for saving Spanish sailors from their burning ships. Since then he has received two dozen awards and citations, including the Navy Cross for work in troop transport during the World War.

Through the years the Admiral has sailed in every quarter of the world and at home has worked brilliantly at the variety of tasks that fall to the lot of naval officers. In 1931 he became a Rear Admiral, one step away from the goal of every Annapolis midshipman—the post of full Admiral. Six years later his promotion to this high rank was announced.

Although the Chief of Naval Operations is the senior officer in the hierarchy of the U.S. Navy, in war the destinies of both the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets would be in the hands of Admiral Bloch.

His flagship, the Pennsylvania, was scheduled to take part in the great concentration in New York Harbor for the opening of the World's Fair until sudden and dramatic orders sent the Pacific Fleet steaming to the West Coast, a graphic indication of the effect the European situation has on the disposition of our sea power.

With the Fleet went the Navy's No. 1 fighting man, a trim, tall, mild-mannered officer, who, curiously enough, looks as well in civilian clothes as he does in uniform.

*Wide World*

# History in the Making

WARS and rumors of war in Europe continued to fill the headlines in April, with the exact issue at stake no clearer. The rape by Italy of Albania only made Europe's bitter family squabble more confusing to the American observer.

From cabled stories in the press alone it became increasingly difficult to obtain any accurate picture of the trend of events. Statements from the European chancelleries more often than not were ambiguous, issued only for public consumption and the befuddlement of the public mind.

On the surface, Great Britain was bending every effort to form a strong anti-Nazi bloc, intent on halting the aggressive expansionist plans of Hitler and Mussolini. Strange, then, were certain gestures made by Prime Minister Chamberlain. Most awkward and embarrassing, quickly played down in the British press, was his abortive attempt to return to his beloved "appeasement" policy with Mussolini, exemplified in his offer to recognize the *fait accompli* of Albania's occupation if Mussolini once again would promise to do something about Italian troops in Spain.

Finally, in the face of the growing discontent of the patient English people, Great Britain, with France murmuring an obedient *"moi aussi,"* made "guarantees" to Turkey, Greece and Rumania—guarantees they none too enthusiastically accepted. For the three Balkan countries, while dubious about Britain's aid, were under no illusion about Hitler's and Mussolini's growing power.

Unexplained was this fact: Britain, while publicly girding her loins for an anti-Hitler, anti-Mussolini campaign, made no economic threats against either country. And economic action, at the moment, is the only one of definite, tangible value. But economic sanctions, Chamberlain insists, would lead only to war. The question then arises:

Is Great Britain preparing for a peace with the Fascist front?

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*Roosevelt to Pan-America*

LAST SUMMER, I stated that the United States would join in defending Canada were she ever attacked from overseas . . .

The American peace . . . has no quality of weakness in it. We are prepared to maintain it, and to defend it to the fullest extent of our strength, matching force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any one of our group.

Should the method of attack be that of economic pressure, I pledge that my own country will also give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare.

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### *Millions Under Arms*

Meanwhile, almost eight million men were either under arms or notified to hold themselves ready for immediate call for war. Germany had mobilized more than one million; France matched that by mobilizing another million. In Italy one million two hundred thousand Italians were awaiting orders. One million Poles, who Hitler had demanded be demobilized to "preserve the peace of Europe," were still defiant and with their rifles over their shoulders. Five hundred thousand Rumanians, fearful that their country would be wiped off the map through a stirring up of its Hungarian, Ukrainian and German minorities—a similar tactic was used in the erasure of Czecho-Slovakia—were marching toward the defense of their frontiers. At least a quarter of a million Hollanders were prepared to man the 150 new pill-boxes erected on the Dutch-German frontier and to smash the dikes against an invading German horde. Hungary called three hundred fifty thousand seasoned soldiers to the colors, and prepared to march toward Rumania on the tacit say-so of Berlin, and a million armed Bulgarians presumably were ready to help Italy splice Greece away from Yugoslavia, and pave the way for a march of a hundred thousand Roman legions, already mustered in the former Kingdom of Albania, to Salonika, which controls the strategic Dardanelles.

Precisely what the two and a half million Russians who are under arms would do was the question that provided a general European worry. Russia had long and loudly demanded that Imperial Britain and Socialist France—the two Western "democracies" — preserve Czecho-Slovakia. The appeasement policies of Munich and the subsequent snubbing of the Soviet by both London and Paris, despite later overtures, tended to cool Moscow's desire to plunge into the West to "save" any other countries "protected" by Britain and France.

No sooner had the first gun roared as Il Duce's legions swarmed into Albania than the Moscow press let loose a blast of cynical criticism against the "Stop Hitler and Mussolini" drive of Chamberlain and Daladier. Soviet spokesmen declared that "attempts to piece together a patchwork of partial agreements were at best a palliative which would not truly guarantee the safety of any of the states threatened by the Axis." *Izvestia,* Soviet Government organ, in an editorial titled "New 'Laurels' for Rome" said: "Italian Fascism could have held its booty without resort to air raids. The explanation of the recent events [Italy's invasion of Albania on April 7] must be sought far beyond the bounds of immediate Italo-Albanian relations.

"The activity of British diplomacy, the projects for guaranteeing the independence of the small countries, severely disturbed the leaders of the Rome-Berlin Axis. As a result, guns are roaring on the Balkan side of the Adriatic. Every attempt to avert aggression in one sector inevitably results in its cropping out in other sectors. All that was needed for

Hutton—The Philadelphia Inquirer

*One American view of the neutrality problem.*

### *Roosevelt Message to Hitler and Mussolini*

YOU have repeatedly asserted that you and the German people have no desire for war. If this is true there need be no war . . .

I am convinced that the cause of world peace would be greatly advanced if the nations of the world were to obtain a frank statement relating to the present and future policy of governments . . .

I trust that you may be willing to make such a statement of policy to me as the head of a nation far removed from Europe in order that I, acting only with the responsibility and obligation of a friendly intermediary, may communicate such declaration to other nations now apprehensive as to the course which the policy of your government may take.

Are you willing to give assurance that your armed forces will not attack or invade the territory or possessions of the following independent nations:—Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain and Ireland, France, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Russia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Iraq, the Arabias, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Iran?

Such an assurance clearly must apply not only to the present day but also to a future sufficiently long to give every opportunity to work by peaceful methods for a more permanent peace. I therefore suggest that you construe the word "future" to apply to a minimum period of assured non-aggression—ten years at least—a quarter of a century, if we dare look that far ahead.

If such assurance is given by your government I will immediately transmit it to the governments of the nations I have named and I will simultaneously inquire whether, as I am reasonably sure, each of the nations enumerated above will in turn give like assurance for transmission to you.

Fascism to hurl itself upon Albania was the rumor that the Western powers intended to guarantee the independence of Yugoslavia."

### *Yugoslavia Next?*

That Yugoslavia was scheduled to be dismembered by the Axis powers seemed by mid-April to be a foregone conclusion. Since the earliest stage of Fascism, Yugoslavia has been Mussolini's pet hate. Despite the appeasement policy of Prince Paul, the Regent of Yugoslavia, hostilities between the two Adriatic countries have been latent but unchanged. It is well known that Germany, courting Yugoslavia to deprive Czecho-Slovakia of one of her allies, persuaded Rome to ease its aggressive attitude toward Yugoslavia. This resulted in the initialing of a rapprochement policy by Britain and France, whereby Yugoslavia became an important link in the chain of alliances that Chamberlain was forging to encircle Germany. When Germany annexed Austria, Yugoslavia became a neighbor of the Greater Reich, and, when Czecho-Slovakia was destroyed, Yugoslavia lost her strongest ally in Central Europe.

Yugoslavia has a strong German minority of about five hundred thousand people living mostly in the former Austrian province of Slovenia, and in the province of Banat, former Hungarian territory. The provinces of Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina were also parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy up to 1918. After the World War Italy claimed Dalmatia, but when the peace conference gave Dalmatia, which is largely populated by Slavs, to Yugoslavia, Italy seized Fiume, the largest Croatian port, and the strategic town of Zara on the Dalmatian Coast.

It was later that Italy made Zog the King of Albania and brought this small southern neighbor of Yugoslavia under its thumb. While Zog drew a large allowance from the Italian Government, Italy built strong fortifications along the Yugoslav frontier and developed the Albanian oil fields. With the disappearance of Albania, Mussolini's obvious move is towards Yugoslavia.

### *Scattered War-Scares*

Further intensifying the European war-scare, the Swiss by mid-April had mined all the roads and bridges

along the German frontier and their pill-box forts were fully manned. Belgium was ready for an onslaught, and particularly chary of a break-away of Prussianized inhabitants ceded to it after the World War. At the same time, some observers believed that Hitler might launch his attack on the West by creating trouble in Denmark, where he was ready to seize North Schleswig, a former German area which, following the last war, voted to attach itself to Denmark.

With Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Denmark the weak defenses of Britain and France on the West, there remained the bothersome Polish question on the East. And Poland was by no means sold on the idea of defying Hitler merely on Britain's guarantees to defend Warsaw "after Poland was attacked." The Poles were realistically aware that an attack would be so quick that they might be done for before England could muster any help—provided England meant what she promised in the first place.

N. Y. World Telegram

*Wouldn't it be awful if someone started it?*

### *"Appeasement" in Asia*

In the Far East, the undeclared Sino-Japanese War was apparently drawing to a close. That Japan has not signed the highly-touted military pact with Berlin and Rome was made plain when Premier Hiranuma, at the first meeting of the China Affairs Council, flirted with the United States by intimating that the Open Door in China is not yet latched tight. Pointing out that there was much reconstruction work to do in North and Central China following the "scorched earth" policies of Chiang Kai-shek's retreating armies, he indicated that all third powers would be granted economic equality in China if they wish to assist in rebuilding the devastated areas.

At the same time, Rokuro Takagi, vice-president of the China-Japan Industrial Development Company, declared that North China will find a chance for trade and commerce and see its sleeping resources developed as soon as Chinese politicos alter their insistence that political issues be settled before they can consider economic co-operation with Japan and with co-operating third powers.

Japan claims special rights in North China by virtue of a number of treaties and agreements that date back many years. She is now ready to invite third powers to assist in the development of commerce and industry in this rich area.

At the same time, settlement of the serious, long-drawn-out Japanese-Russian fishery dispute eased tension on that dangerous front. The outcome was a compromise in which both sides yielded points but retained essentials.

The fishery issue never appeared to figure prominently in the Treaty of Portsmouth signed on September 5, 1905, when Theodore Roosevelt was instrumental in bringing the Russo-Japanese War to an end. The fishing agreement, the last article of the treaty, provided that Russia was "to grant to Japanese subjects full fishery rights along the coasts and in the bays, harbors, inlets, and rivers of her possessions in the Japan, Okhotsk and Bering Seas." The Russians had flatly rejected Japan's demands in these waters on the ground that these regions belonged to the Russians alone and, although the Czar had suffered disastrous defeats on the sea and land and was threatened with serious revolutionary disturbances, he would not accept the role of a completely defeated belligerent. He thought that if he withheld the small matter of fishing concessions he would win a minor point. This seeming inconsequential item has now proved valuable.

A further cause for friction between Russia and Japan remains, however, in the matter of the oil concessions in North Saghalien Island, which is occupied by the Soviets, while Japan holds the southern section. A treaty of 1925 signed at Peking gave Japan the right to prospect for oil fields on the eastern coast of North Saghalien and to exploit coal fields on the western coast. The working of these concessions has led to considerable Russo-Japanese friction during the past two years. A statement issued by the Japanese Foreign Office last June declared that the Japanese collieries had been obliged to suspend operations while the Soviet Chief of the People's Heavy Industry refused to see representatives of the Japanese oil concerns, restricted the number of Russian laborers and prohibited the laying of pipes and drilling, bringing the oil field work to a standstill.

The experiences of British interests in the exploitation of Soviet mineral concessions some time ago

revealed the length to which the Russian authorities sometimes go to obstruct operations. The Russian attitude towards both the fishery leases and the Saghalien mineral concessions long ago aroused resentment in Japan and threatened to precipitate a crisis.

However, with the fisheries problem now out of the way, it is reliably reported that a satisfactory agreement will be reached on oil and coal.

*No Nicaraguan Canal*

Meanwhile the high command of the United States Army and Navy came out definitely against using a twenty-one-year-old American concession to build a new canal across Nicaragua to supplement the cut through Panama, for which the United States paid $3,000,000 for a ninety-nine-year right in 1918.

The idea of a canal across the Isthmus, which would traverse the boundary just north of Costa Rica and utilize Lake Nicaragua, was first visualized more than 160 years ago by Spain. In 1893, an American company actually started digging, but was halted by the panic of that year. With the building of the Panama Canal, a much shorter route, the Nicaraguan project has been in a state of fluctuation. The proposal for the new canal always crops up during war scares with the finding that the Panama Canal is vulnerable.

*Roosevelt Peace Plan*

Against the lowering background of war-racked, fear-stricken Europe, the President of the United States, by reason of his leadership of this mighty nation, stood out in April as a tower of strength. How closely the Administration has been preoccupied, how profoundly it has been disturbed, by Fascist aggression was sharply indicated on April 9, when Mr. Roosevelt in a single crisp sentence from the rear platform of the train taking him from Warm Springs, Georgia, to Washington, declared: "I'll be back in the fall if we don't have a war."

The preoccupation continued as Europe quaked under marching feet. On April 11, the President, in effect, interpreted that single sharp-edged sentence by approving an interpretation of it made by the Washington *Post* (see p. 47). On April 14, addressing the Pan-American Union, he declared bluntly that the United States would defend Canada if she were ever attacked from overseas, and that it would match "force to force"—both military and economic—if necessary to preserve the peace and independence of the nations of North and South America.

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

*Working below the surface.*

But the most sensational statement by the President, and the one which made him bulk up like another Woodrow Wilson in the eyes of the world, appeared on April 15. On that date, Mr. Roosevelt, in messages to Chancellor Hitler and Premier Mussolini, asked them for assurances that they would keep the peace for at least ten years—would refrain from attacking or invading Poland, Rumania, Greece or any one of a score of other specifically listed nations.

England and France, anxious to preserve the status quo in Europe, hailed these messages with joy, as did Canada and most of Latin America. But in Rome the controlled press rejected them angrily — with the newspaper *Messagero* storming that they "should be considered as an act of war." In Berlin, Hitler called the Reichstag into session, as he does for his more important pronouncements, to hear his answer on April 28.

In the United States, reactions were mixed. The scope and daring of the Roosevelt gesture were recognized, but delight in this broad-gauged peace proposal was tempered by the fear that the promises it sought would not be granted, and that, even if granted, they would simply constitute one more pledged word from nations which have repeatedly broken pledged words in the past several months. The typically American love of the altruistic gesture in a time of foreign crisis was matched by the equally typical, if contradictory, American feeling that we should play in our own backyard and keep out of other people's business.

In this political-minded country it was even speculated that one thought behind the messages might have been to further Mr. Roosevelt's prospects as a possible candidate in 1940. It was pointed out that, in a speech at Mount Vernon the day before, he had noted how Washington, at "a time of real crisis" in 1789, "once more . . . put from him the life he loved so well and took upon himself the Presidency."

*U. S. Production Down*

According to the Alexander Hamilton Institute, the value of factory output in this country during 1938 was 27.2 per cent less than during 1937. Roughly one-fourth of this decline was due to lower prices, but three-fourths of it was due to decreased volume. Wages were higher in 1938 than in 1937, but, while workers got higher pay per hour, they put in fewer hours. Hence their total income was not boosted to any such extent as the increased wage rate would indicate.

Nor did 1938 provide much encouragement by way of reducing unemployment. Relief rolls stayed up, and the President found it necessary to request $875,000,000 for W.P.A. in addition to the original appropriation which, when made, was supposed to see W.P.A. through.

*Pyrrhic Victory*

When the President requested that additional $875,000,000 for W.P.A. last January, the economy bloc in Congress thought it saw a chance to strike a telling blow. After more or less log-rolling, it succeeded in shaving his request down to $725,000,000. The President then came back with the suggestion that, after carefully considering the situation, he found he was right in the beginning, and asked for the $150,000,000 which he had been denied.

On April 12, Congress authorized an appropriation of $100,000,000. So the net result of this three-months' wrangle is this: The President gets $825,000,000, or 94 per cent of what he originally asked. He has often said that, if he got 75 per cent of anything, he would be satisfied.

### *Relief to Continue*

The federal government's enormous excursion into direct relief and work relief has become a part of American life. States, cities, and individuals have been persuaded to place themselves at the disposal of Washington, and have accustomed themselves to accept such help as may be necessary from the federal government. This idea has been woven into our economic and political system, and its sudden abandonment is out of the question.

Strube Cartoon

*Curfew . . . ?*

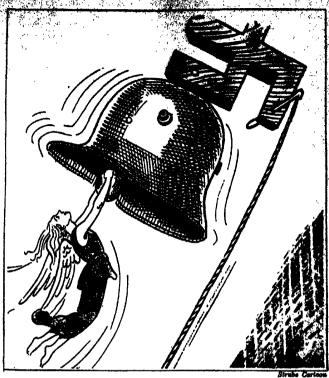
Whether Democrats are continued in power in next year's elections or are replaced by Republicans, relief —whether direct or indirect—must go on for several years. Its reduction will have to be carefully graduated if calamity is to be avoided.

Decreased taxes, decreased debt, and a balanced budget seem out of the question for quite a while. The most that can be done along this line would be the launching of a steady, well-thought-out program of readjustment, which would require several years for completion. This becomes apparent when we remember how deeply the government is digging into its treasure chest for larger and larger defense appropriations.

### *American Barter*

One interesting feature of the defense program is the opportunity it offers for trading some of our surplus wheat and cotton for raw materials which are not produced in this country but which would be necessary in case of war. Senator Byrnes, after making a careful study of the situation, has presented a plan which meets with the approval of Secretary Hull and of President Roosevelt. In rough outline, it contemplates trading England, Holland and Belgium some two billion bales of cotton and a hundred million bushels of wheat for rubber and tin. There are other commodities which we do not produce but of which we should have adequate reserves, particularly manganese.

At present, the Government has made loans against eleven million bales of cotton and eighty-one million bushels of wheat. Disposal of any considerable part of either as the tentative program provides would go far toward easing the market.

Meanwhile, war and naval experts have calculated that we should have six hundred thousand tons of rubber, or a year's supply, in reserve and about $65,000,000 worth of tin. It was originally suggested that the government appropriate $100,000,000 for buying and storing such raw materials. Congress declined to do this, however, which accounts for the barter plan. If foreign governments, as the plan suggests, hold the wheat and cotton they take for a period of five years, or until market prices rise above the present level, the barter plan should not interfere with general trade.

### *For Farmer John*

It is impossible to think of wheat, cotton, or any other major farm product without thinking of Farmer John's problem. Though he has been planned and programmed left and right, prices have not gone up as he was led to believe they would, and markets have not expanded.

Quotations as of April 10, 1939, tell a graphic story of his plight, especially when contrasted with those of April 10, 1938. This year, No. 2 wheat was quoted at 88⅜ cents, a year ago at $1. Corn, No. 2 yellow, was quoted at 63⅝ cents, a year ago at 86⅝ cents. Butter was 22½ cents as compared with 27¾ cents last year; eggs were 17 cents as compared with 18½ cents; barreled pork was $22.87½ as compared to $28.87½.

Whatever else may be said of curtailed production and the withdrawal of marginal lands, they have not boosted farm prices. Naturally enough, Farmer John wants to know, how come? Moreover, he is insisting on larger cash benefits and more practical schemes, and Congress seems to see no way out except to give him a large portion of what he wants. This too augurs postponement of reduced taxes, decreased debt, and a balanced budget.

### *Labor Likewise*

Organized or not, labor is in the same boat as Farmer John. It has gained something by way of theoretically increased income, but not the opportunity for steady work, which it desires more than all else. Nor has it gained peace—a fact for which labor itself to some extent may be responsible.

Labor can be held responsible for failure to present a united front and a coherent program, but not for such measures as have obviously handi-

capped its progress. A large section of labor, particularly that represented by the A.F. of L., is dissatisfied with the Wagner Act and is advocating certain amendments. This furnishes C.I.O. leaders with an opportunity to charge more or less collusion between A.F. of L. leaders and Big Business. Thus the controversy between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. is given a new twist, which makes the prospect of their reconciliation less hopeful.

Pressure for amendments to the Labor Act has created a rather embarrassing situation for its champions. They hesitate to open up the discussion for fear the act will be emasculated, but realize that something must be done. The idea of sacrificing the National Labor Relations Board as a concession which might satisfy critics of the Wagner Act has gained considerable favor, particularly since the Supreme Court overruled certain of the board's decisions. But neither the A.F. of L., the National Manufacturers Association, nor many Congressmen appear to like such a compromise. Hearings on the question of modifying the Labor Act have already begun. Senator Wagner, author of the act, is willing to concede one point: the right of employers to petition for elections among their employees to determine what union they prefer to represent them, if any.

*Gold Repository*

Some economists suggest that, since we seem to be getting along all right with our huge gold reserve impounded and buried, we might find a way to get along without gold. Possibly we could, if it were not for the fact that most governments, as well as most bankers and an overwhelming majority of common people, still place great faith in it. They not only want it, but they want it in a safe repository, and of all repositories the United States has come to be regarded as the safest. Whenever there is a flurry in the money market, gold takes flight toward our coasts.

In one recent month, more than $350,000,000 worth of gold was sent here for safe keeping. The motivating cause was exactly the same as sent us more than $520,000,000 last September and more than $560,000,000 last October. Each time European governments become scared, they send Uncle Sam gold—all of them except Italy and Germany, which have little or none to spare.

During the last year, this country received more than $1,250,000,000 in gold, most of it from England. There is only one interpretation to place on this huge and consistent flight of gold to America, and that is a widespread and fixed conviction by outsiders that the United States is still the strongest and safest government on earth.

*Bergdoll Back?*

There is even more spectacular evidence as to how the United States is regarded—the decision of that repentant draft-evader, Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, who prefers jail in this country to "freedom" under the Nazis. No doubt the half million dollars' worth of property at stake had something to do with his homesickness, but even so, he still faces jail in this country. And even so, he still prefers to go behind bars temporarily, to admit before the world that American citizenship and an American home are worth the price.

Oeuvre, Paris

*Miss Europe, 1939.*

Bergdoll's prostration at our doors is perhaps the greatest tribute ever paid a country. He is one man who, after plenty of time to think it over, would rather serve time under democracy than be a gentleman under dictatorship.

*Politics Look Up*

In preparation for next year's presidential campaign, which is already under way, we should keep clearly in mind not only what we ourselves think of this country, but the high esteem in which it is held by other people. Regardless of what they say, what they do leaves no doubt that it enjoys world-wide respect for its political and economic stability.

Partisanship, when carried to the extremes of nation-wide controversy, frequently implies lack of faith and confidence. But, as a matter of fact, the American people are quite in accord on most fundamental policies. What they fall out over is method and technique. They talk loudly about third parties, pressure groups, possible revolutions, are apt to read victory or defeat in terms of more or less drastic change; but realize nevertheless that most of our changes come about through a gradual alteration in public sentiment.

Until recently, it was thought that we might go into the 1940 campaign with a third or even a fourth party. This was because of the numerous pressure groups which appeared to be forming. Now it looks as though we would go into it with the usual two-party line-up, though not without some minor bolts and diversions.

President Roosevelt has so completely dominated his administration that Democratic leaders find it hard to visualize anyone capable of filling his shoes if he does not run again. They realize that a split is developing between Democratic conservatives and liberals and they are counting noses to find out which faction represents a majority.

From a strictly internal standpoint, the Republican Party would appear to be in an easier position. While no one can tell whom it will nominate for President, there are several good prospects. Outstanding are Thomas E. Dewey of New York and Robert A. Taft of Ohio. It is almost a foregone conclusion that the Republicans will nominate a comparatively new man rather than an old war-horse.

*Straw in the Wind*

For what political forecasters and omen seekers want to make out of it the first Tom Dewey for President Club has been formed in Owosso, Michigan, his home town. Appropriately—and perhaps significantly—the honorary president is Dr. A. L. Arnold, Sr., who officiated at Dewey's birth. Incidentally, the club has announced that it will be non-partisan.

# Those German Refugees

## Facts do not justify the propaganda about refugees displacing American jobholders

DR. HENRY SMITH LEIPER

A GREAT hue and cry is current these days about the number of German refugees reputedly displacing American workers. In New York, department stores are accused of firing native Americans to hire refugees; in New England, according to oft-repeated rumors, entire mills are being manned by refugees; throughout the country, the same story continually crops up in one or another manifestation despite categorical denials by the employers concerned.

What is the truth? Americans have a right to know. Are we being flooded with refugees? Do they displace American labor? Are refugees a liability or are they, as their friends contend, a vast potential, and already partially achieved economic asset? Fortunately, there are facts and figures to which we can turn for our answers.

To appreciate the problem presented by refugee immigration to the United States we must understand the extent of that immigration. What, then, are the official figures of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service?

In the six-year period, July 1, 1932, through June 30, 1938 (the official government statistical periods most closely approximating the present era of National Socialism in Germany), there has been an immigration to this country of 45,952 Germans. In the current fiscal year, which ends June 30, 1939, we may expect an immigration from Germany (including Austria) equal to the total allowable by our quota regulations—27,370. Thus, as of July 1, fewer than 75,000 emigrants from Germany will have come to this country in the seven years since July 1, 1932.

This figure of 75,000, which is the "roof" of all possible estimates of the number of German refugees in this country, must be lowered if one takes into consideration the number of aliens who returned to Germany.

DR. LEIPER was born in New Jersey in 1891, is a graduate of Amherst College and the Union Theological Seminary in New York. Ordained in 1917, he received his Master's degree in the same year and his Doctorate of Divinity in 1920. A Presbyterian and later a Congregationalist, he saw service as a missionary in China, a Y.M.C.A. secretary in Siberia during the World War, and as head of the American Church in Paris. A member of the American Academy of Political and Economic Science, Dr. Leiper has occupied executive positions on many important church committees and is the author of several books.

For the six-year period, July 1, 1932, through June 30, 1938 (the last year for which there are official government figures), 18,445 aliens legally permanent residents of the United States returned to Germany.

Subtract this figure from the total number of immigrants for the six-year period—45,952—and you get a six-year net German immigration of 27,507, or 4,584 persons a year. If you ignore the emigration to Germany and concern yourself only with the German immigration to this country, the average immigration per annum for the six-year period is 7,659.

It is interesting, in this connection, to compare the total German immigration per annum for the past six years with that of the six years immediately preceding the advent of Nazism. The German immigration for the six-year period, July 1, 1926, through June 30, 1932, was 187,014, an average of 31,169. In other words, more than four times as many immigrants came here from Germany during the six years immediately preceding Hitler as came during the six years following his accession to power.

But what of the future? Is this only the beginning of a huge refugee immigration? Under the quota laws of 1924, still rigorously enforced, immigration to the United States from all countries is limited to 153,774 persons a year. The quota for Germany (including Austria) is 27,370. To this may be added the Czechoslovak quota of 2,874. When and if this occurs, the German quota will be slightly over 30,000.

Carry these figures one step further. Be completely pessimistic. Assume that Hitler successfully continues his expansion program in the East; assume that he adds Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Danzig, Lithuania, and Latvia to his domain. Make all these unlikely assumptions, and you still would have a German quota of less than 40,000.

Now, for the moment, forget the refugees. Consider the total immigration to this country. You will recall that quota immigration is limited to 153,774. But remember that although a hundred and fifty three thousand people may come here, it does not mean that they do come or that there is any likelihood that they will.

In 1938, only 67,895 persons came to this country for permanent residence, including those who came under various exemptions from the quotas. This year, the total quota immigration is expected to be about 75,000, a figure which is likely to remain the peak. The reason is that, of the 153,774 annual quota allowance, 83,754 places are set aside for Great Britain and Ireland, countries which are no longer nor soon likely to be lands of emigration. Last year, emigration to this country from Great Britain and Ireland amounted to 4,551.

To recapitulate: As of this coming July 1, only 75,000 German refugees will have come to this country in the preceding seven years. Future German refugee immigration is limited to 30,000 a year. Total immigration to this country is limited by law to

## STATEMENT OF DELOS WALKER, VICE-PRESIDENT R. H. MACY AND COMPANY:

For some months past we have heard from time to time an utterly false and malicious rumor to the effect that store people in New York have been let go to hire refugees from Europe. Now the papers have heard the rumor, and have asked us what we know about it.

So far as this store is concerned not one word of truth supports such a statement.

The plain fact is that none of our employees has been displaced by a refugee. The further and self-evident fact is that we share the deep and natural public sympathy for the plight of any refugee from any form of oppression or persecution. We ignored the rumor, believing it to be so preposterous that it would die of its own absurdity. We did not choose to dignify it by comment.

But the rumor has persisted. We are forced to the conclusion that the only thing that could plant it in the minds of innocent and well-meaning people is organized and systematic propaganda, using the innocent as carriers in a whispering campaign.

So, perhaps, the best thing for all concerned now is just to speak right out in public and say that the rumor is a plain falsehood, and to say it with all the emphasis that can be placed on it.

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153,000 and by practice to approximately 75,000 a year.

The next question is: Have these 75,000 German refugees who came in during the past seven years displaced American labor; have they thrown out of gear the economy of a nation of 130,000,000 souls?

On the face of it, it is ridiculous to believe that 75,000 refugees could seriously complicate an unemployment problem that affects ten million wage-earners. It also must be remembered that a large number of the 75,000 German refugees are women and children, as well as men too old to be competitors in the labor market.

On the basis of figures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, there is reason to assume that at least half of the 75,000 are females. Of the 17,199 immigrants admitted during the year who gave Germany as their last permanent residence, 8,682 or 50.4 per cent were females. Furthermore, more than 16 per cent of the German immigrants were under sixteen years of age, another 12 per cent were between sixteen and twenty-one, and 18 per cent were over forty-five. On the basis of these figures, it is fair to estimate that between 37,500 and 50,000 of the 75,000 German immigrants are not wage earners.

But have the refugees taken American jobs? No one can categorically state that no refugee has taken a job from an American. But neither is there any sound ground for generalizations as to thousands of Americans displaced by refugee workmen.

Individual rumors can be run down and, as a result of these experiences, a basic general truth evolved. Examine, for instance, the story that New York department stores were hiring refugees and firing Americans. This rumor, spread by a whispering campaign, became so prevalent last November that a group of large New York stores issued a forthright denial. Among those issuing statements printed in the New York press were Delos Walker, vice-president of R. H. Macy and Company, Walter Hoving, president of Lord and Taylor, Samuel W. Reyburn, chairman of the board of directors of the Associated Dry Goods Corporation, Kenneth Collins, vice-president of Gimbel's, and executives of Hearns, Stern Brothers and Bloomingdale's.

Since then, some of the stores have issued sworn affidavits as to the number of refugees employed. Richard H. Brown, vice-president and general superintendent of Abraham & Strauss, Inc., Brooklyn, a store with 2,719 employees on March 28, 1939, said: "To my knowledge, no employee has been discharged and replaced by a refugee from any foreign country."

Miss Elizabeth Westgate, director of personnel for Bloomingdale Bros., Inc., a store employing 2,563 people, declared: "The total number of people in our employ who might be classified as refugees is eleven. Of these, two were employed in 1936, seven in 1937, one in 1938, and one in 1939. Of the eleven, only one is employed in selling. Of the others, one was employed as an executive in our Berlin office, one was employed in our Vienna office. Not a single person has at any time been discharged from our employ in order to make room for a refugee."

Take another case, a rumor that Americans were being displaced from factory jobs in Shelton, Connecticut. This charge was investigated by the Connecticut Department of Labor and a statement was issued on March 3, 1939, by John C. Ready, Deputy Commissioner. Mr. Ready's statement said:

"An investigation was made by this department in six or more plants in Shelton. Investigation discloses that one refugee has been employed in one of the plants as an elevator operator. This job was created for him and no one was displaced."

These instances do not prove that no American has been displaced by a refugee; they do indicate, however, that when these rumors are run down they are usually found to be baseless. Certainly no one can object to the job made for a lone refugee in that single Shelton factory; nor does Bloomingdale's detailed affidavit substantiate the charge that department stores are firing Americans to give refugees employment. On the other hand, anyone acquainted with the strange word-of-mouth process by which a rumor grows into a widespread whispering campaign will understand how the employment of one refugee in a job created for him can be magnified into a trend that threatens the security of American workmen.

Rumors about the competition exerted against American professional men by refugees are almost as far-fetched. The most common story deals with the German refugee doctor. But one also hears of the dentist, the lawyer and other professionals. In the case of the doctors, there is a small measure of truth in prevalent rumors, although they too have been exaggerated out of all resemblance to the facts. But there is no valid basis for complaint against German dentists or lawyers. In the United States, lawyers, being officers of the court, must be citizens before they can practice. Since one must live in this country for five years to qualify for citizenship, obviously there can be no truth in the story that refugee lawyers are competing with Americans. As for dentists: American dentistry is much further advanced than dentistry anywhere else in the world. Hence, few if any foreign dentists can practice in this country without at least two years' additional training here.

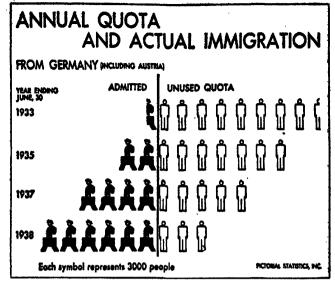
The facts in the case of the refugee

doctors are not so black or so bleak as they are sometimes painted. The number of refugee doctors in the United States in no way approaches the figures popularly assumed. According to information compiled by the U. S. Department of Labor, 1,528 alien physicians came to this country during the four-and-a-half-year period, July 1, 1934, through December 1, 1938. This figure is considerably smaller than that of the 5,000 young doctors annually graduated in this country by our medical schools and, in a country which has more than 180,000 physicians, it is not overwhelming.

But once again the question may be asked: Is this only the beginning? And the answer is: No. The problem of the refugee doctor has already been largely solved. It must be remembered that the early Nazi anti-Jewish legislation was directed largely against doctors; they were, thus, among the first groups to emigrate. According to official Berlin statistics, published in the September 17, 1938, issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* there were fewer than 2,500 Jewish doctors left in Germany on July 1, 1938.

As at least 600 refugee doctors came to the United States between July 1 and December 30, 1938, it is fair to assume that there are no more than 1900 Jewish doctors remaining in Germany.

Of this number, 700, according to official German government reports, have permits to practice among the Jews still remaining in Germany. A large number must consist of older men to whom migration holds no attraction, men who probably never will practice in this country even if they should come here. With no new Jewish medical replacements in Germany, it is fair to assume that there are not more than 1,000 potential medical emigrants left in Germany, and of this number many will go to countries other than the United States.

The problem, then, is the adjustment of some 2,500 physicians who have come here from Germany or may later come. This task has been taken over by a non-sectarian physicians' committee that includes distinguished American doctors. Among those who have taken an active leadership in this work are: Dr. Currier McEwen, Dean of the Bellevue Medical School; Drs. Tracey Jackson Putnam and Stanley Cobb of the Harvard Medical School; Dean Joseph Patt of Tufts Medical School; Drs. J. M. Finney and Warfield Longcope of the Johns Hopkins Medical School; Dr. Harvey Cushing, Professor Emeritus, Yale Medical School; Dr. Walter W. Palmer of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University and Drs. N. Chandler Foote and Foster Kennedy of Cornell Medical School.

The physicians' committees in New York, Boston, and elsewhere first evaluate the training of the refugee doctors and weed out such persons as they deem unfit. Next, they attempt to resettle the remainder where they will not compete with American doctors. The problem, as viewed through the eyes of the Boston Committee on Medical Emigrés, of which Dr. David I. Edsall is chairman, is summed up as follows:

"It appears likely that, if a thorough-going search of this country's unfilled medical needs were made, all of these men who have arrived or may arrive here and whom we consider competent would be absorbed without difficulty and to the distinct advantage of institutions and communities which otherwise go without the services they can provide."

Which brings us to an important point: There is another side to the refugee question besides the negative one of refuting misconceptions as to the number of refugees and their alleged displacement of Americans. Many experts, among them noted economists, believe that refugee immigration can be an important factor in the return of prosperity.

These people point out that the refugees bring new skills, additional capital and even new jobs to the countries in which they settle. This has been the experience of England, of Holland, of Australia and now of America. This has been the experience of history, of the Walloons and Flemings in Elizabethan England; of the Irish, the Scandinavians and the Jews in the United States; of the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Germans and the English in South America.

Only recently, Sir Samuel Hoare, British Home Secretary, told the House of Commons that 11,000 refugees in England had given employment to 15,000 Britons. It has been estimated that refugees will bring four and a half million pounds (approximately $22,000,000) to Australia within the next three years, a fact that prompted Lord Nuffield, British motor magnate, to declare on his recent arrival there that "Australia will be better off when Jews settle here."

A Dutch Commission for Economic Advice to German Emigrants reported that the number of workers in Holland who had been brought into employment by the direct economic activity of the refugees was approximately the same as the number of refugees who had come into Holland. The report also pointed out that, for the most part, new industries estab-

lished by former German industrialists produced articles hitherto imported.

Mr. R. F. Harrod, Oxford University lecturer in economics and president last year of the Economic Section of the British Association, has declared, in the Manchester *Guardian*, that "the notion that existence of unemployment is a good reason for discouraging immigration appears wholly fallacious. The notion that a bare reduction of the number of residents would serve to reduce the number of unemployed, and an increase would increase unemployment, has always been regarded as crude in the extreme. There is much to be said for the proposition that an expansion of numbers is good for employment and contraction bad. This accords with a broad comparison of the situation in the nineteenth century, both here and in other countries, with that in the twentieth century."

Americans who agree with Professor Harrod point out that typical small town "booster" societies operate on this theory. They seek to attract new industries to their communities in the belief that prosperity comes with an increase in population.

These local chambers of commerce bemoan the loss of a local industry and try to bring new businesses to their community. Following this line of reasoning, many now ask: Is it not equally important to watch major international shifts in the location of important industries? Is there not an important national gain in the relocation here of industries which will employ American workmen and American capital? Should we not make every effort to bring to this country Germany's noted tool-and-die makers, their skilled optical and fine steel workers? Should not the glass workers of Czechoslovakia be brought here to establish an industry which we have long lacked.

In this regard, a committee of the Bead, Stone and Glass Importers Association of New York plans to bring 500 Czech experts here to teach between 50,000 and 75,000 American workers the secrets of making glass, bead and stone dress trimmings and costume jewelry, a Czech specialty.

Already, the United States has harvested fruits of the refugee immigration. A survey just begun by the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany reveals that thousands of Americans have been given employment in industrial projects started by refugees and refugee capital.

One German refugee who managed to bring a good deal of his capital to this country in 1935 now employs two hundred American workers in a real estate development in suburban New York.

A woolen hosiery mill has been started in Lawrence, Massachusetts, by three refugees who formerly exported these stockings to the United States. Already, 38 American workers have been employed.

*George Rublee, authority on refugee questions and member of the President's Advisory Committee.*

Seventy-five American workers are now employed in a dress factory established in New York by a refugee who came here in 1936.

One hundred and forty-seven Americans are employed in a Chicago factory making shoes for women. This business, established by three refugees, has an annual production of $400,000. A brand new industry, the manufacture of a flexible synthetic resin for tubing, sheet material, gaskets and such, was started in this country by a refugee who brought the patent for it from Germany. Forty-three Americans have been given employment by this New Jersey company.

Dentists used to import tiny gold screws from Germany because no American could make them. Good harmonicas used to be imported from Germany. Now, these products, as well as others, are being manufactured here.

The cultural contribution of the refugees to American life is by now too well known to need repetition. Germany's loss of Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Heinrich Bruening, Arnold Schoenberg, Stefan Zweig, Max Reinhardt, Emil Lederer—to name only a few of the great—has been America's gain. Some few hundred scholars, men of the first rank in academic circles, have been absorbed by American institutions, mainly with funds specially subscribed for the purpose.

But needless to say, all refugees do not come to this country with large sums of capital, or with especial technical or professional skills that can be readily utilized. There are lawyers who have to be retrained, business men who must be reorientated, clerks and salesmen who must be readjusted to a new life. This work is carried on by the resettlement divisions of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish refugee organizations devoted to refugees. Because of the activities of these organizations not a single refugee has appeared on the public charity rolls. Under the direction of these groups, refugees are being spread throughout the country where they can best be assimilated, where they can best fit into the social and economic patterns of American life.

This retraining and resettlement of refugees, one of the most challenging problems in American sociological history, was started in 1937 under the auspices of the National Coordinating Committee. At the outset it was recognized that many of the refugees had a better chance of adapting themselves to American life as skilled workers and agriculturists than as traders, lawyers, or accountants.

The work has proceeded slowly but effectively. Three hundred committees now have local groups working with the national office of the Coordinating Committee. During 1937, 226 families totalling 400 men, women and children were resettled. During 1938, the number was more than trebled, 797 families comprising 1,256 men, women and children were resettled. Figures for the last five months for which figures are available, September 1938 through January 1939, reveal still greater progress. The number of persons resettled during this five-month period was 1,011—nearly three times as many as were resettled in all of 1937 and almost as many as were resettled for the whole year 1938. Many other ref-

(Continued on page 88)

# The W.P.A.: Politician's Playground

## Out of the administration of relief, says this writer, may come one of the major scandals of recent history

STANLEY HIGH

THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION is the largest social enterprise ever undertaken by the United States Government. It has total expenditures on its books of $6,500,000,000. The persons now on its payrolls number two and one-half million. It is also the richest partisan gusher ever brought within reach of our politicians. The politicians, generally at the expense of the unemployed, have handsomely cashed in on it. Widespread investigation makes it plain that the ugly story of how this has been done has never been more than hinted at.

There was a time, in the W.P.A.'s early period, when the bosses feared lest the able and not-yet-politically-awakened social workers who largely manned the enterprise would be indifferent to their designs. Pressure, therefore, was exerted at the top. The top was not indifferent. Thereafter, it was arranged that the W.P.A.'s state administrators would be appointed "on the advice" of the politicians. Through that ample opening the bosses moved in. For most of the four years since, the W.P.A. has been their happy hunting ground. From the White House down to the precinct captain, this preserve has been protected and the smell that came from it in increasing volume has been laughed off.

This, of course, is not the first time that the United States has been assailed by political odors of this sort. Nor is the situation that gives rise to them a peculiarity of the Democratic party. There is little on the books to indicate that the Republicans, confronted with a like temptation, would have resisted it with notably greater success. Malodorous politics are not a Democratic or a Republican phenomenon. Primarily, they are a phenomenon of the machine politician and his organization. For that both parties are responsible. The distinguishing feature of the W.P.A. in politics is that, in this case, the machine politicians exacted their tribute from those who were too poor to contribute and too helpless to protest effectively.

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STANLEY HIGH has been reporting and interpreting important news since 1922 when he became the *Christian Science Monitor's* roving European correspondent. Before that he had been a member of the European Reconstruction Committee and a member of the Methodist Mission to China in 1919.

High, who can praise or condemn with equal skill, took the stump for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 but today he is something less than enthusiastic. His new book, *Roosevelt—And Then* tells of his disappointment.

In addition to his reporting, lecturing and editorial work, Stanley High has found time to write a number of books, among them *China's Place in the Sun, Europe Turns the Corner, Looking Ahead with Latin America,* and *The Church in Politics.*

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A sketchy indication of how far and how ingloriously the W.P.A. has been used for political plunder was given by the special committee of the United States Senate, the Sheppard committee, which was charged with the investigation of Senatorial campaign irregularities in the last election. The work of that committee, however, was limited to Senatorial elections and it investigated only those situations in which complaints had been received. Until recently, every effort for a wholesale, thorough-going inquiry was blocked.

But the policy of spend-spend, tax-tax, elect-elect ran into a sizable snag at the last election. Belatedly, therefore, Washington appears to have bestirred itself. Harry Hopkins, en route from the W.P.A. to the Department of Commerce, stopped at the Capitol long enough to acknowledge the truth of a situation which, for a long time before that, he had managed to live with without acknowledging. In his place, Colonel F. C. Harrington, a first-class and unpolitically minded executive, took over the W.P.A.—with orders, three years late, to post the place against political poachers. And Congress, at long last, has started an investigation.

If, unlike previous inquiries, this one proceeds without whitewash, then Congress is due to uncover a record of scandal which will probably set a new low in the history of American politics. That record, which I have looked into exhaustively and can only summarize here, is one of coercion and intimidation against W.P.A. workers, of party bosses reaching for campaign funds into the meager pay checks of the unemployed; of padded relief rolls; of workers being hired, not because of their need, but because of their party regularity and fired because of their lack of it. It is a story told, not by disgruntled Tories, but by the unemployed, themselves, whose hides have suffered.

Take, as a sample, the state of Pennsylvania. Nowhere has the plight of the unemployed called forth more official sorrow than among that State's New Deal politicians. And nowhere have the unemployed been subjected to such systematic political fleecing.

When the W.P.A. was organized, the Guffey-Earle ring landed the post of state administrator for Eddie Jones, a duly qualified local politician. The crack-down began almost immediately. In December 1935, according to the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette,* Jones told a W.P.A. audience in Pittsburgh that he expected them to organize "militant groups" in support of Roosevelt. According to the same paper, his assistant asserted that "W.P.A. workers who are not in sympathy with the Roosevelt administration will be eliminated from the

W.P.A. payroll." With the 1936 election just around the corner, campaign literature was included in the W.P.A. pay envelopes. A campaign newspaper was started, to which

W.P.A. workers were warned they had better subscribe—or else. The workers were called on for all sorts of political service; an ex-newspaper man, on relief, told me that his only W.P.A. job, during the election period, was turning out campaign speeches for Democratic candidates.

W.P.A. workers contributed not only time but money—according to a sliding scale nicely graduated to the size of their checks. As explained by a W.P.A. worker of considerable state-wide experience, the basic contribution was put at 3 per cent of the annual relief wage. The local political bosses, the W.P.A. lists having been available to them, called in the workers and, one after the other, made it plain that they had better come across. This particular individual objected strenuously and finally was let off with a $35 contribution. His monthly wage was $125. Drivers of W.P.A. trucks in a community near Pittsburgh were obliged to come through with amounts that varied from $15 to $50. In Carbon and Luzerne Counties the usual figure for truck drivers was $100.

As election approached, the pressure increased. In preparation for a big meeting in Indiana County, Pennsylvania, the county chairman wrote to his committeemen: "If there are any highway or W.P.A. workers in your precinct at this time, contact your foreman and make him responsible for his crew being there 100 per cent. . . . Have all highway and W.P.A. trucks in the parade." In Philadelphia, the instructions were even more direct. "Contact all houses in your division," said a letter to committeemen, "and get the names of all men on relief, all those holding W.P.A. jobs. Urge them to register Democrat or else lose position."

By election day, forty-four thousand of the two hundred thousand voters in Luzerne County were on the government payroll. This rush to be sure that every available voter was put on the payroll led to some strange incidents. One of them was the case of Richard Lee Malone of Uniontown, Pennsylvania. Young Malone received, one day, an assignment to a W.P.A. job. He didn't report. He then received a notice asking why he had not reported. He still did not appear. Whereupon, he received a check for $6.54 for work he had never done and notice that he was fired from a job he had never held. The Richard Lee Malone to whom all this happened was seven years old.

Evidence of this effort to get the political pound of flesh from Pennsylvania's relief workers is available from almost every section of the State, and the story is equally sordid wherever one uncovers it in other sections of the country. The Fourteenth District of Massachusetts is represented in Congress by Joseph W. Martin, Jr., a Republican and leader of the House opposition. He is so able that at the last election the New Deal strategists marked him down for extinction. To accomplish that end, they turned to the W.P.A.

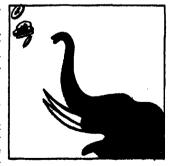
First, the W.P.A. was called upon to furnish the candidate. It did, in the person of Lawrence J. Bresnahan. Bresnahan was the W.P.A. administrator for the Fall River District. It went one better, and provided a campaign manager in the person of one of Bresnahan's W.P.A. associates. Between them, the organization was set to deliver.

In a political club near W.P.A. headquarters in Fall River, payrolls were checked every Saturday night, and workers were expected to kick back at least $1 a week out of their relief wages. The hard-pressed wife of one W.P.A. worker needed cod-liver oil for a tubercular child. She counted on buying it with a bit of her husband's $13 weekly pay. But the W.P.A. supervisor got to the slim pay check first, collected $1 out of it for a Bresnahan raffle and the cod-liver oil had to wait. When another W.P.A. worker, a man with a wife, five children, and a monthly wage of $65, refused to buy a $1.25 ticket to a Bresnahan clam-bake, he was told: "[illegible], you'll be out of a job. Why take it out on your kids?"

Fear of "taking it out on the kids" led Republicans on the W.P.A. to spend their working hours checking off Democratic registration lists. It accounted for many of those who "volunteered" for party work after hours. It explains why an estimated 99 per cent of Fall River's workers wore Bresnahan buttons on the job.

Coercion, however, proved a boomerang, as it did in many places. In the polling booth, the W.P.A. voters turned on the bosses. Bresnahan and his W.P.A. machine were defeated. But the unpleasant fact remains that the unemployed, in one more area of the nation, had been called on to pay—with their own increased suffering—for the political misuse of funds originally intended to succor them.

This Massachusetts story is only a sample that can be matched in many other places. In New Jersey, the New Deal also put its trust in the W.P.A. There the man the organization was out to get was W. Warren Barbour, Republican candidate for the United States Senate. Again the New Dealers reached into the W.P.A. and picked out a candidate, and again they called on the W.P.A. to elect him. The man chosen was William J. Ely, who was the W.P.A.'s state administrator.

With that as an auspicious start, the politicians went ahead. W.P.A. lists in Essex County were made

available to the party leaders. W.P.A. workers, Republican as well as Democratic, were told to attend Democratic ward meetings or suffer the consequences. To make sure that they did attend, the bosses, at some of the meetings, called the roll of those on relief.

A definite schedule was worked out for the blackjacking of W.P.A. workers. Thus, those with wages of

$70 a month were expected to come through with $5. In the $80 brackets amounts up to $10 were called for. In the $88 to $94 class the assessment was $15 and in the $103 class it was $20. Workers above $103 were put down for "all the traffic will bear."

The notorious Kentucky scandals followed the same pattern. Mr. Roosevelt, himself, had asked for the reelection of Senator Alben W. Barkley, the majority leader. With that for a go-ahead, the Barkley machine took over the W.P.A. organization, hook, line, and sinker, as it was taken over in other parts of the nation.

In thirty-two western counties of the State, practically the entire administrative personnel was put on the job. W.P.A. offices and stationery were used by Barkley's campaigners. W.P.A. lists containing the names of the seventeen thousand two hundred certified workers were made available. A person-to-person canvas was instituted by W.P.A. personnel. Project foremen throughout the state put Barkley-pressure on their workers. Many of those whose political status was dubious or hostile were summarily discharged. There was a widespread drive to "advise" W.P.A. Republicans to shift their registration to the Democratic column. There was a similar drive to squeeze Barkley campaign funds from relief checks. One illustration, out of many, will indicate the ruthlessness of that undertaking. A woman in a small Kentucky town, with a disabled husband and children to support, got a job on the W.P.A. Her monthly wage was $30. Ten dollars of that went for medicine. Her grocery bill was long unpaid. The crack-down artists of the Barkley campaign sought her out, however, and demanded for "dear Alben's sake, a contribution of $10." She replied that that was utterly impossible, and explained her plight. That failed to stir the hearts of Mr. Barkley's camp-followers. A few days later she was discharged.

Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Kentucky—states already mentioned—are areas which in the last election were more or less crucial for the New Deal. It might be expected that in those places the scandal of the W.P.A. in politics would be more revolting than elsewhere. Unfortunately, the evidence from parts of the country where no such "larger issues" were involved indicates a situation no less ugly.

MISSOURI, for example, was no major New Deal test in the last election. But the trail of W.P.A. politics is no less distinct. I have, for example, the affidavits of twenty-eight W.P.A. workers from Howell and Oregon Counties. All of the twenty-eight are Republicans. All of them were fired from one to three days before the last election. In each case the reason given for the firing was "work unsatisfactory." And yet in not one of these cases had there been any previous suggestion of unsatisfactory work. The real reason appears in all of the twenty-eight statements. Four of them are typical:

When William Dollins, a W.P.A. laborer, was asked by his foreman how he expected to vote, Dollins incautiously replied: "Who wants to know?" Three days before election he was fired. Similar political justice was the lot of Albright Drumright. Drumright's answer, when his W.P.A. foreman tried to pin down his vote, was: "My politics is none of your damn business." That fixed his fate. R. W. Baker, an ex-service man with a wife and five children to support on his W.P.A. wage, was told by his boss: "About 99 per cent of my men are Democrats. Unless you so declare, I'll have to put you down as a Republican." To which Baker replied: "I'm non-partisan." That was enough to condemn him. Of sixty men on the project he was the only one fired in the pre-election purge.

Sylvester Rhodes, whose W.P.A. job was the only means of support for his family of ten, was asked to join the Young Democratic Club at $1 a month. When he protested that he did not have $1 a month above his family's needs, pressure was applied. When he rounded off his continued refusal with the statement that he was a Republican anyway, he forthwith lost his job.

Data gathered in many places add to this general picture. In New York City, W.P.A. workers were organized as "shock troops" for a house-to-house canvass of relief families against the purge-marked Congressman John J. O'Connor. In West Virginia, many of the W.P.A.'s politically faithful were given pre-election wage increases. New Mexico—unwilling to wait upon Washington's heretofore feeble attempts at investigation—indicted a large number of politically prominent people, charged that they had raised the wages of Democratic regulars and fired Republicans, that they had extracted campaign contributions by intimidation, employed relief workers for political activity and then falsified the records to indicate that they had been doing legitimate relief work. Of the number indicted seven have already been found guilty and a considerable number remain to be tried. All over the country the political bosses discovered the advantages of increasing W.P.A. payrolls on the eve of elections. In spite of the fact that the indices of private employment were rising, the W.P.A. rolls in Pennsylvania were steadily expanded before the 1936 election, until during the last week they hit an all-time peak of two hundred ninety thousand. After election they just as steadily declined. In Allegheny County, five thousand persons were added in the three weeks before the primaries. In the three weeks following, the same number were fired. College students were invited to go on W.P.A. with the promise that, when they quit the job in September, their pay would be continued until after Election Day. Nation-wide statistics indicat[e]

*(Continued on page 62)*

Acme—Harris & Ewing

*Mrs. Mildred Riddle Douglas, wife of the youngest member of the august and elderly Supreme Court, is a suburbanite who does just the things suburbanites do and she has no intention of changing her habits. Pretty, active, competent, here she is, struggling with eleven-year-old Mildred's bicycle (the boy, "Bumble," is seven), seeing the children off to school, baking a cake on cook's day off (a publicity picture, yes—but she really can do it), and finally dressed for a visit to town. According to Ruth Finney, a Scripps-Howard editor in Washington, Mrs. Douglas is a striking example of the New Deal policy that "youth must be served in the Federal Judiciary."*

# Mrs. Justice Douglas

## The youthful wife of the Supreme Court's youngest justice symbolizes the New Deal's "youth spirit"

RUTH FINNEY

WALK into the Y.W.C.A. in Washington almost any afternoon, and you will see a slim, blonde, blue-eyed young woman in gym togs batting a badminton bird with exceptional skill. She will be laughing a good deal, probably, and having an extremely good time.

If someone tells you that she is the wife of an Associate Justice of the revered United States Supreme Court, you may think you are being ribbed, unless you are one who keeps up with the times. But Mildred Riddle Douglas is the wife of a Supreme Court Justice and she does play badminton at the Y. The first Supreme Court wife in history to do so, probably she will not be the last, for she is simply the most striking embodiment so far of the Roosevelt Administration's determination that youth must be served in the Federal Judiciary. She and her gay young game personify even more vividly than her beardless, unsilvered husband the President's policy of putting the administration of justice into the hands of those young enough to play an active part in contemporary American life.

Not that Mrs. Douglas is out to break any precedents for the fun of breaking them. She intends to be At Home on Monday afternoons, as justices' wives always are, and to observe all the other traditions punctiliously. The dignity of her husband's office will be safe in her hands. She will differ from most of her predecessors only in the fact that she is young and in the midst of the current of her times, rather than an onlooker from another generation.

As a matter of fact, Mrs. Douglas has a great deal of natural personal dignity. Possibly it dates back to her high-school teaching days. She taught Latin for nine years and was so good at it that, wherever her husband happened to move in the first years of their marriage, she was able to find work in the nearest high school.

That lifelong interest of hers in Latin—and mathematics—seems anomalous until you become aware of the quiet competence with which she moves about. Then it explains how, in addition to running her house and rearing her children, she fits into her busy days the entertaining that official Washington demands, an active interest in what is going on downtown—she has been a frequent spectator at S.E.C. hearings—and membership in three organizations: the parent-teacher group at the school attended by her children, the League of Women Voters, and the League of Women Shoppers.

She is not a speech-making, committee-heading member of any of these organizations. She gives most of her time to her family. But she thoroughly approves of what the League of Women Shoppers is doing, and when it recently endorsed a strike of hotel waiters and demonstrated its support by serving lunch to picketers, she was one of those who put on a kitchen apron and passed the plates.

By one o'clock every school day she is waiting at the Friends' School to pick up her seven-year-old son William, nicknamed Bumble, and at two she is back for nine-year-old Mildred. While they are at home she usually is there too. Mildred, by the way, recently came across some of her mother's old Latin books, developed an instant interest, and is now reading simple Latin sentences.

The Douglas home, on a hill in a Maryland suburb of Washington, was selected so that two children could have plenty of room to run about out of doors; so they could shoot at a target and throw a ball and ride bicycles without worrying about city traffic. Young Bumble's tin wagon is apt to be sitting by the front door. Mildred's dolls usually decorate a broad window seat in the sunny living room.

It is a rented home, but it suits them and they are going to keep on living in it. It also has one advantage for an official as prominent as Mr. Douglas; it has no street number; only friends with explicit instructions can find it.

Mrs. Douglas was born in Ohio thirty some years ago. When she was a child her parents moved to eastern Oregon to grow apples at a ranch in the mountains. It was a home where the children were brought up to obey, love, and respect their parents, and to this day that home training occasionally asserts itself in a point of view or a habit.

She went to public schools and to the University of Oregon, where she joined Alpha Phi sorority, shunned English and history, and took everything available in Latin and mathematics.

She was on the college tennis and basketball teams, she swam, and skated.

It was at Yakima, Washington, where she went to teach Latin in the high school, that she met the Yakima high school English teacher, William Orville Douglas, in the one year their teaching careers overlapped—1921-22. She taught another year in Yakima while he went east to study law at Columbia under Harlan F. Stone, now one of his colleagues on the United States Supreme Court. When Mr. Douglas came back for her in 1923, she married him and went east too. They rented a home in Bernardsville, New Jersey, and Mrs. Douglas taught Latin there to fatten the family income. When her husband was graduated from Columbia and began teaching there they moved to Pelham Manor, New York, and again she looked for a teaching job and found one.

Finally, in 1928, came Mr. Douglas's accidental meeting with Robert M. Hutchins, then Dean of Law at Yale, an invitation to join the Yale law faculty, and a move to New Haven. The two children were born at New Haven. There was one period, while they were small, when she got restless and took a part-time teaching job in a private school, but that was the end of that.

It was at New Haven that Mrs. Douglas became expert at badminton. She can beat her husband at the game but only because he doesn't work much at it, she says. Golf she will have none of, but she plans to take lessons this summer to improve her tennis.

(Continued on page 84)

# Poland in a Nutcracker

## A victim of geography, Poland fears she would be crushed in any war involving Germany and Russia

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

THANKS to adroit bargaining with Great Britain and France, Poland for the time being may have managed to jump out of the frying pan without actually landing in the fire. How long she can continue to keep free of the flames, however, is a question over whose answer the Poles themselves are none too sanguine. For, long before the world ever heard of Nazi aggression, Poland was—and she still is—a victim of geography. She is the unlucky wedge separating the land of the swastika from the land of the hammer and sickle. And should one of them decide to move against the other, the wedge—if not destroyed altogether—probably would be badly dented.

Thus Poland's fate is bound up in the future relations of Germany and Russia. Ever since it became obvious several years ago that the ideological conflict between Nazi-ism and Communism might develop into military conflict, Poland has been attempting to play off one against the other. The longer she could delay the clash, the greater the possibility of cementing an alliance with Western powers to whom a self-governing Poland would be a decided advantage.

Until a few weeks ago, Poland stretched her diplomatic smile so that it could be seen by both Germany on the west and Russia on the east. Now that she has obtained assurances of protection from John Bull—following Foreign Minister Beck's visit to London a few weeks ago—she can afford to allow the side of her smile facing Germany to relax. For Germany is Poland's main worry at the moment. If Hitler is to realize his ambition of dominating Europe, he knows he must reduce Poland to a position of dependence or wipe it out altogether. So long as a strong military power exists on Germany's eastern border, he knows he cannot be free to dominate Central Europe. Rightly, he regards Poland as an obstruction to his dreams of a twentieth century Nazi Empire.

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Dr. Buell's latest book, *Poland—Key to Europe*, has just been published by Alfred A. Knopf. He is also author of *Contemporary French Politics*, *The Washington Conference*, *Native Problems in Africa*, and *Europe—A History of Ten Years*.

This is why Poland is inwardly jubilant today over England's realization—however belated—that her policy of appeasement toward Germany served to whet instead of dull Hitler's territorial appetite; that Poland's independence must be guaranteed against further German aggression.

And yet Poland's worries did not end entirely with the recent agreement with Great Britain, to which France also is committed. For one thing, the powder keg that is Central Europe might be touched off at any minute—accidentally or by design—and Poland realizes she may have to provide the immediate war locale. For another thing—paradoxical as it may seem—Poland fears that the situation may become completely reversed, that sooner or later Germany and Russia will not fight but reach an understanding. Their internal regimes are becoming increasingly similar. Moreover, a strong element in each of their armies has favored an understanding giving Germany access to Russia's raw materials and providing the Soviet's industries with badly needed German technicians.

However remote such an "unholy alliance" might appear to be, the Poles, and the rest of Central Europe for that matter, do not regard it as an impossibility. Should Germany and Russia decide to stress their similarities instead of their differences, Poland's territory would be as insecure as if they went to war. The handclasp between two mailed fists, with Poland in the center, could crush her as effectively as a blow from either one. If not crushed, in all likelihood she would at least be partitioned, without being consulted over the exact nature of the division.

To say, therefore, that Poland's independence and her future—the two are inseparable—are uncertain would be to exploit understatement to its fullest. Moreover, should Poland become involved in prolonged civil war—she nearly did in 1922 and again in 1926—her two "neighbors" would inevitably and directly intervene. In a large measure, then, Poland's future depends upon the skill and the speed with which she settles many serious internal problems and contributes to the unity of the Slavic peoples. In the past, Poland's big mistake was to desert the principle of Slavic unity—an error for which the Western democracies must accept their full share of responsibility. But Poland now realizes that, her own interests would be best served by thinking in terms of a Slavic united front.

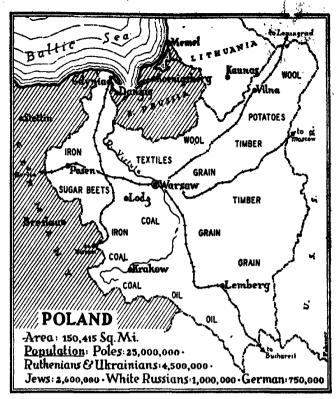
Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Poland has regarded the existence of Communism in Russia a barrier to Slavic unity. But even before the revolution, deeply rooted differences separated the Pole from the Russian, although both are Slavs. In 966 the first known Polish ruler, Mieszko, accepted Christianity from the Czechs mainly to deprive the Germans of the excuse that they were fighting the Slavs because the Slavs were pagan. Poland subsequently be-

came a Catholic country and was nurtured on Roman rather than Byzantine culture. This served to erect a lasting barrier against Russia. With the possible exception of Ireland, no country in Europe today is so completely attached to the Roman Catholic Church as Poland. Yet even though Communism—because of its anti-religious associations—has widened the breach between Poland and Russia, the time has now come where Poland feels that her practical interests would be best served by thinking in terms of a Slavic united front.

From the linguistic—if not the anthropological—point of view, the Slavs are divided as follows: the western group, which includes the Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks; the southern group, which comprises the Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, and Bulgars; and the eastern group, which principally consists of the Great Russians and the Little Russians or Ukrainians.

The axiom concerning safety in numbers may not be infallible but it at least indicates to Poland that she can hardly afford to ignore the numerical superiority of Slavs over Teutons. Although Greater Germany now consists of more than ninety million Germans, the Slavic people, distributed through several nations of Central Europe, number two hundred twenty-six million. Moreover, while Nazi Germany's birthrate is estimated today at 18.8 per 1,000, the birthrate of the Slavs, who are increasing more rapidly than any other people in Europe, is put at 24.9. By 1960 the population of Europe is expected to increase by one hundred million, three-quarters of which increase will be represented by Slavs. The Slavs will then constitute more than half the population of the continent.

Even if these calculations prove correct, Germany, while unifying the Germanic elements of Europe into a compact aggressive mass, may succeed in bringing about sharp Slavic disunity in accordance with the policy "divide and rule." Yet historical trends do not point in this direction. There is ground for the belief that biological forces of history are working against the expanding influence of the German race, that the Nazis' new *Drang nach Osten* may prove little more than an effort to arrest a decline.

Germany—as far back as the Teutonic knights—has almost continuously pursued an anti-Slavic policy, feeling that the Slavs were a stumbling-block to her ambitions of a European empire. When these ambitions burst into bloom with the advent of the Nazis, Poland—Central Europe's largest Slav state—was high on Hitler's blacklist.

This fact was not lost upon the Poles who had no illusions about the Nazi menace to their safety. When, therefore, in 1934, they were given an opportunity to sign a ten-year truce with Hitler, they lost no time in doing so.

Up to the final destruction of Czecho-Slovakia on March 15, Poland was disposed to regard this pact—in part at least—as the best assurance she could get in the way of territorial protection. The results of Munich had convinced the Polish Foreign Minister, Josef Beck, that England and France were reluctant to align themselves into an anti-Hitler bloc which Poland might join, and might not be trusted in the role of protector.

But all this was changed with the Nazi occupation of all Czecho-Slovakia. When Hitler marched into Prague he demonstrated to Poland—and the rest of the world—that Nazi pacts and promises, if not altogether meaningless, were not to be counted upon. The Czech absorption convinced England and France that they had been blatantly duped by Hitler; that his wailings for protection for German minorities were merely a verbal smoke screen for his churning, land-eating swastika; that Der Fuehrer would gobble up non-German territory, and that their policy of "appeasement" would have to be changed to "opposement."

England's turn-about meant that any assurances she might make to countries in the path of German aggression would have to be stated in terms from which there was no turning back. Remembering what had happened to Czecho-Slovakia, nations in Central Europe would be skeptical of British proffers of protection. That is why Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain a few weeks ago found himself forced to offer Poland—believed to be next in the German march eastward—stronger and more unqualified promises of military protection than Britain ever before had given a Central European nation. When Foreign Minister Beck returned to Warsaw from his brief trip to Downing

Street, he carried with him an unequivocal British guarantee that any molestation of Poland's frontiers would find His Majesty's forces on the side of the Poles.

Germany's reaction to the Anglo-Polish agreement was to belittle its practical application. The Nazis, however, were strongly resentful—more so of Chamberlain than of Beck—and

*Poland's Foreign Minister Beck, who has courted every important capital in Europe, is shown inspecting Italian cadets on his visit to Rome last year.*

used the pact to stimulate their now intensive campaign against what they call "encirclement." Unable to see the beam in their own eyes, they accused Poland of acting contrary to the spirit of the 1934 pact.

For the moment, at any rate Hitler appears to have postponed a decision with respect to the Ukraine, roughly one-third of which is located in Poland, the remainder in the Soviet Union. He has permitted the center of suspense to shift to the Mediterranean, where Mussolini, his axis partner, is testing his muscles. The Ukrainian problem is bound to grow in importance, however, not only because of Germany but because of the Ukrainians themselves. While the Ukrainian movement in the nineteenth century was largely the work of a handful of intellectuals, the spirit of nationalism is now taking hold of the Ukrainian masses, already resentful because Poland has done little to overcome their poverty. It is not unnatural to believe that the Ukrainian nationalist movement—like the American Revolution—would accept foreign support whenever and wherever it came.

Ukrainians number five million and constitute Poland's largest minority. The Germans in Poland number seven hundred fifty thousand, the White Russians one million five hundred thousand. This minority problem is intensified by the economic struggle for survival of the Polish people—a struggle more serious than that in any other European nation. Poland's economic plight arises out of her inability to feed her rapidly increasing population. Since the World War the population of Poland increased from twenty-six million six hundred sixty-four thousand (1920) to about thirty-three and one-half million (1938)—a jump of eight millions, or about four hundred forty-four thousand a year. No other European country can match it. To judge from the way her population curve is skyrocketing, Poland should have forty million inhabitants by 1950.

If Poland's resources were adequately developed, she might be able to support her present population; the density of population is only eighty-nine per square kilometer, less than half that of Britain. But unlike Britain, Poland has an agricultural and not an industrial economy. She not only does not grow enough for her needs; she is unable to convert raw materials into basic commodities.

The Polish peasant's diet is neither balanced nor substantial. It consists largely of rye and potatoes. When times are bad he grows more potatoes to keep him alive, and less rye or wheat. During the depression, wheat was almost a luxury. So that although the peasant can manage to avoid starvation, his purchasing power is almost negligible. I have heard it said that during the depression a peasant would split a match four or five times, and in order to save salt would use the same water over and over again to boil potatoes. At night the typical peasant village is without lights with the possible exception of a shop or police station.

Even at this low level of existence, Poland has a surplus peasant population of between six and nine million. One writer who visited the countryside says:

"At the end of each winter, cattle are reduced to moving skeletons. Horses—having exhausted their winter supply of fodder—are propped up in their stalls in the hope that spring may arrive in time for them to be carried to the pastures before death releases them from their sufferings.

"The peasants themselves are often in little better plight, mere skeletons wracked with fever and malaria. Their clothes are skins and rags, and their foot-coverings are bark cut from trees."

Even if, as some Poles insist, this is an exaggeration, the depressed standard of living of the peasants in many parts of the country is difficult for most Westerners—and especially Americans—to comprehend.

Polish agriculture is largely devoted to cereals, with livestock—particularly hogs—occupying second place. Poland produces 14 per cent of the world's output of rye, ranking third after Russia and Germany. It produces 15 per cent of the world's potatoes, and is the fifth largest producer of oats. Next to Russia, Poland leads the world in the production of flax. It is one of the five largest producers of pigs, and has great quantities of cattle, horses, and sheep.

Confronted by an agricultural crisis arising from the drop in world prices, Polish authorities—unlike the United States under the A.A.A.—did not limit production to raise internal prices. Instead, they extended high protection to domestic agriculture while subsidizing exports.

Since 1928, high tariffs have protected the Polish peasant from grain grown in neighboring countries. The Polish government has also reduced the agricultural debt burden by providing a form of debt moratorium, and by reducing interest rates—a measure benefiting the large estate-owners more than the peasant.

Polish peasants went heavily into debt during the boom period, purchasing fertilizers and agricultural machinery, thereby increasing costs of production. The government's efforts to reduce the interest rate during the depression consequently failed to accomplish the desired result.

Today a fully mortgaged peasant farm has to meet charges equivalent

to about one-third of its productive capacity. Very few of these farms are able to avail themselves of long-term mortgages, the cheapest form of credit, with the result that actual charges borne by peasant farms may be even higher. Despite attempts at debt reduction, one recent survey of 2,400 farms indicates that, as compared with 1932, indebtedness on farms of more than 124 acres increased by about 5 per cent, whereas on smaller farms it had increased 9 per cent. In 1936 a medium-sized farm in Poland was worth less than half its 1929 price.

The government, in addition, has granted credits for withholding crops, in an effort to relieve peasants of the necessity of selling their grain at distress prices during the most unfavorable season of the year. In order to stabilize prices on an annual basis, the State Grain Company began purchasing grain as early as 1930-31. Farmers were encouraged to store grain on their farms until the spring months. Grain acquired by the State Grain Company was sold or exported at current prices. When world prices increased in 1936, the Polish government reduced its purchases but continued to make loans on stored grain. The government now plans to erect grain elevators at Gdynia and elsewhere, which may exercise an influence on the grain trade. The alcohol monopoly uses surplus grain in the manufacture of alcohol; and the government fixes the extraction ratio for the milling of flour in order to conserve grain for export.

Moreover, when crops are good the government encourages exports by a system of export premiums, or repayment of export duties. Whether an export premium is granted depends on the price quoted for the commodity concerned in a given foreign market. To discourage certain agricultural exports, Poland has imposed heavy export taxes.

Poland suffered from a drought in 1937 which led the government to abolish bonuses, except on barley, from March 15, and in April the export of grain was prohibited except by permit. Grain exports for 1937 dropped to 354,000 tons, in comparison with 1,076,000 tons for the previous year. These export subsidies are intended, first, to check the fall of internal prices and, second, to meet foreign subsidies.

The government operates on an extremely low level, proportionately lower than any other country in Central Europe. It cannot afford to do otherwise. The war threat has forced it to neglect public education and public works in favor of a large military budget. Half of Poland's expenditures are for military purposes. Among the losers are three million children from six to twenty, mostly in the agricultural areas, who have no educational facilities whatever. Official statistics indicate that 23 per cent of the population is illiterate, but there is good reason to believe that it is nearer 50 per cent.

Marcus—N. Y. Times

*The neighborhood's getting too crowded.*

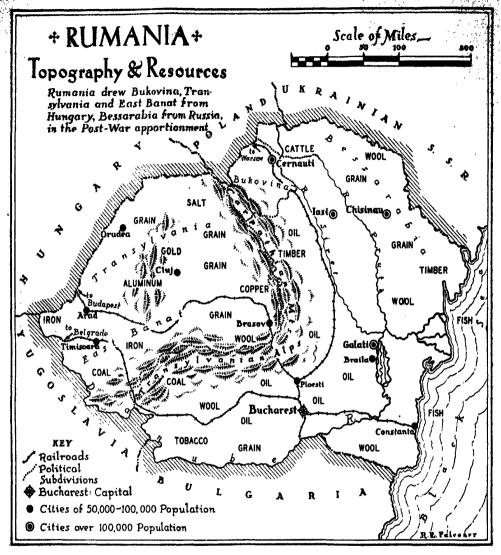
The huge increase of population adds to the government's economic worries but it enables Poland to boast thirty-five divisions under arms and five and one-half million Poles of military age—about the same number as in France.

Domestically, Poland's chief problems are over-population, lack of industrial development, agrarian reform, and minorities. It is faced at home, moreover, with the problem of establishing a government which will command the confidence of the majority of its people. But the biggest worry of all is not domestic; it is the existence on its two main borders of two giant, totalitarian states.

In the American sense Poland is not a democracy, but neither is it a totalitarian state. The Polish spirit is Catholic and individualistic. It will resist the ideology of the totalitarian powers provided the democracies give it proper support. If the United States wishes to strengthen Western civilization without becoming involved in foreign entanglements, and if it desires to advance its own economic interests, it will lose no time in improving—for there is room for a great deal of improvement—its relations with Poland.

Before the depression, Poland sent large numbers of immigrants to the United States, and had liberal access to our capital market. Today, however, few Polish immigrants enter the country, and foreign lending has long since been suspended. At the same time, Poland enjoys the unique distinction of having expanded its exports to the United States fourfold since 1929. Its sales to America increased from $4,853,000 in 1929 to $19,568,000 in 1937. Our exports to Poland, however, fell off about $10,000,000 during the same period.

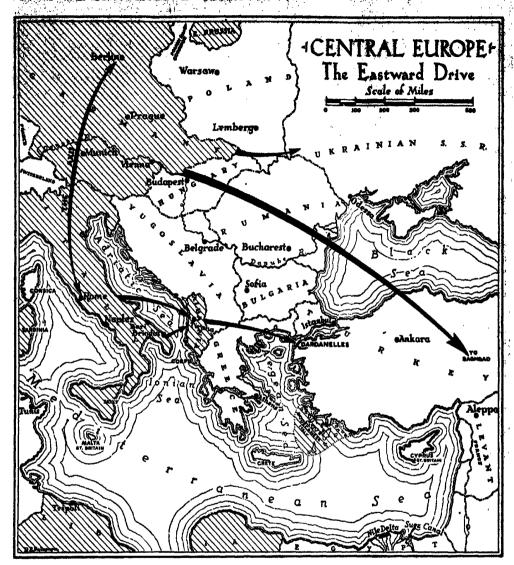
Within recent years the relations between Poland and the United States have lacked the warmth which existed when the Poles were fighting for independence. But it is distinctly in our own interests at least to see what we can do towards promoting good will between Poland and this country, if only because Poland may prove the key to Europe, and therefore, to the peace of Europe—and the world.

# Rumania Yielding to

THAT the fall of Austria would lead to the breakdown of Czecho-Slovakia was to be foreseen. What was not so clearly recognized, however, was the fact that, as a direct result of Czecho-Slovakia's subjugation, the other major Danubian States—Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania—would immediately fall within the range of the German orbit.

King Carol was, and is, only too well aware of Rumania's dangerous position. Whatever else may be said of him, in the light of his youthful escapades, one thing remains clear. He has tried his utmost to protect and save his country from collapse under Nazi pressure, without any great show of co-operation from the European democracies. It is not his fault that today Rumania occupies an extremely dubious position, emphasized on the one hand by the Rumanian-Polish Alliance, and on the other by the German-Rumanian Treaty. There is further precariousness in the fact that Rumania is an equally important pawn in the plans of the Nazi and the anti-Nazi groups. While Germany's diplomatic and economic agents are busy forging a ring around Rumania, the German press is loud in its protests that England is up to the old pre-War strategy of again attempting to encircle the Reich, using Rumania as an important link.

In the light of a future war that many observers believe inevitable, Germany's need for Rumania's oil, mineral wealth and wheat grows daily more imperative. And with Italy now threatening Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey from newly-annexed Albania, it would appear that the days of Rumania's independence are not only

# the German Push

J. H. SMYTH

numbered, but that they can almost be counted.

To a large extent, Germany in actuality already dominates Rumania, although not to that full degree that she feels her "destiny" (or, to be more exact, her economic future) demands of her.

In March, Dr. Helmuth Wohlthat, chief of the Reich Balkan Economic Mission, "negotiated" a series of commercial agreements with the Bucharest Government, ending in the German-Rumanian Treaty. Later the Wilhelmstrasse voiced pained surprise that foreign correspondents could believe that Germany had prefaced these "negotiations" with a drastic ultimatum. But that this was fact and not speculation was evidenced, among other signs, by the massing of more than 500,000 Rumanian troops on the frontiers of that Balkan kingdom just before Bucharest was compelled to sign. King Carol withdrew them after a piece of face-saving buffoonery in which he took the position that, while Rumania wanted closer economic collaboration with Germany, it must be predicated on "mutual respect as the first condition of friendship." It is more probable, however, that England's typically "aloof" position at that period of Chamberlain's appeasement policy prompted Carol's withdrawal.

In large measure, Germany controls the trade-routes to Rumania, and through privately-invested capital exercises a considerable jurisdiction over roads and railroad lines within the kingdom. Indeed, German strategic roads are being extended, octopus-wise, throughout the Danube Basin. It is in the cards that Yugoslavia will soon be traversed by a German road, and that Italy and the

Reich will soon find another common frontier in that Balkan kingdom.

But domination of Rumania's trade routes, the outlets on which she depends for her sale of oil and agricultural products abroad, is not enough for Berlin. For it must be remembered that, although Germany today has her claws on the lion's share of Rumanian oil, that oil will not flow forever. At the current rate of production—6,600,000 tons in 1938—the nation's reserves are not expected to endure more than another twelve years. So far as Rumania is concerned, Hitler's larger plan in the drive-to-the-east is to de-industrialize Rumania completely, make of her again an exclusively agricultural nation. Thus Germany would find a market in annexed Rumania for her manufactured goods, and in turn would take wheat and maize.

Germany can exercise the gentle art of acquisitive diplomacy far less dangerously against Rumania than against the Russian Ukraine, the other great wheat bowl in Europe which Hitler covets. Here again Germany has no choice, at least for the moment. And for the Reich, literally every moment counts.

On the other hand, it is true that Britain, however belatedly, has now held out a hand to Bucharest, as she has to Greece and Turkey, offering a unilateral guarantee of Rumania's independence. It might be thought, at least on the basis of surface facts, that Rumania would grab at this guarantee as at the proverbial straw. One asks, what has Rumania to lose? To stave off complete domination of her resources by Germany, why won't she gratefully accept Chamberlain's feverishly proffered alliance, particularly since there are no strings attached?

THERE are a number of good and sufficient reasons why today Rumania is not displaying unseemly joy over Mr. Chamberlain's kindly and well-meaning overtures. One is that Mr. Chamberlain's overtures to Czecho-Slovakia resulted in the disappearance of that State, almost overnight. Another reason why Bucharest officials feel there is something specious about the solicitude of Downing Street is the fact that about one-half of the capital invested in Rumanian oil is controlled by Royal Dutch Shell, *i.e.*, controlled by Anglo-Dutch combines, which have consistently refused to pay taxes. Still another is that Mr. Chamberlain gave King Carol a frigid reception last Autumn when the Rumanian monarch, alarmed over Hitler's peregrinations in Europe, went a-begging to London for substantial amounts of cash to bolster his defenses (for the first time then, after the rape of Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania's frontiers abutted uncomfortably on Germany).

A fourth counter by Bucharest statesmen is: why should we sign an alliance with a militarily remote Britain, when we have just re-strengthened our military alliance with our neighbor Poland, who is of much more value to us than the proverbially perfidious Albion? For another thing, we don't want to offend touchy Bulgaria to the south of us, from whom we annexed the granary of Dobrudja in 1913. Finally, sixty per cent of our foreign trade is with Germany; any time we step out of line, she can starve us into submission.

Apart from questions of trade advantages, Rumania is in somewhat a defensive position with respect to what she obtained at Versailles. Although whipped by Germany early in the World War, after Versailles Rumania re-acquired Bessarabia (17,151 square miles) from Russia, and from the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire (or virtually today's Greater Germany) she obtained Transylvania (23,792 square miles), Bukovina (4,032 square miles), part of Crisana and Maramuresh (8,566 square miles) and the Banat (7,102 square miles)—an enormously rich haul that totals 50,643 square miles, or a territory not much smaller or less rich than the state of Iowa. Intelligent Rumanians are fully aware of the growing world conviction the past decade that the gentlemen of Versailles could have performed their task more equitably, and that she, Rumania, profited enormously.

Still another element that enters into Rumania's marked disinclination to alienate Germany, however much she fears the Reich. It is this: There are 800,000 Germans in the country, and Hitler has perfected a political device by which he is able to make it appear, in a few hours, that his subjects abroad are suffering incredible torture and persecution in any country he craves. It was thus with Czecho-Slovakia, with Austria, more recently with Memel Territory. If the Germans have never shown any great aptitude for diplomacy, they have a special genius as agents-provocateurs. If Rumania does not show herself amenable to permitting Hitler to drive through her southeasterly to the Black Sea, to Turkey and the Dardanelles, to dominate her trade, control her wealth and guide her foreign policy, inevitably German nationals within the country will declare themselves "suffering" fearful persecution, as did the Sudetens.

MORE than half of Rumania's population of 20,000,000 is comprised of minorities—heterogeneous "islands" of Bulgars, Hungarians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Turks and Jews, among whom Germany would have no difficulty arousing dissension and a degree of strife that, conveniently enough, would necessitate the precautionary extension of Nazi authority over the kingdom.

Despite the fate of Czecho-Slovakia, responsible Rumanians place more than a little faith in Germany's readiness to guarantee her territorial integrity if Bucharest will grant the Reich the trade concessions demanded last March, and will return to a purely agricultural economy. At least, she has more confidence in Germany's promise than in the frantically offered pledge from England. In the last three years, Rumania has shown a greater disposition to grant concessions to German nationals than has either Hungary or Yugoslavia. That disposition doubtless springs from fright, but it has all the pitfalls of any "policy of appeasement." For example, while Germans have only two newspapers in Yugoslavia, and none whatever in Hungary, they have scores in Rumania. The Nazi Fuehrer in Rumania, one Herr Fritz Fabritius, encountered no difficulties when he demanded full liberty to set up his political organization. The present Government has seemed to accept with a degree of fatalism or defeatism the activities of Nazi borers-from-within. That attitude was not apparent until after the Munich Agreement, when the nation's leaders decided realistically that hope of aid from the Western democracies was chimerical. Accordingly, it is scarcely unfair to state that if Britain and France are puzzled or apprehensive over Rumania's reluctance to disavow her growing tutelage to Germany, economical and political, they have only themselves to blame.

# Japan Poised to Spring

## Nippon will lose no time in chasing the West out of the East if Europe's hands are tied

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

JAPAN—psychologically and strategically, at least—is prepared for a military effort of far greater proportions than her present war in China. An all-embracing National Mobilization Act permits the Government to take over virtually all private resources for war purposes. Labor and capital have been increasingly conscripted for the needs of a war economy. The people, who have yet to feel the stunning sting of ultra-modern warfare—the campaign in China has been a one-way war—have been carefully nursed with propaganda dramatizing Japan's "duty" in Asia.

How, then, would a European war affect Japan's campaign in China? Very likely it would encourage her to carry out her stated aim of "Asia for the Asiatics."

With more than a million armed men holding far-flung lines extending from the Amur River facing Soviet Siberia to the Hainan Island in the extreme south of China, Japan is in fact poised for a spring. With European powers engaged in war, and therefore virtually impotent as an immediate threat to further Japanese expansion, Japan may feel that the fateful hour has come.

Thus Europe may be the wind behind the whistle that will send Japan's army "over the top." Even if a European war should not follow Germany's march eastward, Japan is ready and perhaps eager to strike out against Siberia.

In the absence of a European conflagration, she would not be disposed to make an attempt on foreign concessions in China. On the other hand, if Germany and Italy should become involved with Great Britain and France over colonial and Mediterranean issues, Japan would be tempted to claim her share of the prospective spoils by grabbing as many prizes as she can, including British Hong Kong and other colonies within Japanese naval range.

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WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN, after more than a dozen years of almost uninterrupted service as foreign correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* in Moscow and Tokyo, returned to the United States a few weeks ago. But his stay here is being cut short; he is being sent back to the "front" again. This time it is Paris, where he will head the *Monitor's* foreign office.

Chamberlin, who has also been *Current History's* Far Eastern correspondent, is best known as an author for his definitive study, *The Russian Revolution.* He has also written *Russia's Iron Age, Japan Over Asia* and *Collectivism, A False Utopia.*

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That Japan might not abruptly cease her campaign in China with the subjugation of the Central Chinese government should not occasion surprise. Long before the outbreak of the present war it was an open secret that there were two competing expansionist tendencies in Japan: one supported by the Army, the other by the Navy, or at least by the Navy's more adventurous representatives.

The Army has always looked northward, toward Manchukuo, North China, ultimately Siberia. The Navy has its eyes fixed on the mainland and the island regions of the South Pacific, on the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Indo-China, with their wealth in rubber, tin, oil, iron and tropical products.

The Army got a running start for its own program when it seized Manchuria in 1931. This running start grew into a mad dash with its present war in China—for which the Army also is responsible. Its first accomplishment has been the fastening of its grip on North China, at least on its main towns and railways. Especially important, from the strategic standpoint, has been the occupation of the railway running northwest from Peking to Paotow in Inner Mongolia. This cleared the ground for the Japanese command to concentrate troops and supplies quickly at any point menaced by a southward thrust from Outer Mongolia, dominated by the Soviet Union.

The Navy, not to be outshone, took over the spotlight when its ships put in at Shanghai and dominated the first ten days of fighting, in August, 1937. Naval airplanes, with airdromes on Formosa, carried out most of the raids on Chinese cities and railways (the Army's planes largely held in reserve for possible use against the Soviet Union). And the Navy swept Chinese shipping from the seas and played a leading part in the occupation of Canton and Hainan, of such ports as Tsingtao and Amoy, and in operations along the Yangtse River.

Thus Japan has prepared the ground for a spring in either of two directions: toward the north, against the Soviet Union, or toward the south, regions where British and French interests predominate. Which of these lines of advance is the more probable?

Anti-Soviet feeling in Japan is almost universal. There are still relatively moderate groups, however, which believe that Japan can achieve its objectives in China without coming to an open breach with the western powers. Most Japanese troop movements recently have been northward rather than southward. Manchukuo, for example, has become a theater of preparation for war against the Soviet Union. A glance at a railway map of that country shows three lines pointing arrow-like toward the Soviet Maritime Province, whose military and naval center is at Vladivostok. Two of these lines, one north of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and a smaller one south of it, have been built since the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932. Another railway constructed since then runs

up to the Soviet border at Heiho, on the Amur River. A line from Changteh to Dolonor, on the border of Inner Mongolia, is being secretly hastened to completion. This line would facilitate operations against Outer Mongolia.

The Kwantung Army, Japan's force occupying Manchukuo, has been greatly reinforced since the outbreak of the war in China, which will be two years old this July. Its present strength is probably in excess of 200,000; it could be quickly strengthened further from garrisons in North China, Korea and Japan itself.

A small-scale war rehearsal took place last summer, when Soviet and Japanese troops fought for almost two weeks over the possession of the disputed height of Changkufeng, near the point where Japan, Siberia and Korea come together. Although the Japanese held the crest of the height until the termination of the fighting last August, they subsequently evacuated the entire region, as their position was made untenable by a flood of the Tumen River, in their rear.

Each side admitted hundreds of casualties and attributed thousands to the enemy. There were similar discrepancies concerning the results of the conflict. A pamphlet entitled "How We Beat the Japanese Samurai" has been published in the Soviet Union. But Japanese officers with whom the writer has talked maintain that Soviet tanks showed up badly, that the marksmanship of Soviet aviators was erratic, and that Red infantry displayed little fighting spirit.

About the only fact which emerged from the little war was that neither side desired a big one. The Japanese Army exercised notable self-restraint in not taking to the air even after Soviet airplanes bombed Japanese territory in Korea. Had the Soviet Government desired to fight Japan to a finish it could have scarcely found a better opportunity, since large Japanese forces at that time were engaged far away in the interior of China. This opportunity was deliberately put aside. For the last three years June has been the month in which pitched fighting has taken place between Japanese and Soviet forces.

Should war break out between Japan and the Soviet Union, the heights around Changkufeng would witness some of the first fighting. Last summer's skirmishing disclosed to the Japanese the disconcerting fact that one of their new railway lines, from North Korea to Manchukuo, is under the fire of Soviet batteries at Changkufeng. The Soviet command is equally unwilling to see Japan in possession of Changkufeng, because this height commands a view over Possiet Bay with its Soviet submarine base.

Japan's Kwantung Army has con-

structed an elaborate system of defenses along the line of the Hsingan Mountains, in western Manchukuo. This may suggest an intention to remain on the defensive in this part of the front during the first phase of the war, concentrating upon a combined land, sea and air attack on Vladivostok.

But Japan has not been alone in making strenuous preparations for war. The former Soviet Far Eastern Army, split into two separate armies since the removal from command of Marshal Bluecher, is undoubtedly larger than the Kwantung Army, although some estimates of its size and equipment are exaggerated. It is largely composed of picked troops (Japan has also made a practice of sending its best troops and war material to Manchukuo, rather than to China) and is well supplied with tanks and planes. Steel and concrete fortifications have been erected at vulnerable points along the Siberian frontier. A flotilla of submarines has been established in Far Eastern waters. The Trans-Siberian Railway has been double-tracked and a secondary line is being built several hundred miles to the north. The development of heavy industries in Manchukuo, capable of serving war needs, is to some extent paralleled in Siberia, although the Russians are under the disadvantage of working in a country that is industrially undeveloped. Supplies must be brought over vast distances.

Despite these threatening preparations, punctuated by frequent border "incidents," the Soviet Union and Japan have steered clear of outright war. Are hostilities inevitable in the measurably near future? A badly festering sore spot (temporarily solved by the recent agreement) is the long-standing fisheries dispute between the two nations. When Japan and the Soviet Union resumed diplomatic relations at the end of 1925, it was agreed that Japan should continue to enjoy the fishing rights in Soviet Far Eastern waters which were confirmed by the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905 which ended the Russo-Japanese War. The annual conclusion of a fisheries convention to determine the conditions of exercising these rights has been accompanied by more friction and bickering as political relations between Japan and the Soviet Union have become more strained. The Soviet Government last year announced its intention to withdraw forty lots from Japanese operation "for strategic reasons" and to reintroduce a system of auction bidding for a large number of others.

The auction system has led to many difficulties in the past because there could be no genuine equality of opportunity when one of the bidders was the Soviet state, sole proprietor of the Russian fishing companies. Since 1932 the auction system has been largely replaced by a so-called "stabilized lots" arrangement, under which Japanese fishing companies were allotted a specified number of fishing grounds without bidding. The Japanese Foreign Office has asserted that 80 per cent of the Japanese fishing interests in Soviet waters would be destroyed if the Soviet proposals were carried out. There have been defiant declarations on the Japanese side that fishing would proceed as usual, and equally uncompromising warnings about the grave consequences which would follow such a course of action from Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinov.

The Soviet Government seems to assume that Japan is much too involved in China to take any serious

risks in defense of its fishing rights. While the course of Soviet policy in recent years does not indicate a disposition to attack Japan directly, there is an evident desire to terminate all Japanese enterprises which are operating in Soviet territory. This applies to the oil and coal concessions in North Sakhalin, as well as to the fisheries.

Precise terms of the fisheries convention which has just been signed have been differently reported from Moscow and from Tokyo. What seems certain is that each side receded from its original extreme position. Japan agreed to relinquish some lots, although not all the forty which the Soviet Government had demanded, and consented to pay an increase of 10 per cent in royalties. It was apparently agreed that the auction system would operate in a manner not detrimental to Japanese interests.

The fisheries question would have been a pretext rather than a cause of war. It is not sufficiently important to bring on a war which one or both sides do not desire. Its settlement at the moment when western powers, rather than the Soviet Union, were taking the lead in trying to stop Hitler's drive to the East may be an indication that Japan's immediate expectations are directed against British and French possessions rather than against the Soviet Union. However, should the latter become actively involved in a European war, Japan probably would find another excuse for beginning hostilities in the Far East.

So much for Japan's advance preparations and for the general outlook in the field of expansion which has long been favored by the Japanese Army.

The Baltimore Evening Sun

*Arrow points to the Spratly Islands, recently seized by Japan from France.*

**Meanwhile, the route to the south, the Navy's favorite, has not been neglected. It has long been axiomatic that Great Britain, with its advanced outpost of empire at Hong Kong and its rich colony of Malaya, and France, with its large chunk of Indo-China, would resent Japanese intrusion into South China. Fear that this resentment, if challenged, might assume military form restrained Japan from launching a direct attack on Canton for more than a year after the beginning of the war with China.** It was galling for the Japanese Army and Navy to see foreign ships, loaded with munitions, discharging their cargoes at Hong Kong for reshipment to Canton and the Chinese interior, yet Japanese counter-activity was restricted to air attacks on Canton and the railways which link it with Hong Kong and Hankow. These bombings killed thousands of people but they did not check the inflow of munitions. A bright spot in Chinese conduct has been the courage and speed of the railway workers in repairing damage and keeping lines open despite constant threat of new bombings.

But, as had happened before and may happen again, Europe's dissension was Japan's opportunity. By the early autumn of 1938 the storm signals over Europe were so ominous that Japan considered it safe to fit out an expedition against Canton. Had war broken out over Czecho-Slovakia, this force might have attempted to rush the defenses of Hong Kong.

War did not come. But the terms of the Munich settlement convinced Japan that Britain was too weak in Europe to pursue a strong policy in the Orient. When Europe slid into another crisis over Czecho-Slovakia last March, followed by frantic scrambling in the ensuing weeks on the part of Great Britain and France for an anti-Hitler bloc, Japan took advantage of the general European tension to "assume jurisdiction" over France's Spratly Islands—a small but strategically located coral group equi-distant from the Philippines, British North Borneo and French Indo-China.

The Spratly Islands are a negligible acquisition from the economic standpoint. But they give Japan potential submarine and air bases within 850 miles of the Sarawak oil

fields, a new advanced point for a spring to the South.

The Canton expedition, without being extended to Hong Kong, went off according to schedule. It proved successful, and its losses were small. Thus China's best means of communication with the outside world was severed. And a substantial Japanese force camped in uncomfortable proximity to British Hong Kong.

Japan rushed its southward advance still farther with the seizure of Waichow Island, an excellent base for bombing Kwangsi, one of the most militant of the Chinese provinces. An airdrome, for land as well as sea planes, has been constructed on Waichow. Still more significant was the occupation of Hainan Island on February 10. With an area about 14,500 square miles, this island is almost as large as Formosa and has other points of similarity to the latter island before the Japanese took it over in 1895. There is a settled civilized fringe around the coast of Hainan. The interior is wild, mountainous, malarial, little explored and inhabited by aborigines. Japan's empire builders believe that, in time, they can turn Hainan into a flourishing Formosa.

But Hainan has strategic rather than economic importance. Possession of the island places Indo-China within an hour's range of Japanese bombing planes. And it could scarcely be better placed for the purpose of interrupting communications between Hong Kong and the major British naval base at Singapore. Hong Kong is now surrounded by a ring of actual and potential Japanese naval and air bases, located in Formosa, Canton, Waichow and Hainan.

France has always attached great importance to Hainan. In 1907 the French and Japanese concluded an agreement pledging "maintenance of order and peaceful conditions in the regions of the Chinese Empire adjoining territories where they hold rights of sovereignty." Japan's special interest was in Fukien Province, close to Formosa. France wished to maintain the status quo in Hainan, as in Chinese provinces which border on Indo-China.

Though never officially stated, it was rumored that toward the end of 1937 Japan and France concluded an agreement whereby France undertook to forbid the transportation of arms to China through Indo-China and Japan agreed to refrain from seizing Hainan. Like many other instruments which were supposed to restrain Japan in the Far East, this hypothetical argument has gone overboard.

The official declaration of the Japanese when they occupied Hainan—that it had become "an important base of Chinese military operations"—cannot be taken seriously. The true motive of the occupation was the desire of the Navy to obtain a sea and air base. The Chinese neglected Hainan. Its chief port, at Hoihow, is a wretched one, ships being obliged to stand several miles from the shore. But Yulin, on the southern coast, has an excellent natural harbor which the Japanese can be trusted to develop. Of all Japan's new military acquisitions, Hainan is one of the least likely to be surrendered.

Again the influence of European events can be traced in Japan's decision to seize Hainan. This decision was taken when Franco was sweeping forward in Catalonia and a Mediterranean crisis seemed imminent. Just as at the time of the Munich settlement, Japan reckoned correctly that Great Britain and France were too preoccupied to go beyond mild protests about Hainan.

So Japan is poised to spring in two directions: toward the north or toward the south. Which direction is chosen, if either, depends mainly upon Europe. Toward the end of 1938 Germany apparently sounded out Japan on the question of transforming the Anti-Comintern Pact (first concluded between Japan and Germany in 1936 and later extended to bring in Italy, Nationalist Spain, Manchukuo and Hungary) into an offensive and defensive alliance, aimed against both the Soviet Union and the British and French empires.

This proposal aroused wide differences of opinion in Japan. The more adventurous groups in the Army and Navy were favorably disposed; but a strong body of opinion is opposed to pledging Japan to participation in a European war unless that war is against the Soviet Union. In Tokyo it is taken for granted that a German-Soviet war would be the signal for a Japanese onslaught on the Soviet Far East. Hence, opponents of the German proposal pointed to the danger of breaking all economic ties with the democratic states, and to the possibility that America might enter a general war as an enemy of Japan.

Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita recently assured me that there was no intention to transform the Anti-Comintern Pact into an anti-British and anti-French alliance, though he admitted that means of "strengthening" the Pact were being studied. Arita's statement reflected his personal viewpoint. But it is doubtful whether the struggle between various groups in Japan over the proposed alliance has been finally settled.

Europe apparently holds the key to the development of events in the Orient.

Should the Continent keep the peace, it is unlikely that Japan, with hundreds of thousands of troops already tied up in what promises to be a long and harassing process of occupation and pacification in China, would launch a major war in the Far East. But a new world war would find Japan a far more active participant than she was in the last one.

# Unreeling History

## The documentary film has stepped in where the conventional motion pictures feared to tread

JAMES MILLER

For twenty years historians have tried to analyze what happened in those epochal months just before the World War. For twenty years, they have been unable to communicate their findings to more than the relatively small audience which reads books and other serious-minded publications. To most people the War's prelude is still a mystery.

Twenty years hence, thanks to a stripling art and one of its bolder practitioners, there should be much less vagueness about the tense months of 1938-39. For in an hour-and-twenty-minute documentary film called "Crisis," recording what happened in Czecho-Slovakia before it was seized by Germany, a young Iowan named Herbert Kline has martialed into order the fast-moving and complex steps in Hitler's recent *Drang nach Osten,* has taken the catchwords, *anschluss, appeasement, Munich,* and translated them into human terms for a potentially enormous audience. So doing, he has dramatized not only the biggest story of the day but the possibilities of the medium in which he works.

"Crisis" opened in New York City in March, played there for seven weeks, and has now been booked in other large cities—Boston, Hartford, Detroit, and Chicago. Warner Brothers is exhibiting it in Pennsylvania. Other companies are bidding to distribute it farther west. These showings, plus those before trade unions, educational groups, and progressive organizations which are dependable audiences for documentary films, assure it a circulation which, while hardly comparable to that of a Hollywood love film, will be considerably greater than that of any written history.

The example of "Crisis" serves to point up the documentary film's increasing importance. When history moves fast and fatefully, the average citizen's feeling is one of irritated confusion. Whatever will dissolve his confusion he welcomes. And so he welcomes the documentary film, which turns all this talk about war and revolution and unemployment and housing and flood control into something he can see and hear and feel.

*Pare Lorentz*

Attempts to define documentary film are risky. There are perhaps a dozen men who can discuss the subject with authority, and whenever they do they take pot-shots at existing definitions. Pare Lorentz, outstanding in the American group, says he did not know he had made a documentary until some one told him. This suggests the need to define by example, to summon up such titles as "The Plow That Broke the Plains," "The River" (both by Lorentz), "The Wave," "The Spanish Earth," and "October."

Diverse as they may seem, these films have essentials in common: they are all dramatizations of ideas; they dramatize their ideas by dramatizing factual material; and they dramatize this material in terms of human beings and human interests.

Also, they are frequently charged with being propaganda. The charge is seldom dodged. Whether these films are depicting the crack efficiency of a postal express train, as in the British "Night Mail," or the history of the Mississippi valley and subsequent New Deal measures, as in "The River," they are presenting arguments, predetermined points of view. More important, however, is the fact that they deal with more than entertainment values. They are thought provoking. Party loyalties notwithstanding, when Vermont farmers saw "The Plow That Broke the Plains" they wrote to Lorentz to say they were sorry for those western farmers —they knew how it was. When Londoners saw "The River" *they* wrote letters sympathizing with the people of the Mississippi valley.

This, say documentary's champions, is the significant thing. It reveals documentary as a new instrument of communication among peoples, helps them to see through the chaos of world affairs and understand one another's lives.

Documentary has a tradition of only twenty years, and it is stretching a point to grant it that. For when Robert Flaherty, an American mineral deposits explorer, went to Hudson Bay in 1919 to make an advertising film for Revillon Freres, furriers, he had no idea of creating a new film method. He lived among the Eskimos for a year, gained an understanding of them, and came back with a moving picture called "Nanook of the North." It showed the Eskimos in their daily struggle for food and warmth, and by virtue of inspired photography and editing it showed them dramatically. "Nanook" was so popular that Paramount (then Famous Players) commissioned Flaherty to make a similar film in a South Seas setting. Flaherty made "Moana," again his theme was man against nature—but when it was promoted as "The Love Life of a South Seas Siren," he and the producers

parted company. Later he left Hollywood for England, where he carried on with his man-versus-nature theme in "Man of Aran."

At about the time Flaherty was making "Nanook," the Russians were discovering the camera's potentialities as a propaganda and educational weapon. Their most illustrious film-makers, Eisenstein and Pudovkin, took the revolution as a theme, focused their lenses on the masses and in the 1920's turned out such masterful films as "Potemkin," "October," and "The End of St. Petersburg." Today these are classed as documentary films, for they are reasonably faithful reproductions of actual events and dramatizations of ideas, not just exciting stories.

In France and Germany documentary was developing in other directions; the experimenters concentrating on technical and aesthetic adventures. In 1926 Alberto Cavalcanti, one of today's most skilful sound-effects men, made an impressionistic moving picture of a Paris day called, "Rien que les Heures." In Germany Walther Ruttman made a similar film called "Berlin." Joris Ivens, the great Dutch photographer, played along with this school briefly, did some rather striking things titled "The Bridge" and "Rain," but made his real reputation with his 1934 film, "New Earth," which told the story of the dyking and cultivation of Zuyder Zee, the rich harvest of its grain, and how, with the financial crash, that grain was burned or dumped at sea to sustain prices in the world market. The picture was censored in Paris—"trop de realite."

The English jumped into documentary film in 1928. "To bring alive" the manifold workings of the Empire, there was established a government promotion department known as the Empire Marketing Board. A Scotsman named John Grierson organized a film unit for it, made some creditable early pictures, and continued in charge when in 1933 the unit was taken over by the General Post Office. In England the post-office also controls telephone, telegraph and radio, all of which lend themselves nicely to dramatization. In six years the film unit has made some two hundred fifty documentaries. These are not well known in America, but such things as "Night Mail" and "B.B.C.: The Voice of Britain," are expert jobs and put over their message in highly dramatic sequences. Much to the glory of the Empire.

In England private business has been quick to see the possibilities of documentary as a public relations medium. The Commercial Gas Company's own film unit presented a realistic documentary, "Housing Problems," in which slum conditions and institutional advertising were discreetly mixed.

All in all, it is generally conceded that documentaries are Britain's chief contribution to the film industry.

European "documentalists" — as they have come to call themselves—have listened to the voice of twentieth century economic and social conditions. Their responses range from those of the hard-hitting Russians to those of the restrained and sometimes self-satisfied British, but they have wholly outgrown the postwar, continental art-for-art's-sake attitude. It is not strange that when the first widely-known American documentary was flashed on the screen there were people who imputed political motives to its director, Pare Lorentz. He, too, was of his times, and "The Plow That Broke the Plains" was his response to conditions in the Dust Bowl.

A young movie critic of note, Lorentz' protests against Hollywood mediocrity had been heard in Washington and he was hired to direct some films for the Resettlement Administration. He worked on an appallingly low budget and was long suffering in his fight through red tape, but "The Plow" was so well received that Lorentz was allowed more money and a freer hand for more films.

In 1936 he made his celebrated "The River," an epical treatment of the Mississippi, its sources, history, uses and abuses, floods, and finally the attempts to control it by such means as the T.V.A. Here again there was bitter reaction from some quarters. "Its aim is to win acceptance for a falsehood," declared the Chicago *Tribune*. But elsewhere it was acclaimed as a masterpiece.

"What poetry!" James Joyce exclaimed of Lorentz' script—"the epic of this century!" Others compared it with Walt Whitman.

The International Cinema Exposition in Venice awarded "The River" first prize over seventy other subjects entered in the documentary class. And Paramount distributed it throughout this country. The United States Film Service, government department of which Lorentz was made head, has figures to show that "The River" played to two and one-half million persons in commercial theaters and estimates that it has reached almost as many more through schools, colleges, cultural groups, and other noncommercial outlets.

At present Lorentz is working on a third documentary. Tentatively called "Ecce Homo," and based upon a radio script he wrote in 1937, it deals with the problem of technological unemployment in the United States. Planned as a full-length feature, it will seek to dramatize the problem by filming the lives of men thrown out of work in eastern industrial plants and migrating westward in search of jobs.

There are other documentary film units in this country. In March 1937

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## STORY OF "THE RIVER"

*—From the Memphis, Tenn.,* Press-Scimitar

In "The River" you see in the beginning the great Mississippi, draining two-thirds of the water of the United States, pouring from wooded sources to fertile valleys where cotton becomes king. You see this picture whole, from slanting rain, to rivulets, to brooks, to streams, to rivers, to the mighty sweeping Father of Waters.

Then two things happen. In the South man mines the soil for cotton, abandons worn-out for new land. And in the North the axe blade bites into the flesh of the great forests to feed growing cities by scalping the earth.

Consequence follows cause, and consequence here is in human terms of tenant poverty in the alluvial lands of one of the world's richest river valleys, and in terms of fearful, plunging floods that pour through the cities built by the forest's destruction.

"We have taken the Valley apart—we can put it together again if we will," says the narrator's voice, and then the camera swings from ruination to construction, to the T.V.A. and its harnessing of the Tennessee, to protection, conservation, power for the people who live on The River.

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Paul Strand, who had made the celebrated "Wave" for the Mexican government, and Leo Hurwitz, both of whom had worked with Lorentz on "The Plow," organized, with several others, Frontier Films, a group dedicated to the production of progressive documentary films.

Short on money, but long on talent and zeal, they first made "Heart of Spain," an intensely moving account of the work of the Canadian-American blood tranfusion service in Spain. Next Frontier made "China Strikes Back," in which the fabulous Eighth Route Army was caught in motion pictures for the first time. A later film, "People of the Cumberland," attempted to show "the benefits of unionization in terms of human returns" for the miners and mill workers of West Virginia. Now, in an unfinished film called "Civil Liberties," Frontier is dramatizing the findings of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee.

Ralph Steiner and Willard Van Dyke, assistants to Lorentz on "The River," were members of Frontier Films for a while, then broke away to organize American Documentary Films, Inc. Both able photographers, they will make films to order for educational groups and business organizations. Currently they are putting finishing touches on an ambitious film called "The City," which they were commissioned to do by a group of New York architects for World's Fair promotion. The script of this was written by Lorentz.

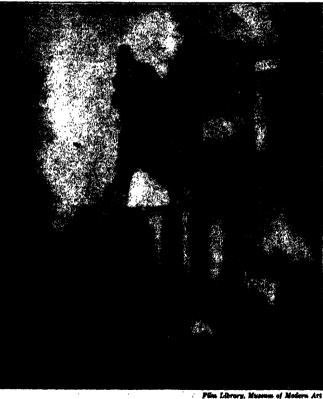
Another group, History Today, Inc., was formed two years ago by Ernest Hemingway, Lillian Hellman, Dorothy Parker, Archibald MacLeish, and Joris Ivens. To date it has sponsored and financed Ivens' two latest documentaries, "The Spanish Earth" and "The 400,000,000."

It cannot be said that the American documentary movement is distinguished for its solidarity, but it does have vitality. There are disagreements among the several units but in one respect they are all united: they all have a high respect for their craft and the uses to which they can put it today. A year ago, when Paul Rotha, one of the foremost British spokesmen on documentary, visited this country and wrote in rather cavalier fashion about Lorentz' attainments, Paul Strand came crashing to his defense and wrote the Englishman a sizzling answer.

The highly popular March of Time

Pare Lorentz

*Rising river on the Mississippi. A "still" from Pare Lorentz' widely-acclaimed "The River" which played to large audiences the country over.*

Film Library, Museum of Modern Art

*Lenin comes to life in "October," a Sovkino production. This will be one of a number of documentary films to be shown this fall at New York's Museum of Modern Art.*

is really part of the movement. For a brief period some documentalists looked askance at it, for its short production period and its attempt to keep up with the news impose serious handicaps upon it. But the March of Time is still documentary, and its recent excellent "Refugees" is a good demonstration of the fact.

Newsreel, it is hardly necessary to add, is something else again. It is factual, but its facts are unrelated, and, as often as not, unimportant.

Perhaps the most rankling problem of the documentary movement is that of distribution. Unfortunately the word documentary is still associated in many minds with travelogues and educational films whose chief attribute has been dullness. Furthermore, there is a liberal political tinge to many documentaries, and this does not sit well with the big booking companies. Although Lorentz's "Plow That Broke the Plains" got excellent critical notices it was royally snubbed by exhibitors. Yet it is unquestionably true that most documentaries (including that one) hit a high average for punch, and have great box office appeal among persons who have been introduced to them. Paramount evidently sensed this when it agreed to exhibit "The River." But for the most part documentaries have had to depend upon pressure generated among audience groups. Frontier Films' "China Strikes Back" and "People of the Cumberland" are indebted to promotion tendered in trade unions. A print of the Cumberland film was bought by the Automobile Workers Union, to be shown among four hundred thousand members.

Film guilds and societies are active not only in the United States, but in Canada, England, New Zealand, Australia, and even South Africa. They send letters and representatives to theaters, request certain films, sometimes guarantee audiences. One such group—Films For Democracy, Inc., headed by Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild—has an office in New York and members in 115 other cities. Its specific undertaking is to promote the showing of pro-democratic films and the exposure of reactionary film propaganda. At present it is beating the drum for Ivens' "The 400,000,000."

The need for pressure of this kind was emphasized by Gilbert Seldes when he reviewed "The River." "Nothing more useful to the entire industry can be accomplished than to force exhibitors to go outside their commercial contracts to show this picture."

In England and Russia the distribution problem is largely solved. There, fully backed by the government, documentary films are accepted in nearly all regular theaters.

Other—technical—problems must be faced by documentary film makers in any country. The documentalist snatches his pictures from life. He has no time to arrange good lighting; he cannot go inside to work when the weather is bad; he cannot ask a crowd to stampede across a public square several times until he has the right picture; and he cannot expect troops to fire with care while he gets a nice close-up trench sequence. And the further documentary film searches into public issues the more it must present its characters as authentic and believable human beings. That has gradually posed the question of using professional actors in some documentary scenes, a practice justified in many of the Russian films and now being accepted elsewhere. Most sequences demand "real" people who behave naturally in natural surroundings; and it is hard to get relaxed performances from farmers, miners, and office workers. Most of them, while dignified, are frightfully conscious of the camera. Herbert Kline, discussing "Crisis," put the problem succinctly: "The Broadway or Hollywood director tries to get actors to be real people; the documentary director tries to keep real people from being actors."

*Frontier Film—People of the Cumberland*

*The documentary films do not want for interesting faces.*

Before getting people to perform at all, it is often necessary to break down their reserve and suspicion. On location for "The River," photographer Stacy Woodard came upon a Tennessee mountain family which had rigged up a primitive grist-mill by a stream running past their cabin. As he approached to ask if he might take some pictures, the women—a half dozen of assorted ages—hustled inside and a like group of men gathered outside in battle formation.

"Hello!" said Woodard. They eyed him coldly and made no answer. He explained what he wanted. Still no answer. Persisting, he asked who owned the place. One aged mountaineer stepped out from the group but said nothing. Finally Woodard tried flattery; he said that in building the big T.V.A. dams and power generators, the government's engineers were simply applying the principle of that one-half horse-power gristmill. The old mountaineer was pleased. After a few minutes he invited Woodard to take all the pictures he wanted.

Some documentaries require a staggering amount of research before a single camera is set up. Pare Lorentz and staff have been working eight months to make sure his forthcoming "Ecce Homo" will rest on solid fact.

Despite all its problems, documentary film is an established thing. The G.P.O. film unit in England annually trains dozens of young men in the documentary method. Frontier Films in this country is setting up classes for the same purpose. This fall the Museum of Modern Art Film Library in New York will run a series of programs in which the best documentaries of all countries will be shown and discussed by experts. And the Washington office of the United States Film Service is trying to keep up with the two hundred daily requests for the use of its pictures.

The question is: In what direction will documentary's power be exerted? Obviously, with its drama and realism, it is a magnificent instrument for both reporting and persuading, and, when it has dealt with great public issues, it has done a considerable amount of both. If, in this country, it can reach the millions upon millions of persons who go to the moving pictures every week, if it lives up to its promise to enlighten them, and if it remains in their control, it can become an impressive addition to what are called the forces of civilization.

# THEY SAY
## Quotations from the World Press

## Boom, Boom, Boom for John N. Garner

**Following are condensations from recent news dispatches, and from comment by newspaper columnists, which tell the story of the emergence of John Nance Garner as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1940:**

Vice-President John Nance Garner, described as a symbol of conservative sentiment within the Democratic party, has doubled his support for the 1940 presidential nomination since last November, and is well out in front in the latest survey of Democratic possibilities made by the American Institute of Public Opinion, of which Dr. George Gallup is director. The Vice-President's strength must make him a dominant figure in all calculations for 1940, in spite of his age and the coolness of many out-and-out New Dealers, the Institute asserts.—*From The New York* Times.

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FORT WORTH, TEXAS, April 7.—Elliott Roosevelt said in a radio talk tonight that the Garner boom for President was on and that Vice-President Garner would be hard to remove from the driver's seat unless President Roosevelt chose to run for a third term.—*From the Associated Press.*

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AUSTIN, TEXAS, March 27.—The Texas Legislature unanimously adopted a resolution today endorsing Garner for President and calling on Democrats of the nation to work for his nomination. The resolution said Vice-President Garner, a native Texan, has served long and ably in Congress, and had fully demonstrated his statesmanship and grasp of national affairs.—*From an Associated Press dispatch.*

—◇—

Vice-President Garner's boom for the Democratic presidential nomination reached the floor of the Senate today when a resolution of the Texas Legislature was read endorsing Mr. Garner for that honor. It focused attention on his strength as a candidate. Some time ago those supporting Mr. Garner said that two hundred delegates could be counted for him. Later they increased the number to 250 for the Vice-President on the first ballot. Some observers predict that he will have sufficient strength to "stop Roosevelt."—*From The New York* Times.

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The story going around concerning Mr. Garner having two hundred delegates in the bag means a paper bag. If you count certified delegates the V.-P. has few except Texas. If you count probabilities he has between 371 and 408. The figure merely represents current composite guesses by eminent authorities. As a matter of inside fact, the Garner boom is proceeding like that moving mountain in California. It might be a landslide. It might be stopped.—*Paul Mallon, in the Boston* Herald.

—◇—

If Roosevelt doesn't want Garner nominated for President next year—and it is hard to see why he should—he had better get busy. There is still time to stop Garner, but not very much. Garner now has behind him the same kind of public momentum which Alf Landon had in 1936 long in advance of the convention. That momentum put Landon over. The Vice-President says nothing, but around him is an energetic organization headed by Roy Miller, legislative agent for Texas Sulphur. Miller set the Garner boom under way last December with a meeting near Garner's birthplace. He dragged the old log cabin into the picture, as well as the Coon Soup Hollow ball team, Little Jack Garner's six-mile walk to school, and all the poor-boy ballyhoo without which no presidential campaign is complete.—*Raymond Clapper, in the Kansas City* Star.

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All recent polls indicate that John N. Garner is the leading candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1940. Jack Garner is not a reactionary. The Democratic party could do worse. He is better attuned than many of the President's advisers are to the mind of small-town, middle-class America. But his knowledge of the mind and needs of the urban worker is faint. It is hard to imagine wage-earners of the North, W.P.A. workers, Negroes of the North, and progressives of the Northwest flocking to vote for John N. Garner. They might if Franklin Roosevelt told them to do so, or if the Republicans nominated an exceptionally objectionable candidate. Otherwise Mr. Garner would have difficulty in carrying any territory outside the South and the border states and possibly Arizona and New Mexico. His admirers in the North are mostly Republicans.—*Ernest K. Lindley, in the Washington* Post.

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Old Man Garner, that Old Man Garner, he don't say nothin' but he keeps on growing as a candidate. What has he got besides those eyebrows and a still tongue? Well, he is a country banker with long experience both in business and in politics. He goes to bed after supper and gets up at some awful hour in the morning. He knows plenty about legislation and government. What else are you wanting? Everything about Old Man Garner points an appeal to the business man, especially the little one, and the home-owning and life-insurance types. Radical labor wouldn't like him, but the A.F. of L. kind might think that a banker and a business man of long service in government would give business a chance to make a dollar and hire some men. He would certainly have no truck with men who say that the capitalistic system is doomed. And in foreign relations he probably would aim to keep his emotions under his scalp and not worry too much about the democracy of Britain and France so long as ours was let alone.—*Westbrook Pegler in the New York* World-Telegram.

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Democratic political leaders have frequently united upon some man in order to beat a Democrat whom they dislike, even though they know full

Kansas City Star

*Trouble with the share croppers on the New Deal plantation.*

well that their choice went to one who had no chance to defeat any likely Republican. Parker, Cox, and Davis were all lifted up to the saddle for the sake of the ride. When a Democratic politician says that he favors Garner for the nomination he is really stating his burning conviction in reverse. What he really means is that he is unalterably opposed to Franklin D. Roosevelt or any other New Dealer. There are a number of Democrats in the House and the Senate who would much prefer to see a Republican in the White House than any liberal Democrat whatsoever. Accordingly, Democrats who wish to make it sure for Dewey or Taft or Vandenberg are shrewd to sing the praises of Garner.—*Heywood Broun, in the New York* World-Telegram.

—◇—

The pre-1940 campaign of Vice-President Garner is likely to be symbolized not by a log cabin, not by a front porch, but by the "Garner Houses" down in Uvalde. The shrewd Texan has solved the housing problem by building seventeen low-cost dwellings in his home town, thus proving that he possesses all the horse-and-buggy virtues requisite to set the country straight.—*Erwin D. Canham, in* The Christian Science Monitor.

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The absence of "doodads" is probably the outstanding feature of the houses which Mr. Garner has built in his home town of Uvalde, Texas. It explains to a large extent why their cost, ranging from $1,100 to $1,800, is only about half that of two demonstration houses in Uvalde insured by the Federal Housing Administration. As applied by the Sage of Uvalde, "doodads" means termite shields, oak flooring laid over felt and a subfloor, three coats of paint on the weatherboards and two on the roof, and shingles of the most expensive grade—things which the Vice-President's neighbors do not regard as essential in a small Southwestern town. There is every reason why the "doodad" question should be regarded as a potential 1940 campaign issue—whether "doodads" are to be eliminated from government, whether government costs are to be pared down to essentials in the interest of economy.—*Felix Cotten, in the Washington* Post.

—◇—

If Mr. Garner gets the nomination, as is conceivable, it will be found that his strength as a presidential aspirant has been greatly overrated. Why this talk about Mr. Garner? Because of the things that he has done and said behind the scenes. He is supposed to have said, speaking of the Administration's attitude toward business, that it was a mistake not to give the cattle a chance to put some fat on their bones. He is supposed to have been the inspiration of certain congressional maneuverings against the New Deal. He has a fund of hard, shrewd, common sense. But what are the present public views of Mr. Garner? You have to deduce them from what he has said in private.—*Charles G. Ross, in the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch.

—◇—

President Roosevelt has made his answer in private conversation to the runaway showing Vice-President Garner is making as the nation's number one Democratic favorite for the presidential nomination in 1940. Jutting out his famous jaw, F.D.R. says with his renowned Dutch determination: "The party will nominate a liberal candidate on a liberal platform." Garner is not rated as a liberal in the New Deal political lexicon. —*John O'Donnell and Doris Fleeson, in the New York* Daily Mirror.

—◇—

Jack Garner was quietly enjoying a mid-afternoon in his office when visitors walked in and congratulated him on the adoption by the Texas Legislature of a resolution endorsing him for the 1940 nomination. Garner grinned broadly. "It was awfully nice of the boys," he said, "but don't get me wrong. I have no desire to be President. No, sir. Of course I can't do anything about it if my friends will boom me. A lot of them are. And I am getting letters every day from business men all over the country, urging me to run. Naturally I can't help but be flattered. I am not looking for a thing, but if the lightning should strike in my direction—I guess I'd have to accept."—*Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, in the New York* Daily Mirror.

## Boulevard for Cattle

*—Condensed from a news story by Malcolm McDowell in the Chicago* Daily News

The seventy-five-mile Magdalena stock driveway in southwestern New Mexico will be completed this year. This thoroughfare or boulevard will have protected passageways for the movement of cattle and sheep from the grasslands, through semi-arid desert regions to railroad shipping points. When finished it will be a fenced stock driveway with controlled grazing and improved watering facilities, varying in width from a quarter of a mile to four miles, protected by more than two hundred miles of fence.

Strung on more than fifty thousand posts, the fence will keep straying livestock from overgrazing adjacent territory during their trek to the shipping center. At the same time, it will prevent interference with the advancing cattle and sheep by herds on lands adjoining.

The Magdalena bovine boulevard is expected to handle annually the movement of approximately twenty-eight thousand cattle and fifty thousand sheep, hoofing it from the wide grazing areas of Arizona and New Mexico to Magdalena, New Mexico, one of the most important shipping points for range livestock in the United States.

It is a very old trail, for history shows that these lands were first devoted to livestock raising by the Spanish settlers, eighty years before the Pilgrim fathers stepped ashore on Plymouth Rock. And long before then the Indian tribes of the Southwest traveled back and forth on the old Indian trade trail which ran over the deserts between the Pacific Coast and the Rio Grande, parallel with the present cattle driveway.

Reports to the division of grazing of the Department of the Interior indicate that stockmen have noted a remarkable recovery on the formerly overgrazed areas during the last two growing seasons. The areas are now protected by fence and federal grazing regulations. They say that the better grass resources and additional watering facilities have brought about arrival of livestock at its destination in greatly improved condition.

Besides the development of wells, tanks and reservoirs by the C.C.C. boys under the supervision of division of grazing, construction of corrals and overnight detention pens along the driveway have facilitated the handling of the animals in their journey to the rail center. In the way-back days of that region driving cattle to the railroad was a hazardous job, what with Indian and white cattle rustlers cutting out the best animals and shooting to kill when the herdsmen objected. It's different today.

## A Party for Twenty

*By Dorothy Thompson*

*—Condensed from Miss Thompson's newspaper column syndicated by the New York Tribune, Inc.*

Mr. Louis Sobol, of the *American*, asked his readers to tell him whom they would like to have at a party.

The party turns out to be terrible. It includes the following persons: Hedy Lamarr, Dorothy Lamour, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, Helen Hayes, Clare Boothe Luce, Dorothy Parker, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, Eleanor Roosevelt, Dorothy Thompson, Elsa Maxwell, Thomas Dewey, J. Edgar Hoover, Anthony Eden, Orson Welles, W. C. Fields, Don Ameche, Bing Crosby, Noel Coward, Jimmy Durante and Winthrop Rockefeller.

I do not know Miss Lamarr or Miss Lamour, but they are beautiful, and I have often observed that the gaze of a pair of beautiful eyes adds brilliance to any man's tongue.

Mme. Chiang Kai-shek I don't know, but I greatly fear that she would use the occasion to raise a relief fund. I would okay Helen Hayes. She is charming, intelligent, warm and that very rare thing, a marvelous listener.

W. C. Fields was a good idea. Mr. Ameche I don't know.

And as for Dorothy Thompson, she is terrible. She always talks politics and has a horrible habit of holding forth.

In fact, on this whole list there are only three people who are first-class party material, whatever their other virtues may be. They are W. C. Fields, Noel Coward and Clare Boothe Luce.

Now, if I were having a party of twenty I would put Clare Boothe first among the women. She is very beautiful. She is exquisitely dressed. She is interested in nearly everything and knows something—even a great deal—about nearly everything. She can discuss politics, letters, fashion, the stage and sports with equal vivacity and knowledgeability.

My second choice is Alice Roosevelt Longworth. She always manages to look as though she had thrown on last year's clothes at the last minute, and still remains distinguished. She has wit, spiced with malice and warmed by humor, and she is one of the finest listeners I have ever met.

I would have Beatrice Lillie, because she looks wonderful and because, on the stage or off, she is always Beatrice Lillie, and the funniest woman alive. She is an irresistible combination of gamin and grande dame. She is my candidate for queen of any country anywhere.

Mrs. Franklin P. Adams is marvelous party material. She looks like a ripe peach, she is an inveterate liker of everybody and she always has a good time. I'd ask Neysa McMein, because she is a great good scout and men adore her. I'd ask Katharine Hepburn, because of a modest earnestness in the midst of so much good looks. Mrs. Ogden Reid would be a perfect guest; she knows about everything and never reveals it unless pressed to do so.

The concert pianist Ania Dorfman can come to any party I ever give. She is feminine, warm, appreciative, and that rarest of all things, a concert pianist who really likes to play the piano, if she likes the party.

And, finally, there is Eve Curie, now visiting in this country, the daughter of the great Madame Curie, and a young woman who has everything.

Now, for men: Noel Coward, by all means, for his wit, vibrancy, and enormous intelligence on all sorts of subjects.

Clifton Fadiman, a man who makes a large part of his living by public speaking and never makes a public speech.

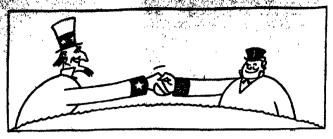
I'll exchange Jimmy Durante for Walter Duranty, full of gossip, oddities, information, history—ancient and contemporary—a natural viveur and a superb story teller.

I'd ask Henry Mencken if he would come to a party of twenty, which I doubt. His rubicund countenance, resembling—somebody else has remarked—that of a butcher's boy, casts an oblique light over human folly, followed by volleys of silvery laughter.

If Charlie Chaplin will once again tell the story of his adventures of hunting the wild boar in France, he can come to a hundred parties. But if he is going to talk about social credit, he can't.

Sinclair Lewis, Dorothy Thompson's husband, can come to all my parties, and not because it is his right. Nobody living talks better, if he likes the party. Nobody can kill a party sooner, if he does not. But he'd like this party.

I would ask two college presidents, Robert Maynard Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, and Stringfellow Barr, the president of St. John's, in Annapolis. Both of them are prodigiously educated, and you don't mind it at all. Both of them are marvelously goodlooking. Both of them talk, with all their learning, a racy idiom.

And, finally, since I have got to be

at this party myself, I shall ask my own favorite, Sir Willmott Lewis, the veteran correspondent of The London *Times* in Washington, and I shall drag him into a corner, and he and I will do our best to talk each other down.

## Thrust, Riposte; Amende Honorable

*—Condensed from the Baltimore* Sun

Yesterday the Legislature of Rhode Island once more voted against ratifying the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Those amendments as everyone knows make up the Bill of Rights.

But Rhode Island, which was the last of the Original Thirteen to ratify the body of the document, has steadfastly refused to give her assent to the amendments. Not that it makes any difference; the amendments are as binding upon Rhode Island as upon any other member of the Union.

Why, then, this long unwillingness to admit the fact? It does not mean, we suspect, that freedom and liberty are valued any less in Rhode Island than elsewhere in the country. In the long run, the refusal probably has something to do with the well-known inferiority complex of that little state. Small, undistinguished, a mere appendage to Massachusetts, Rhode Island would get little attention by being conformist. Pretending to stand up and fight the Colossus which surrounds her on all sides, she does, now and then, get a momentary spotlight, as the mouse might were it to challenge the cat.

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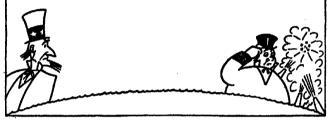
*—Condensed from the Providence, Rhode Island,* Evening Bulletin

The Baltimore *Sun's* editorial, like Matthew Arnold's characterization of John Ruskin, is dogmatic and wrong. The Olympian attitude it takes toward the honorable state of Rhode Island is the more insufferable because it did not take the pains to get the facts straight.

In the first place, it was not "the Legislature of Rhode Island" which "once more voted against ratifying the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States." It

was the Legislature of the state of Connecticut.

In the second place, Rhode Island ratified the first ten amendments to the Constitution on June 15, 1790, which makes the *Sun* wrong by almost 150 years.

The author of the editorial is correct, however (and this is a victory), when he says: "Those amendments, as everyone knows, make up the Bill of Rights." He is also correct in lining up Rhode Island as the last of the original colonies to ratify the Constitution and wrong once more in insisting that she "has steadfastly refused to give her assent to the amendments." What we "steadfastly refused" to ratify was the Eighteenth Amendment, which the Maryland Free State ratified.

Inaccuracy turns into something else—and the original sin is doubly damned—by crediting Rhode Island with the "well-known inferiority complex" and adding: "Small, undistinguished, a mere appendage to Massachusetts, Rhode Island would get little attention by being conformist."

Rhode Island has been non-conformist, but not for any neurotic reason implied in that hackneyed, pseudo-scientific, half-baked, jargon term, "inferiority complex," and particularly not because of its proximity to Massachusetts, whose hell-

[illegible] rearing intolerance banished Roger Williams into the wilderness to found a liberty-loving and flourishing civil State in Rhode Island where free spirits could seek haven when the magisterial piety and religious smugness of the Puritans got them down.

This state has been non-conformist by character; and for a Maryland Free State newspaper which inveighs against standardization and regimentation to sneer at non-conformity, no matter its source, is to deny its own beliefs. Our non-conformity arose from disputatious, argumentative, controversial, cantankerous, cross-grained individualism of the sort which awaited the addition of the aforementioned Bill of Rights to protect its liberties before it ratified the Constitution. This individualism has, as Cotton Mather said of Roger Williams, "the root of the matter" in it. It was separatist, given to particularism, so suspicious of centralization that at one time Rhode Island had four capitals, so distrustful of delegated power that it did not send delegates to the Constitutional Congress.

James Bryce, who ought to know, did not think us "undistinguished." He wrote: "This singular little commonwealth . . . is of all the American States that which has furnished the most abundant analogies to the republics of antiquity, and which best deserves to have its annals treated by a philosophic historian." *Nota bene:* "philosophical historian," not psychoanalyst.

As for being an "appendage" of Massachusetts (or of Connecticut, our other neighbor), let us remind the *Sun* that for years the Massachusetts-Connecticut axis tried to do a Czecho-Slovakia upon us and appropriate our lands to themselves for the same reason that Hitler put on the squeeze—because their tyrannical pietists feared the island of liberty and independence next to them.

Which recalls the fine fury of that

admirable historian of our culture, Shepard Tom Hazard, author of "The Johnny-Cake Papers," as he remembered the pressure of our neighbors. In the immortal episode of Mat Waite and the pigs, he tells of the old she land shark and her litter last being seen entering "the Potter swamp, it being an offshoot of the great swamp where the big Indian fight occurred in 1675, which was instigated against the rightful owners of the soil, solely by the cussed godly Puritans of Massachusetts and her hell-bound allies . . . of Connecticut, whom, though charity is my specialty, I can never think of without feeling, as all Rhode Islanders should, somewhat as Judge Potter has recently expressed himself in the *Journal*, and as old Miss Hazard did when in like vein she thanked God in the Conanicut prayer-meeting that she could hold malice forty years."

With the same specialty for charity noted above, we must say that "the only explanation that seems to hold water" for the editorial is that the writer simply did not know what he was talking about.

—*Condensed from the Baltimore* Sun

A week or two ago this paper published a short editorial on the state of Rhode Island. That editorial was erroneous, unjust, inexcusable and, worse, inexplicable.

This editorial duly passed on to Rhode Island and entered the office of the *Evening Bulletin*, of Providence. There it fell under the editorial eye and was absorbed into the editorial brain. In that brain it was a catalyst, in that it started things working. The product of that working was duly published. It thrilled and inspired many thousands of Rhode Islanders, not a small proportion of whom clipped it and sent it on to this office.

Thus, unwittingly and not too good-humoredly, this paper played a part in the creation of a classic. This is no small distinction, and we accept as our natural right the applause that is certain to come.

## A Newspaper Editorial Which May Be Historic

***When the following editorial, published in the Washington*** **Post,** ***was mentioned at a White House Conference in mid-April, President Roosevelt termed it very good, very clear and very honest. So doing, he gave it world wide significance, and, in effect, used it as a vehicle to make his own views known at a time of crisis. The editorial:***

"I'll be back in the Fall, if we don't have a war."

These words, spoken by President Roosevelt to the group assembled at Warm Springs to see him off for Washington, were seemingly wholly unpremeditated. Actually it is proper to surmise that serious consideration preceded their utterance. None knows better than the President that his office makes his most casual public observation subject to interpretation as a matter of national policy. And no President was ever more skillful than Mr. Roosevelt in making the most of every opportunity to give a positive direction to public thinking on important issues.

There is speculation as to what the President meant by "we." Did he mean if the United States is itself engaged in hostilities, or merely if a major conflict is raging overseas? Those who have followed Mr. Roosevelt's thoughtful speeches on the conditions necessary for peace will understand his choice of a pronoun. By "we" he undoubtedly meant Western civilization. A war affecting its foundations would immediately affect us vitally, whether or not the United States were at the outset physically involved.

But there was a greater value than its stimulus to national thinking in the President's passing remark on Easter afternoon. Until it has actually started, another World War is not inevitable. It can still be averted if the free nations are willing to show that they will take a stand before it is too late.

Pressure from the Berlin-Rome axis will not ease until it reaches the point of serious resistance. Then only can a different and honestly conciliatory attitude be expected from the dictators. Nothing less than the show of preponderant force will stop them, for force is the only language which they understand. But, like less exalted bullies, force is to them a real deterrent.

In using the collective "we" the President told Hitler and Mussolini, far more impressively than he told Warm Springs, that the tremendous force of the United States must be a factor in their current thinking. He told the Axis powers that the Administration is far from indifferent to their plottings. He made it plain that a war forced by them would from the outset involve the destinies of a nation which, as they fully realize, is potentially far stronger than Germany and Italy united.

To make that plain at this crucial time is to help in preventing war. To make the dictators realize that there is a limit to unresisted aggression is in itself to set that limit. It is on that incontrovertible reasoning that the French have stiffened their policy. It is on that reasoning that the

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA

*Soglow's Confidential History of Modern England*

British are laying down a deadline. It is on that reasoning, through the application of which peace can still be saved, that President Roosevelt properly links the United States with the eleventh-hour effort to avert a shattering disaster.

## Mystery Millionaire

*—Condensed from the column, "A Line o' Type or Two," by Charles Collins in the Chicago* Daily Tribune

Walter P. Murphy's donation of nearly $7,000,000 to Northwestern University for an Institute of Technology which will not bear his name over the portal caused this old nose for news to twitch. We immediately wanted to know something more about this philanthropist, of whom we had never heard, and we herewith present the results of a day's research at odd moments:

Publicity department of Northwestern University: Knows nothing about him other than the few already printed facts.

Reference room of *The Tribune:* One clipping, dated January 11, 1926, announcing the charter of the Walter P. Murphy Foundation of Chicago (forty-five agate lines).

Financial editors of *The Tribune:* Find nothing in big books called *Moody's Industrials* and *Standard Statistics;* two lines giving the known facts in *Pool's Register of Directors and Executives.* Firm believed to manufacture railway switches, semaphores, etc.

A trustee of Northwestern University: Never met him; understands that Mr. Murphy travels a great deal, and has ranches and houses in the far west; says the first suggestion of a donation came three years ago from a lawyer in Richmond, Virginia, acting for an unmentioned principal; "ask Dr. Scott."

Chicago telephone directory: Gives location of Standard Railway Equipment Company's plant at Hammond, Indiana.

A member of the Chicago Club: "Mr. Murphy may be the richest man in Chicago."

*Who's Who in America,* 1938-39: Gives Mr. Murphy one inch of space, or fourteen agate lines of type. Born in Pittsburgh, sixty-six years old; unmarried; no college record; honorary master of arts degree from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut; started in railway business in St. Louis, 1892; has been in railway supply business since 1898. Fellow of Royal Society, London. Two clubs in New York, one in Chicago, one in San Francisco, two in London. Lives in Lake Forest.

When the gift was accepted by Northwestern, Mr. Murphy gave the trustees a memorandum of the text for a news release on the subject. It consisted of two brief paragraphs, containing not more than 150 words.

## Nazi "Go Slow" Sign

*—From the* Voelkischer Beobachter *(Berlin)*

Even though Bolshevism and the defense policy of the Soviet Union during 1938 hastened from defeat to defeat, and the Red Army has certainly lost in striking power through the removal of many high officers, it would be a fundamental mistake not to take into account the continual extension of the army, which has naturally increased its offensive strength. There can be no doubt that the Russian soldier—as shown in the World War and in the Changkufeng incident in the Far East last summer—is brave, enduring and tough, and knows how to fight splendidly under good leadership.

## Mr. Chamberlain's Day; Hour-by-Hour Account

*—From a dispatch by Robert P. Post from London to The New York* Times

Like President Roosevelt, Mr. Chamberlain can shut his mind to one subject while turning to another. Like the President again, he can concentrate upon fishing to the exclusion of all other matters.

Mr. Chamberlain's day starts about seven o'clock. First, he breakfasts and reads the papers, some of them very closely. This is succeeded by an hour or so with his private correspondence. Then comes a walk in St. James's Park, sometimes with a colleague, but more often with Mrs. Chamberlain.

On his return he settles down to work. He uses the famous Cabinet room where most of Britain's historic decisions have been taken. It is a light and airy room facing the Downing Street garden, and it is lined with books. A portrait of Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742, looks down at the long table at which the Cabinet sits. The Prime Minister's seat is in the middle of this table, as also is his working desk.

Unless it is Wednesday, when the Cabinet meets, Mr. Chamberlain's morning is taken up with callers. The strictest sort of punctuality must be followed by those who wish to see the Prime Minister. His engagements run right to the time designated and one minute before an appointment his bell rings for a secretary to show the preceding caller out.

All papers necessary to any discussion are digested before it takes place and decisions are taken immediately. After the calls are finished or the Cabinet departs, Mr. Chamberlain has luncheon, usually with Mrs. Chamberlain or some member of his family. The Prime Minister may take a whisky and soda with his lunch or dinner, but little more.

After luncheon, Mr. Chamberlain leaves for the House of Commons, a cigar, of which he is very fond, in his mouth. Perhaps the most trying time of his day comes during question time, for then he must answer not only the usual queries addressed to the Prime Minister but all important questions on foreign affairs as well.

After question time, which lasts from two forty-five until about four o'clock, Mr. Chamberlain goes to his office in the Houses of Parliament. He remains there conferring with colleagues, Ambassadors, or other callers and studying reports and documents until dinner time. After dinner, he usually returns to the Commons and remains until it adjourns about eleven o'clock. On returning home he works until the day's grist of reports and memoranda are cleared up. This may mean that he is at his desk until one o'clock in the morning.

His week-ends are spent at Chequers, the country place of all British Prime Ministers. But even on holidays telegrams and red boxes follow Mr. Chamberlain.

## Side Into Head

*—From the German emigré newspaper,* Neuer Vorwaerts, *Paris*

After Franco's conquest of Barcelona, he sent Hitler a telegram pointing out that German volunteers had fought in his army. Hitler's reply, as it appeared in the press, contained the following sentence: "Germany and her army are happy that German volunteers were permitted to fight in your glorious army *side by side* with their Italian comrades."

The German radio, however, broadcast a different version of the telegram, in which this sentence read: "Germany and her army are happy that German volunteers were permitted to fight in your glorious army *at the head of* their Italian comrades."

## Trouble in Ethiopia for Italian Invaders

*—Condensed from an article by Jerome Tharaud in Paris* Soir

The Italian methods in Ethiopia have done much to alienate the natives. Immediately upon entering Addis Ababa, the Italians tried to do away with all the old customs. They began by breaking up all the Ethiopian political and social circles. The Abyssinian chiefs, who served as intermediaries between the government and the population were exiled or shot down. The same thing happened to the priests, who, for the Italians, represented the very link with the past that they were trying to abolish.

Everywhere, native authorities were replaced by the Italian officials who have no knowledge of the language, the customs or the character of the people. Outside of a few big cities, they have no authority, so the traditional authorities have been abolished without anything to take their place.

The same happened in the economic field. Before the arrival of the Italians there were a few important commercial houses in the big cities. The intermediaries were the Hindu, Greek and Armenian merchants who carried the products to the Abyssinian villages. The Italians have expelled those intermediaries, again without replacing them efficiently. The Ethiopians have no confidence in the new merchants and dislike to buy from them, particularly since the Italians can only offer very expensive merchandise.

When a native asks 150 lira for a cow on the village market, an Italian will immediately offer 50 lira and take the animal away. The peasant can say nothing, but the next time he stays away. As a result, the Italians can no longer get the necessities of life on the spot and must import them from Italy. Besides, the sight of Italians working on the roads has not served to bolster up their prestige. "Those are white slaves," Ethiopians say disdainfully.

The massacre that took place after the attempt on Graziani's life has served to make the gulf between the natives and the conquerors still deeper. The soldiers are living in a constant fear of their lives. Every month thirty to sixty soldiers are killed or succumb to fatigue and nerves. The conquerors occupy, in reality, only a few strategic points connected by roads.

The people of Djibouti were not particularly alarmed when recently the Italian troops were massed on the French Somaliland border. They know that the Italians cannot really afford to leave Ethiopia unguarded for an invasion into Somaliland and that their troops are made up of very bad material, the native contingent having received very little military instruction.

Whenever there is a crisis in Europe, unrest in Ethiopia increases and the attempts to get rid of the Italians become more violent. Altogether, the Italians are in a precarious position. They are holding a lion by the tail and afraid to let go.

## Short-Wave Station; Zeesen Ueber Alles

*—Condensed from an article by L. Marsland Gander in the* Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, *London*

"Dear friends and listeners overseas," says an effusively friendly voice through the loud-speaker. There is hardly need for it to add, in that faintly guttural English, "This is Germany calling."

By night and day, with scarcely a break throughout the twenty-four hours, the German short-wave station at Zeesen—said to have cost £1,000,000—is pumping out programs to the world, with announcements and news in English, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and, of course, German. The scale of its ceaseless activity is matched only by Daventry, the B.B.C. Empire station, with the difference that the B.B.C. uses English, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, Italian, and French.

Today many countries speak to other nations through broadcasting —Italy, for instance, uses twenty different languages—but Britain and Germany have superior facilities and reach the widest audience. Daventry will shortly have five high-power transmitters in operation; Zeesen has six on regular schedules and two in reserve.

*Marianne, Paris*

***"I am the greatest man in the world!"***

("That is, with one notable exception.")

There is no more ironical comment on the world today than the growing Babel on the short-wave band. It is true that broadcasts by one country in the language of another are not in themselves hostile acts. Language is, after all, the only path to understanding among men and nations. But it is also the path to misunderstanding, and in 1939 motives and material need careful scrutiny.

Day after day on the bewildering short-wave band the listener finds an English station talking German, a German station talking English, an Italian station talking Arabic, or a Russian station talking French. As a hair's breadth on the dial separates one transmitter from another, the task of identification becomes infinitely tantalizing, calling for the stoical patience of the angler.

The short-wave listener is quite relieved to establish a recognizable contact — to come across such a phrase as, "We are wishing you perfect reception," which stamps the program as made in Germany, or to hear that equally distinctive mark of identification, the voice of a typical B.B.C. announcer.

Germany was early in the field with foreign language broadcasts, beginning in 1934, and the B.B.C. followed suit only in January last year. When the short-wave transmissions from Zeesen were launched, it was stated in official German quarters that they were intended for people of German origin throughout the world.

One need look no farther than the much-quoted *Mein Kampf* for motives. In that work Herr Hitler makes plain his deep-rooted belief in propaganda, and freely acknowledges the superiority of the Allied methods during the war. Today, on all printed programs distributed to the press of the world by the German short-wave stations appears the declaration, attributed to the Fuehrer: "We wish to safeguard the eternal foundations of our existence, of our nationality, and the strength and virtues with which it is endowed."

What, then, is Germany telling the world with such characteristic thoroughness, and what is its effect on the scattered audience?

The favorite method of the compilers of the Zeesen bulletins is to comb the newspapers of the world and to quote carefully selected extracts. For instance, one day quotations were read from an Arab newspaper to the effect that the object of the Palestine Conference in London was to strengthen Britain's grip on the Orient and the Arab States.

A recent Zeesen bulletin began with a report of a broadcast given by "the well-known American publisher, Randolph Hearst." It was, said the announcer, a sharp attack on the Roosevelt administration; Mr. Hearst, it was said, took particular exception to the statement that it was the duty of the United States to defend democracy and treaty loyalty

*Los Angeles Times*

*The Lambeth Walk.*

all over the world. Mr. Hearst asked whether Mr. Roosevelt intended to convert Soviet Russia to Christianity or how he reconciled his humanitarian arguments with the brutal oppression of three hundred million Indians and the slaughter of many innocent inhabitants of that country. Similar sentiments, continued the announcer, had been expressed by Senator Walsh and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.

## The King's Visit and Mr. Chamberlain

*—Condensed from an article by Peter Howard in the* Daily Express *(London)*

From America comes a sustained and, in many respects, a savage onslaught upon the visit of our King and Queen to the States this spring.

There is nothing personal about these attacks. They are not directed against the King as an individual, but in his capacity as head of the Civil Service of Britain. The truth is that the King and Queen bear the brunt for a criticism which is in effect aimed at ourselves.

Americans who oppose the royal visit say that we are sending our King and Queen to call on them cap in hand. That the whole affair is a begging expedition. An attempt to pull America into Europe. To induce the citizens of the United States to come marching along in their millions, left, right, left, to save us from the wrath of Hitler.

Now one man more than any other is responsible for the invitation to visit the States extended to the King and Queen by President Roosevelt. That man is Mr. Joseph Patrick Kennedy, United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James. And of course, it is quite clear that he, for his part, thinks very little of this American outcry against the royal visit. He considers it of no importance. He would never consent of the acceptance of President Roosevelt's invitation unless he was convinced that the trip was bound to be an unqualified and absolute success.

Many other Americans, equally able to assess the true feelings of the American public, share Mr. Kennedy's view of events. They point out that in America's population of one hundred thirty million there will always be found a minority ready to criticize any proposal.

And they argue that the citizens of America are well aware that the King did not invite himself to the States, but comes as the personal guest of the President. And on that account he will be overwhelmed with attention.

They believe that Americans have a wrong idea of English people which the visit will help to change.

They consider that in a very short space of time the royal visitors will win for themselves the boundless affection of the citizens of America.

Everybody in Britain hopes that this opinion is the right one. Every one trusts that the judgment of Mr. Kennedy and his friends is sound and well founded.

Yet the present march of events must be causing trouble and anxiety to our Prime Minister. For he has to shoulder the burden of responsibility.

If it is a success Mr. Chamberlain will be praised for his share of the victory. But if it is a failure, if the path of our King and Queen through the United States is beset with difficulties, if they are faced with awkward situations and trying moments, then the citizens here will arise in their wrath, and there will be punishment for the man who sent them on their way.

## Science

### *Safety and Comfort Aloft*

*—Condensed from a recent address in New York by Colonel A. D. Tuttle, M.D., Medical Director, United Air Lines*

SOON after joining United Air Lines as medical director, I began to look into conditions aloft bearing on the comfort of passengers and crew. One of the first projects I tackled was the installation of an oxygen system on all our planes. It has been a great boon in alleviating discomfort and is also playing an important safety role in the cockpit.

As the answer would directly influence my work, I early inquired how our passengers were faring, but found no reliable statistics. On January 1, 1938, therefore, I started a system of reporting all discomforts. So far as I am aware it is the first study of this character.

The simple form we use is known as The Discomfort and Medication Report. One is prepared by the stewardess, invariably a registered nurse, for each passenger who experiences any discomfort. It bears the passenger's name, sex, and approximate age, the names of the cities from and to which he or she may be flying, a brief description of the discomfort, the remedial measures used, the results achieved, the altitude being flown and the condition of the weather—"smooth," "moderately rough," or "rough." The stewardess notes also whether the discomfort or its direct cause existed prior to enplaning.

In the office of the Medical Director these reports are reviewed and, for statistical purposes, tabulated by months. They not only give a clear picture of the various types of discomfort being encountered aloft, but stimulate efforts to reduce their incidence and severity.

Until United completed its survey for the full calendar year 1938, no one had ever known just how many passengers became air sick aloft. In a general way, we knew that the incidence of air sickness as compared to sea sickness was small. Thanks to the care with which the stewardesses have filed their reports, we now know definitely the precise rate of air sickness, at least on United Air Lines, and I am inclined to believe that our low rates are representative of conditions on other major airlines.

In 1938, United carried 261,870 passengers and had only 852 cases of air sickness—an occurrence rate of around three per thousand. These findings show that heretofore our estimates have been much too high. Only recently a prominent writer on aviation stated that better piloting technique had reduced the air sickness rate from 22 to 4 per cent. Where he got those figures, I don't know. But I do know, positively, that we don't have 40 per thousand cases of air sickness on our line.

Discomfort reports are bracketed under five general headings—air sickness, ear trouble, oxygen want (heart), nervousness, and miscellaneous. The "miscellaneous" classification is also being broken down further.

Air sickness is the most frequent and on the whole the most distressing source of discomfort, and will always be with us; there are some people so constituted as to get sick on any kind of transportation they happen to use. Air sickness is closely allied to sea sickness, train sickness and other nauseating reactions associated with unusual movements of the body. Provocative causes of air sickness are intemperate habits, anxiety, altitude, rough air, faulty ventilation and overheating. I am of the opinion that the rapid decline of air sickness aloft in the past several years is traceable more to improvement in the ventilating and heating systems, and the attention given them by the stewardesses, than to all other factors combined.

True, the rapid movement of a plane up and down in rough air may also give rise to some air sickness, but there is so little roll—angulation—in the flight of a modern airliner that that factor is practically negligible.

I might add here that, if one is looking forward to a comfortable flight, getting aboard with a hangover is not getting off to a good start.

In our pamphlets for the guidance of both stewardesses and passengers, we stress the importance of ventilating the ears whenever altitude is changed and especially whenever the plane begins to descend for a landing.

Babies and young children unable to understand the simple instructions given adults are induced to sip a little water from time to time and thus produce swallowing. In the stewardess kits carried aloft there are remedies to help passengers who have difficulty in ventilating the ears.

It has been estimated that, of our 130,000,000 inhabitants, no less than 2,000,000, or one in every 65, have some sort of heart affection. As most of our passengers come from a group who have endured stresses in building up successful careers, they are of an age where heart disease begins to make its presence felt. It seems reasonable to assume that United has transported thousands of heart cases. As we have carried more than a million passengers I estimate that we have had with us, on our planes at various times, some 15,000 heart cases. Whatever the actual number may have been, we have had but one death aloft. That fatality occurred while flying at an altitude of only 3,000 feet. It was a death—from sudden heart failure—that could occur in an office, in an automobile, in a physician's waiting room, or even in sleep.

Moreover, we find that elderly passengers bear up better under altitude conditions than do even the young who are better fortified physically.

As a matter of fact, the changes in pulse rate, blood pressure, and respiratory rate aloft due to reduced

DISCOMFORT RATES

| Period | *Number Passengers Transported* | *Number of Discomforts Reported* | | *Incidence (Rate of Occurrence)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yr. 1938 | 261,370 | Air Sickness | 852 | 3.3 per 1000 or 0.33% |
| | | Nervousness | 247 | 0.9 per 1000 or 0.09% |
| | | Oxygen Want (Heart) | 198 | 0.9 per 1000 or 0.08% |
| | | Ear trouble | 141 | 0.5 per 1000 or 0.05% |
| | | All others | 122 | 0.5 per 1000 or 0.05% |
| | | TOTAL | 1560 | 6.0 per 1000 or 0.60% |

barometric pressure are negligible, and fully compensated for by other favorable factors met with in air transportation.

*Nervousness:* Under the heading of nervousness we classify those cases of first fliers who board the planes in a somewhat apprehensive frame of mind, sit tensely in their seats, and find difficulty in relaxing. Other cases in this category are hangovers who have been celebrating too freely. Still others are those unfortunate persons who have received sad news and are flying to the bedside or funeral of some relative. Such cases tax all our efforts to prevent air sickness.

*Miscellaneous:* To illustrate the scope of the discomforts classed under this heading and to indicate the need for attention by the stewardess aloft, there could be mentioned such cases as follows, the majority of them present at the time of takeoff: asthma, convalescence from encephalitis, eye infection, old spinal injury, amnesia from old head injury, convulsions (probably epileptic), burn from ignition of matches in passenger's pocket, old X-ray burns of face and neck, abscessed tooth, lacerated hand (cut on lavatory door), laceration of finger (cut on belt buckle), pneumothorax, and nosebleed.

We have pointed out to our pilots that there are a number of things the pilot can do and refrain from doing to promote passenger comfort. The pilot can see to it that the nose vent is kept wide open, and that the ventilating and heating systems are working satisfactorily. He can avoid a higher altitude if a lower one is as safe and comfortable. He can frequently fly around rather than through a storm cloud and rain, without violating any flying regulations.

In approaching an airport for a landing he can avoid the sharp banks and turns that upset passengers, and instead descend slowly, smoothly, and in a long straight glide. He can use the full length of the runway, apply brakes gently, and taxi up to the landing ramp slowly, avoiding sharp turns.

If the ship has been coming down through rough air, passengers still on the verge of air sickness sometimes get sick just at the moment of landing. When rough air is encountered in a descent the airspeed should be reduced. Rough air under any conditions of flying always calls for less than cruising speed.

### *Germ-Free Guinea Pigs*

*—Condensed from* What's New, *published by Abbott Laboratories, Ill.*

THERE is reason to believe that many uncertainties which at present becloud bacteriological research done with laboratory animals may soon be removed. The reason for this ambitious belief is that germ-free guinea pigs, rats, mice, rabbits and chicks will soon be available to bacteriological researches.

Professor James Arthur Reyniers of Notre Dame University has developed a technique, methods and the necessary mechanical apparatus to permit production of germ-free animals on a scale sufficiently large for bacteriological investigations.

Immunology, the production of antitoxins, natural resistances, work with filterable viruses, the pathology of disease believed to be caused by two or more organisms acting independently or in unison, the true role of bacteria in digestive processes, the possible relationship of bacteria to dental caries . . . . in these and many other phases of bacteriological research, studies with germ-free animals should provide unimpeachable findings and facts where today understanding is riddled with partial knowledge and hypotheses.

James A. Reyniers came of a line of inventor-mechanics and engineers. As a youth he worked in his father's shop and learned how to convert ideas into devices and machines. Despite an invention or two of his being considered good enough to have patented, Reyniers, Sr., wished to break the line, so to speak, and insisted that his son study medicine. He entered Notre Dame University in 1926, enrolling for premedical study.

Before long his interest centered on bacteriology. Like every other serious student of bacteriology, he came to the somewhat painful realization that even the healthiest laboratory animal is a veritable storehouse of bacteria. Thus conclusions from even the simplest experiments with bacteria and animals were open to disturbing challenges. Nothing short of germ-free animals to work with would permit scientifically exact conclusions.

Reyniers began to scheme how germless animals might be born and reared to maturity. Starting with the fact that the fetus is usually germ-free, he planned and fitted out a glass chamber in which to rear the young guinea pigs after they had been delivered by cæsarean section. The interior of the chamber could be sterilized by flooding it with a germicidal solution. As the solution was withdrawn, filtered air was introduced. The animals were delivered by cæsarean section with elaborate precautions to preserve their germ-free status and immediately placed in the sterile chamber where they were fed sterilized food and water. Even the air was carefully filtered and purified to guard against contamination.

The experiment was successful. The apparatus, however, was awkward to use and there were too many loopholes in the system through which contaminating organisms might enter. Then followed a succession of models—embodying new features. One by one the major mechanical difficulties and inadequacies were eliminated.

The first experiment took place while Reyniers was still an undergraduate. His successful early efforts so impressed the governing officers of Notre Dame that his plan to produce and raise germ-free animals on a suitable scale for scientific research became a major objective in the university's program. Ten years were allotted for the development and perfecting of the technique and necessary apparatus. That goal has been reached on schedule. Recently a $500,000 building planned and designed by Professor Reyniers, has been constructed and placed at his disposal.

Now, with mechanics and technique so well established, Professor Reyniers and his staff are about to start upon studies of bacteria and their effects in living bodies uncontaminated by alien organisms.

Over 2500 germ-free specimens have been thus far obtained, including guinea pigs, rats, mice, rabbits and chicks. A monkey is at present under observation in the laboratories —an initial step toward eventual production of that species in the germ-free state for researches.

What happens to germ-free animals when they are placed in the external world? It has been observed that if certain precautions in regard to food are taken at first, the animal usually has a good chance to live out a normal life. If it is permitted to be invaded suddenly by organisms in great number through its food and water, infection is likely and the animal as a rule exhibits little natural resistance.

## Business

### *Cigarette Bootleggers*

*—Condensed from a United Press dispatch from Chicago, April 11*

CIGARETTE "bootleggers," smuggling their untaxed merchandise across state borders through the United States mails, take a "cut" of more than $4,000,000 a year from state treasuries, tax administrators estimated.

The treasury "raids" are accomplished by evasions of tobacco taxes imposed on consumers in twenty-one states. "Bootleggers" have cultivated their lucrative trade, tax officials said, because of price differentials between states imposing taxes and neighboring states which permit sales of cigarettes without state taxes.

The most popular method of evasion reported is parcel post shipment of single cartons from agencies in cities near the borders of states where taxes are levied.

Agents circulating among prospective customers solicit orders for single cartons which are filled by parcel post shipment from the out-of-state headquarters. Some agents deal with customers only through the mails, shipping cartons and including order blanks for additional sales.

State tax officials, prohibited by federal laws from tampering with the United States mails, are unable at present to cope with the problem.

E. F. Rahm, supervisor of the Iowa Cigarette Revenue Department, reported that Iowa alone had lost about $1,000,000 last year because of bootlegging. The state's tax yielded only $1,750,000. Cigarettes sell for 17 cents a package in Iowa. In Illinois and Wisconsin they sell for from 10 to 15 cents a package. "Bootleggers" therefore are able to ship cartons into Iowa at a profit, yet at prices below the Iowa retail prices.

Texas authorities reported losses of $750,000 a year. Between January 1, 1935, and March 1, 1936, state authorities said, twenty-four million, seven hundred thousand cartons of cigarettes were shipped into Texas, one by one through parcel post, by one Oklahoma City dealer.

Losses reported by other states: Georgia, $400,000; Oklahoma, $300,000; Arkansas, $300,000; Mississippi, $250,000; South Carolina, $150,000; Ohio, $300,000.

### *Television and Radio*

*—Condensed from the Conference Board Business Survey (Published by the Conference Board, New York.)*

TWO companies were to have television sets for public sale about May 1 and others are expected to place television receivers on the market in a short time. In the New York area, the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System will each maintain a television broadcast schedule. The Federal Communications Commission has licensed twenty-two television broadcasting stations throughout the country, of which only five will be of high power.

The new industry is likely to get under way slowly and cautiously. While many larger estimates of the probable sales of television sets in 1939 are being made, estimates in trade circles range from thirty thousand to fifty thousand sets.

Prices for the cheaper sets, it is estimated, will range from $150 to $200. If thirty thousand sets are sold at an average price of $175, they would retail for a total of $5,250,000. This amount represents only 1.5 per cent of the income of $350,000,000 in 1938 from retail sales of radio sets. Of this total $293,000,000 represented sales of sets and tubes. It is likely that the entire portion of retail income which eventually filters back to television manufacturers will be expended for experimental work.

The development of television is likely to be much slower than that of radio. In England, after three years of fairly regular broadcasts, there are between six thousand and ten thousand television receivers in use.

Basic facts relative to the radio industry seem to indicate that a period of stability, or even of saturation, is approaching. Two million home radio sets were sold in 1938 for replacement purposes, and one and a half million "extra" home sets were marketed. However, there were only one million sets sold to homes radio-less before.

Of the thirty-two and a quarter million homes in the United States at the beginning of 1939, it was estimated that twenty-seven and a half million contained radios. The total number of radios in use, as of January 1, 1939, numbered forty and eight-tenths million, of which seven and a half million represented "extra" or "second" sets, and five and eight-tenths million represented automobile radios. Including automobile radios, the number in use per 1,000 of population amounted to 312.

### *Railroads in Receivership*

*—Condensed from the Chicago* Daily Tribune

IN 1893 the railroad lines placed in the hands of receivers or trustees totaled 29,340 miles. In the forty-five succeeding years the railroads have experienced periods of adversity, but never again were as many miles of lines placed in the hands of the courts in any twelve months. Seventy-four lines in all went to the wall in 1893, and that record also has stood up. The year before these records were set thirty-six roads with 10,508 miles were put into receivers' hands and the year after 7,025. Serious troubles confronted the railroad business in the nineties.

The significant difference, however, is in the mileage taken from receivership. In each of the five years from 1894 to 1898 more than five thousand miles of track were returned to private management, and in both 1895 and 1896 more than ten thousand miles came out of receivership. In no year since 1932 has as much as five hundred miles come out of the courts. The top figure for discharge from receivership was 1935 with 436 miles. In second place is 1932 with 394 miles. The figure for 1938 was 290 miles.

At the end of 1938, six years after the panic, there were more miles of railroad in financial difficulty than ever before. Nearly one-third of the railroad mileage was in the hands of the courts. No progress at all has been made in getting the roads back in private hands. But for the fast but briefly sustained business upturn last fall the record would have been even worse.

Under private auspices in the nineties, the country emergence from depression, as measured by the experience of the railroads, our greatest industry, was speedy and complete. After six years under Roosevelt managed economy, as measured by the same test, the depression has grown progressively worse. The railroads suffer because there is little of the heavy freight which results from capital investment.

# The Press

Clad only in a barrel and a hat, a scrawny little fellow with a nose like a potato, pop eyes and a ragged mustache, within the month took cold, ate stew, caught fire, nearly exploded with indignation, got stoned and was generally put upon, all in full view of a deeply sympathetic public. Sometimes he sassed back and once—rare thing—he laughed.

"Tax Payer," cartoon character almost as readily recognizable as Uncle Sam himself in New York and the score of other cities where the Scripps-Howard newspapers circulate, usually just fumes, but from time to time he has had his minor triumphs. The most recent came when he learned that the very legislators and government officials who made his burden so hard to bear were now going to have to pay taxes themselves. That was when he laughed.

In the six short years since he sprang full grown, barrel and all, from the brain of Will B. Johnstone of the New York *World-Telegram,* Tax Payer has earned the right to rank with such familiar figures as the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey, first conceived by Thomas Nast, and with the "Common People" of Frederick Opper, the "Down and Out Club" of T. E. Powers, Rollin Kirby's dour, tall-hatted reformer, H. T. Webster's "Timid Soul."

Just as truly as do men of flesh and blood, these creatures on paper make their mark in history. When their power first made itself strongly felt in America, just before the turn of the century, they were usually direct caricatures of known living persons: Nast's Boss Tweed aroused public indignation and led to the Tammany ring leader's recognition and capture abroad; Homer Davenport's Mark Hanna in the dollar-sign suit plagued McKinley.

Today cartoonists' pens are not quite so barbed; ideas are more likely to be expressed in symbols of groups and forces than in personalities, but their influence is still real. Says Clifford K. Berryman, veteran Washington *Star* cartoonist who was honored by his colleagues April 2 on his seventieth birthday: "There is no doubt that a serious political issue, when presented in the form of a telling cartoon, will be borne home to a far larger circle of average every-day men and women than it ever could be when discussed in the cold black and white of the editorial columns."

A serious political issue gave birth to Johnstone's little Tax Payer. As a Fusion campaign argument for Fiorello La Guardia in the New York mayoralty contest of 1933, he first cried out against corrupt and costly government. The pudgy politician with the checked coat who has continued to be the Tax Payer's nemesis came into the picture at the same time.

At the time Johnstone had no idea that the Tax Payer would live and only reluctantly complied with his editor's request that the little fellow be carried on. After the campaign Publisher Roy Howard remarked that the Tax Payer's tribulations had "lightened an otherwise heavy editorial performance." He did duty again in the second La Guardia campaign and has been on the scene ever since—for there is hardly anything that happens that doesn't give him a chance to vent his feelings in the final panel of Johnstone's daily six-section strip.

The figure is patented but there have been frequent imitations and adaptations. Harvard once staged a parade of tax payers in barrels. At a recent Ides of March dinner the Tax Payer was a figurative mascot. Johnstone was most flattered when the famous cartoonist, Jay N. (Ding) Darling, put his own conception of a tax payer in a barrel.

"At first I resented doing political cartoons," says Johnstone, "but I soon found out that cartoonists get no credit for dealing in just plain humor. But if you can cry, 'Must this go on?' 'Throw the rascals out!' or 'Oh, the pity of it!' then you're colossal."

Johnstone calls himself a liberal and an idealist but he confesses to a carryover of Middle Western conservatism (he was born in St. Louis in 1881 and brought up in Evanston, Ill.) which balks at the cost of relief and New Deal reforms. Hence his figure of the W.P.A. worker resting on a shovel, which has become a cartoon cliché. However, his gibes, being for the most part gentle, draw few protests.

Although he disclaims crusading zeal, Johnstone likes to think that most of the causes he has taken up have won and those he has attacked have lost. He cites the La Guardia campaigns, the Seabury investigation that drove James J. Walker from the New York City Hall and even the end of the Sunday movie blue laws in East Orange, N. J., and the elimination of motor speed traps in North Carolina after he had poked fun at them.

Johnstone is something of a sentimentalist. He remembers fondly the hatchet-faced schoolma'am who told her class that the lad tracing Gibson girls at his desk was "the future Rembrandt of Evanston, Illinois." He likes people, often when he doesn't agree with them. One of the letters he prizes most is from Eleanor Roosevelt, his newspaper neighbor, asking for the original of a cartoon in which he pictured Franklin III already orating from his perambulator.

Better than political panels Johnstone likes to do the nostalgic pastoral idylls that come back to his paper when he is away on vacation—"a little window looking into the country." "That's the ham in me," he adds, with a quick and genial smile that spreads all over his ruddy face and nearly closes his lively eyes.

On busman's holiday Johnstone adds to the paintings which hang on the walls of his home in South

*A barrage of rocks is nothing new to Johnstone's little Tax Payer, but he actually gets a laugh because government officials now have to pay income taxes.*

Orange, N. J. Hand in hand with his love of serious art goes a great love of sports. He would like to combine the two and become the George Bellows of football. And he would rather do an intricate diagram of Pop Warner's reverse than all the cartoons in the world. Which accounts for the gridiron patterns which punctuate his Fall newspaper output and for his interest in the doings of the team at Stanford, his son's alma mater.

Johnstone himself went to the Chicago Art Institute. Meanwhile he attended Northwestern University "socially" and got many of the benefits of that kind of college education without the burdens. His college career has been further broadened by honorary membership in the Yale, Harvard and Princeton clubs.

Professionally he has paralleled his newspaper work with a record on Broadway and in Hollywood. After an apprenticeship on Chicago newspapers, he went east in 1906 and worked first on Hearst's New York *Journal*, then on the *Evening World* and the *Morning World*, first as a straight artist, later illustrating his own feature stories. Meanwhile he contributed book and lyrics for "Take It From Me" which ran for six years after it opened in Providence on Armistice Night—"a four-ring circus in hokum." His first directing and acting came in "Artists and Models" in 1921. Several more ventures led to the writing of "I'll Say She Is" for the Marx Brothers on the stage and to "Monkey Business" for those mad comedians in the movies.

In 1931, while Johnstone was working in the Hollywood studios and doing his daily newspaper stint at the same time, Scripps-Howard bought the *World* and he went back to New York to work under the beam of that chain's symbolic lighthouse.

He has been drawing six pictures a week for them ever since but he has evolved no elaborate explanation of his technique. He merely says: "I practically write my pictures. If you overemphasize the art you kill the idea—and you're selling an idea. There's potency in a picture. It's a childlike impulse to watch a sign painter at work or a man making sand images at the beach."

Beyond that Johnstone lets his art and his little Tax Payer speak for themselves. But for him and his fellows there are others who say, like Isabel S. Johnson, in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*:

*Heywood Broun*

"At his best the contemporary cartoonist is an intellectual with something of the prophet, the philosopher, as well as the humorist in his makeup. He is quick to gather ideas and to concentrate them into a form immediately transferable to the reader who runs. Cartoonists have long been important to society. The future promises them an even more decisive role, and an even greater responsibility."

***Broun: Columnist-Publisher***

A big man carrying a picket sign beamed from the front page of a tabloid weekly which burgeoned a few weeks ago on newsstands in New York and Connecticut. In its thirty-six pages there was printed a novel published in 1922, *The Boy Grew Older*, reproduced "at the request of the author"; as well as a short story and an article by "Peter Neale," a Broadway column by "Blake Hemphill," the reflections of an editor on topics of the day, the ramblings of a diarist. All these were the products of one man—Heywood Broun.

Although other familiar by-lines were present, the preponderance of Broun (for which the front page carried an apology) meant that the celebrated columnist, lecturer, labor leader and champion of the underdog had taken over the Connecticut *Nutmeg*, started in Connecticut a year before by a group of literary and journalistic commuters to New York, largely as a lark. Its name changed to Broun's *Nutmeg*, the weekly retains some of its pastoral, informal tone but is now dedicated to the things Broun believes in. Contributors who differ with him are welcome but must reckon with his right to the last word.

In its rebirth the *Nutmeg* represents a cycle in personal journalism. The newspaper long ago acquired columnists; now a columnist acquires a newspaper.

When the American press was younger, to read a paper was to know its editor—his habits, problems, likes and dislikes. Today newspapers are great impersonal institutions and editorials are anonymous. There are exceptions of course. In some smaller places editor and paper are one; the Emporia (Kan.) *Gazette*, for example, still bears the indelible stamp of William Allen White.

Earlier editors, lambasting each other without quarter, were fond of suggesting that rivals be hanged from the nearest lamppost. Sometimes they carried their animosities into combat on the public streets.

Before the Horace Greeleys and the James Gordon Bennetts had finished having their say, however, the Eugene Fields and the Ambrose Bierces began to take the stand. Labeled opinion began to pass from the editorial column to the signed special column, where the individual writer spoke for himself alone. Now most first-grade papers publish the views of one or more columnar pundits, often running directly counter to editorial policies.

"Who run the earth and sun and moon?" asked Secretary of the Interior Ickes in a recent speech on "columnitis." "Just Thompson, Lawrence, Franklin, Broun," he rhymed his answer.

Not all these heirs to the mantle of personal journalism hold to the tradition of the old thunderers. But Hugh Johnson, for one, might have made the very retort which "Marse Henry" Watterson of the old Louisville *Courier-Journal* made when accused of not properly supporting his own party's candidate: "Things have come to a hell of a pass when a man can't wallop his own jackass."

Secretary Ickes had harsh words for many of the columnists, but put Broun in a different category. "Here," he said, "is a genial philosopher who declines to take himself too seriously and yet one who never pulls his punches."

Broun does not plan to pull his punches in the *Nutmeg*.

"We're not going to be precisely a

*(Continued on page 64)*

# Around and About the World in Travel Books

MALCOLM LA PRADE*

"THERE is no frigate like a book, to take us lands away!" Not only can a good travel book transport the armchair traveler in his imagination but many a book—by actual testimony—has possessed the magic to start him packing for strange lands and far horizons.

This Spring's harvest of travel books (one crop that *does* harvest in the Spring, looking toward Summer Travel) should possess much of this magic for the traveler. Almost any book on the list, I think, may be counted upon to head someone straight for a ticket-counter or a gangplank.

One brand new Cruise-Trail will be blazed by the 59-day itinerary of the Canadian Pacific liner *Duchess of Richmond*, which will sail from New York July 6 and, all in one summer, visit Mexico, Hawaii and Alaska; not to mention the West Indies, Panama Canal Zone, California and Canada before her return September 3. The unusual scope of this cruise suggests a number of new or recent travel books which, if read before you go, will greatly enrich your appreciation of the places visited.

The green and translucent Caribbean and its colorful islands have many apt interpreters, one of the best of whom is John W. Vandercook, in *Caribbee Cruise* (Reynal & Hitchcock), excellent either as a practical guide book to the West Indies or as a romantic interpretation. The author's style is anything but "guide-bookish"; yet there is ample factual matter to satisfy the average cruise traveler who wants to know what each port is all about. (As might be expected, in view of this author's *Black Majesty*, so widely read and appreciated, this new book literally "goes to town" in Chapter Five, which is devoted to Haiti. No one is better equipped to relate the dramatic history of this island than Mr. Vandercook and no author can make the story of King Christophe more thrilling.)

Another delightful book is *Ports of the Sun* by Eleanor Early (Houghton Mifflin), a handy little guide book with a personality. It covers the principal cruise ports of the West Indies in considerable detail and with entertaining personal observations by the author. An anecdote and a bit of rhyme here and there add seasoning to the pages. It can be recommended equally as a "bon voyage" gift or as a bright bit of reading for stay-at-homes.

*A Guide to Jamaica* by Philip O. Olley (Jamaica Tourist Development Board) is a sound, well mapped-and-illustrated guide book and a welcome addition to the library of travel. Mr. Olley lives in Jamaica and knows the island thoroughly, and the useful information he offers ranges from a brief description of the original Arawak Indian inhabitants to a list of foreign consular representatives in Jamaica. But this thoroughness does not detract from his appreciation of this beautiful island. Its mountain scenery, beaches, rivers and waterfalls, and its excellent motor roads, are coordinated into practical tourist routes by Mr. Olley, who tells one how to make the most of a stay in Jamaica, whether it be for a day or a season.

*Sky Roaming. Above Two Continents* by Harry A. Franck (Stokes) soars — as the title implies — to greater lengths. Mr. Franck, one of the most ardent of travelers, can always be depended upon to deliver a sound and entertaining book about any part of the world he may select for his wanderings, and in this case he has chosen to roam about the Caribbean, through Central America and along the Spanish Main. In lively and diverting style he tells us what he sees there, covering a wealth of detail. He has the happy faculty of taking travel as he finds it, by airplane, by motor bus, by donkey or by camel, and of making the most of its picturesque phases.

But enough of the world of the Caribbean. The Summer Cruise of the *Duchess of Richmond* leaves Kingston, Jamaica, and heads, via Los Angeles, for Honolulu. The Island Paradise will speedily entice the traveler, even at this distance, in the pages of such a book as *Hawaiian Tapestry*, by Antoinette Withington (Harper), or *Hawaii: Isles of Enchantment*, by Clifford Gessler (Appleton-Century). Mr. Gessler, a poet who has long lived in the Islands, is responsive to every facet of their varied charm and beauty, from the flowering leis and the famous hula to the towering mountain-peaks; from the smiling beaches to the great pineapple plantations. Informative also, are *Hawaii Past and Present* by William B. Castle, Jr. (Dodd Mead) and *Facts and Figures of Hawaii* by Louise B. Armstrong (H. M. Snyder, 500 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.).

Then northward once again, toward *The Lure of Alaska*? In this newest of books by Harry A. Franck, scheduled by Stokes for publication in early June, the world-roamer who gives his readers such lively pictures of the countries he visits, recounts many interesting experiences. He hobnobs with miners in the gold-dig-

*The "Man from Cook's."

gling with fishermen making their salmon hauls for Alaska's immense canning factories. He has a try at the famous trout-fishing on Kenai Peninsula, and camps at the base of towering Mount McKinley. Picturesque old sourdoughs recount to him their own tales of the exciting and feverish gold-rush; and he journeys down the Yukon over much of their trail—now so comfortable for tourists but in '96 so filled with hazard and tragedy.

Southward to Vancouver, Victoria, John T. Faris stands almost alone in the field of North American travel-literature with his *Seeing Canada* and *Roaming American Playgrounds*, (published respectively by Lippincott and by Farrar & Rinehart)—and down the California Coast cruises the Duchess of Richmond, to San Francisco and the Golden Gate Exposition. Strong as is the magnet of the Fair's "Treasure Island," the city itself needs no extra-curricular attractions to be one of the most individual and most fascinating in the world. Its marvelous harbor, its legendary towers rising from the morning mists, and above all its pronounced cosmopolitan character are reflected, photographically and in apt, informative text, in the new book, *San Francisco: West Coast Metropolis* by Edwin Rosskam (Alliance Book Corporation). And an introduction by William Saroyan pays tribute in his own inimitable way to this city which "has the temperament of genius." "No city invites the heart to come to life as San Francisco does," he says. "Arrival in San Francisco is an experience of living . . . like a glass of champagne that can never be emptied."

Southward once more, to Mexico, subject of a number of excellent travel books. Two which supplement each other exceptionally well as a balanced diet for the prospective traveler are *Mexico Before Cortez* by J. Eric Thompson (Scribner) and *Off to Mexico* by Alice and Leone Moats (Scribner). The former furnishes sound and most vivid historical background for anyone going to Mexico, as well as for the armchair traveler; while the latter is a most entertaining and chatty "guide book," containing a wealth of information including lists of hotels, shopping suggestions and calendars of festivals and bull-fights, with interestingly drawn decorative maps. Another vivid reminder of this part of the world is *Panamexico* by Carveth Wells (Robert M. McBride and Company). In lively and entertaining manner, the author describes a recent visit to Mexico and an expedition into the Panamanian jungles and the San Blas Islands, in which he discovers strange people and odd animals that escape the attention of most travelers.

There is no happier invitation in the world, I think, than an invitation to travel. And a most unusual and valuable book bears just this title—*Invitation to Travel* by Helen Dean Fish (Ives Washburn), as entertaining as it is practical. The author, who herself would rather travel than eat, knows from experience that it is important not only where you travel but *how*. And so—although she gives unusual itineraries for England, France and Italy, and an excellent travel-reading list for these three countries—her real theme is how to travel, delightfully handled throughout. Her tips are of real value, not only for the first-time traveler but, in many instances, for the seasoned voyager as well.

Heading, now, toward Europe, we come to a little book which is a special boon to any traveler who wishes to take his car with him—*Signpost* by W. G. McMinnies (Ives Washburn). In this convenient-sized volume, which is described as a Confidential Motor Guide to British Inns, the author renders a valuable service to those who journey along the "King's Highroad" in search of Old World atmosphere, quaint settings and good food. If you are planning to wander at will through Britain's highways and byways, by all means tuck a copy of *Signpost* in one of your pockets and select your stopping places from Mr. McMinnies' listings of inns, taverns and country clubs, each with a brief, succinct description of what the traveler may expect to find there.

*The English Heritage* by Rex Welldon Finn (Reynal & Hitchcock) ably interprets the charm which, to American travelers, lies in this heritage. English literature and English history have become integral parts of our own mental backgrounds. This book, therefore, is one that should be widely read and appreciated.

The Irish heritage—though that is not the title of the book—is the subject of *I Follow Saint Patrick* by the brilliant Oliver St. John Gogerty (Reynal & Hitchcock). Whatever St. Patrick's racial origin (theories

which the author examines have it variously Welsh, English or Scotch), it is certain that he is one of the great saints of history, and that, after his visit to Ireland, he became peculiarly the property of that country. The author follows St. Patrick's journeys through Ireland and describes with dramatic intensity the major incidents of that colorful life so frequently punctuated with adventure and hardship. One of the most striking chapters is that devoted to the ascent of the holy mountain of Croagh Patrick which, judging by the hardness of the climb, might be described as a combined pilgrimage and penance. Running through the book as an accompaniment to the Saint's travels is a series of charming and often witty descriptions of the life and scenery of the lovely countryside.

A pleasant little book about one of Europe's most pleasant little countries, liberally illustrated with photographs, is *Let's Visit Belgium* by Byron Steel (Julian Messner, Inc.). It serves to remind us that although small in area, Belgium is great in the possession of beautiful towns and cities, picturesque villages and magnificent works of art and architecture. If you have any doubt as to whether or not you should see Belgium on your next trip to Europe, read this book. In the last few pages there are some useful suggestions as to itineraries and a traveler's vocabulary of French words.

A revealing portrait of that "enchanting mistress, Paris, whose moods and manners are as varied as the weather," appears in *From a Paris Scrapbook* by Richard Le Gallienne (Ives Washburn)—awarded First Prize by the French Government for the best work about France by a foreign author in 1938. This companion-piece to *From a Paris Garret* can be recommended as a delightfully intimate and discerning view of the city which is as old as Caesar and as young as Annabella, by the famous poet and writer who has for years made his home there.

*Perfume from Provence* by the English writer, Lady Fortescue, has the honor of sharing equally, with *From a Paris Scrapbook*, in the French Government's 18,000 franc award; thus providing a balanced diet for the reader who would see France in two entirely different aspects, equally characteristic.

*Holland: Crossroads of the Zuyder Zee* by Hendrik de Leeuw (Lippincott) touches on the very early history of the Netherlands, then brings the reader down through the period of the Crusades and Wars of the Reformation to modern times, finally indulging in a comprehensive sightseeing tour of the various Dutch provinces. Mr. de Leeuw describes the ancestral region of the Roosevelt family and also his own ancestral home in Amsterdam, both very well, and sprinkles his book with interesting sidelights on Dutch life and customs as he goes along—a useful addition to the travel library, for Holland is not nearly so well known to Americans as it deserves to be.

Turning northward, to the increasingly popular Scandinavian countries, we have Agnes Rothery's newest book, *Norway: Changing and Changeless* (Viking Press). Miss Rothery's well-earned reputation has been sustained, successively, by *Sweden: The Land and the People; Finland: The New Nation,* and *Denmark: Kingdom of Reason. Norway* rounds out the picture most effectively. What makes all of these books veritable travel-classics is the author's cultural background; her ability to identify herself, with sympathy and insight, with the country and people she is writing about; and the entertaining and lucid manner in which she describes what she has seen and felt. Not the least feature, certainly, of *Norway,* are the excellent photographs taken by Miss Rothery's husband, Harry Rogers Pratt. The entire book is a judicious blending of the old and the new. The author perceived how, though the land holds to its ancient ways, the cities are alive to modern ideas. The work contrasts the simple lives of industrial people with the achievements of the nation's great artists—Ibsen, Grieg, Undset and the others; and reflects, also, the contrasts in the spirit of the land, the fertile meadows of the South, the strange frozen world of Spitzbergen.

*Vagabond Voyaging* by Larry Nixon (Little Brown & Company) is written by a man who is most "at home" on board a freighter — he knows freighters, loves freighters and prefers freighter travel. But he is not carried away by bias or personal enthusiasm. He knows that you cannot group freighters into any one category of comfort, any more than you can so classify private homes—hence the need of expert advice on the subject. To the old salt, this book brings a sweet sadness, a recrudescence of sea fever. To the regimented, it stirs a wistful yearning. To the undecided, it tests their compatibility to cargo vessels. This book lends to the freighter the old romance and glamour of the windjammer, it stimulates deep thought, it is authentic and informational.

The eternal lure of the South Seas pervades *Island of Bali* by Miguel Covarrubias (Alfred A. Knopf). This volume of more than four hundred pages, copiously illustrated, deals comprehensively with the past and present history of Bali and contains a short section devoted to the future of that lovely island. The author may be complimented on a book which can fairly be said to "end" all books on Bali. It would be hard to estimate the time and research he must have expended on the chapters headed "Arts and the Artist" and "Rites and Festivals," which bring out very clearly the innate artistic qualities of the Balinese and the great part that the outward rites of religion play in their lives.

Anyone who read Eileen Bigland's *Laughing Odyssey* will be familiar with her flair for light-hearted travel and entertaining description of the things that happen to her. In that book, she fared to the Soviet Union; in her new one, *The Lake of the Royal Crocodiles* (Macmillan) she visits Africa in an unusual and interesting manner. Shiwa Ngandu, Lake of the Crocodiles, lies in the remote country of Central Africa, home of the Bemba people who still cherish the Royal Crocodile as their totem. A French officer made his home there in 1920, and it was to his 30,000 acre estate that Mrs. Bigland made her visit. Arrived at Shiwa, she found that her host and his wife not only had constructed a supremely comfortable house in a paradise of natural beauty but had incorporated the whole district and its Bemba inhabitants into their farming and other activities. During her stay, she was able to make friends with the natives and discover all sorts of facts about their mode of life and thought. By caravan and by plane, she traveled here and there, and everywhere she found material for bright and diverting narrative.

Swinging further round the globe, we come to South America, which this summer will be the scene of the World Federation of Education Associations' Eighth Biennial Congress, August 6-11 at Rio de Ja-

Books for Travel
Selected by
Malcolm La Prade
"The Man from Cook's"
Book Author Publisher
San Francisco: West Coast Metropolis - Edwin Rosskam - Alliance
Signpost: A Confidential Motor Guide to British Inns - W. G. McMinnies - Ives-Washburn
Invitation to Travel - Helen Dean Fish - Ives-Washburn
The Lake of the Royal Crocodiles - Eileen Bigland - Macmillan
How Do You Like New York? - Eva T. McAdoo - Macmillan
The Lure of Alaska - Harry A. Franck - Stokes (Late May Publication)
Norway: Changing and Changeless - Agnes Rothery - Viking

neiro. Timely indeed is *Rio* by Hugh Gibson (Doubleday, Doran). As U. S. Ambassador to Brazil, Mr. Gibson had an opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the superb city where sea and mountains combine to create a setting uniquely beautiful. With a thorough appreciation and sharp observation, he writes a useful and entertaining book.

The entire continent is covered, with remarkable success, in *South by Thunderbird* by Hudson Strode (Random House). The author offers a comprehensive and always interesting view of South America, as the modern traveler sees it, and what a splendid panorama it is: mighty Andes, broad pampas, tropical jungles, rivers, lakes, waterfalls, ruins of ancient civilizations, splendid modern cities. Though a plane wings him through the clouds, Mr. Strode comes down to earth frequently, to provide intimate and diverting close-ups of our Latin American neighbors, always with deep understanding.

Last but certainly not least—what with the World's Fair a powerful new travel-magnet—*How Do You Like New York? An Informal Guide* by Eva T. McAdoo (Macmillan). The World's Fair, the Cloisters, the Bache Collection of paintings, the Old Merchant's House on East Fourth Street, are new points of interest included in this revised edition of an excellent and popular handbook. With many human interest touches Miss McAdoo describes what you will enjoy seeing in New York, historical backgrounds, where to dine and dance, and so on. The book will be valuable not only to the visitor, but also to New Yorkers who like to be up to date on their city. Many travelers will roam far and wide this summer but it has been truly said that "all roads lead back to New York and the World's Fair" —eventually!

# FROM CLASS TO MASS

## *The Evolution of Travel*

SIDNEY G. WALTON

There is at least one "ism" extant in the world which has millions of adherents and no foes. It springs from a human trait as ancient as the race, yet in its modern form, it is little more than half a century old.

It is tourism—the amazing phenomenon of modern mass travel.

Tourism is a come-back of mass travel in a new form and on a scale depicted by statistics which make you catch your breath. This year will see between thirty and forty million people en route to one or both of the country's World's Fairs—San Francisco and New York—according to reliable calculations. Americans last year spent nearly a billion dollars in foreign travel and more than five billion in touring their own country. The government, directly or indirectly, is devoting large sums to promote travel. And more than sixty foreign organizations are operating in the United States, seeking to attract tourists to their respective lands.

Tourism had its inception in the advent of modern transportation. Increasing speed has been breaking old economic bonds for increasing numbers of people. It has made possible departures from home and job in the city, or farm in the country, long enough to enjoy travel vacations, yet not so long as to endanger livelihood.

Close-ups of travel development between mainland United States and Hawaii, and between this country and the South Seas clearly illustrate the workings of tourism in all its elements: how from the most rudimentary beginnings it expands with the expansion of speed and luxury in transportation and, likewise, how its varied social, commercial and international consequences are wrought.

Just before the turn of the century, the Hawaiian Islands were annexed as a Territory of the United States. That development noticeably stimulated passenger traffic—official, business and tourist. A few years later, Hawaii organized the first tourist bureau on record—the first recognition by a community of tourism as an industry.

By 1910, the volume of travel to the Islands justified a separate passenger service, and the Matson Line put into operation its first passenger ship. It was a modest sized liner, but it marked a revolutionary departure. It not only made available superior facilities, but added the inducement

of increased speed. Tourist travel to Hawaii entered its second phase.

Within four years, two more passenger ships had to be added and three years later, a fourth. During the next ten years, tourist travel to Hawaii steadily increased to thousands, where there had been only hundreds before the advent of regular passenger service.

But could the rate of increase be accelerated by still greater speed in running time and luxury in accommodations? The question was answered by the construction of a liner much larger and finer than any ship then in service to Hawaii. And much faster, for it reduced the seven-day voyage to only four and one-half days.

Tourism ran true to form. An increase in passenger volume ensued which fully justified expectations. Within a few years, the only passenger ships the Matson Line had in operation were of a type that could maintain the new standard of service. The third and present cycle of travel to Hawaii had arrived.

Now to analyze the effects of tourism as exemplified in this instance:

During the last thirty years, the number of mainland people who have visited Hawaii has steadily and greatly increased. "Aloha" has become almost as well known on the mainland as "Swanee River"; the glamour of the South Seas has touched the everyday life of every community in America.

Those who have gone to Hawaii have seen a different and most interesting civilization—Polynesia. They have heard a new folklore and observed new folkways. They have seen nature in tropic aspects vastly different from those of their own locale. They have been to America's outpost in the Pacific, have sensed first hand the strategic value of Hawaii to the nation. In a unique field, they have gathered the rewards of tourism.

In turn, tourism has profoundly influenced life in the Islands. It has added millions to Hawaii's income. It has stimulated the development of hotels, highways and inter-island transportation. It has been a substantial factor in creating over $200,000,000 a year in commerce between Hawaii and the mainland. And, culturally, it has been a powerful influence in making Hawaii one of the most cosmopolitan and enlightened commonwealths in the Union.

The growth of tourist travel to the South Seas is, in some respects, a repetition of what has occurred in relation to Hawaii—but on a much larger scene of action.

In the late twenties, half a dozen passenger routes traversed the South Pacific, all of them having as their chief mission to link England with Australia and New Zealand. One route wound from Sydney around the north side of Australia, across the Indian Ocean and through the Suez Canal. A second led across the Pacific, around Cape Horn and over the Atlantic to England. A third bee-lined from the Antipodes to the Panama Canal and through that waterway to a trans-Atlantic crossing. A fourth pointed north to San Francisco by way of Tahiti and a fifth to Vancouver by way of Fiji. The sixth seaway was between San Francisco and Sydney by way of Honolulu.

Divided among the six routes was a fairly substantial passenger business. But very little of it was, strictly speaking, tourist traffic. By far the greater part was the kind of travel you would expect to see between the motherland and her dominions—Australians and New Zealanders on business trips or visits to England, and English people on business, official or personal trips to Australia and New Zealand.

Here, then, was a new frontier for tourism.

A logical trail to it led from Honolulu along a succession of romantic ports—Pago Pago in Samoa, Suva in Fiji, Auckland, metropolis of New Zealand, and Sydney and Melbourne, million-peopled capitals of Australia. The Oceanic Steamship Company, operating between California and Australia, and touching at most of these ports, was purchased and its service combined with that of the Matson Line. Then two swift, new liners were put on the route, faster by six or seven knots than any other ships traversing the South Pacific and correspondingly appointed—speed and luxury were being sent to pioneer tourism in the South Seas.

The most interesting result of the new service has been the extent to which it has developed new travel—travel for travel's sake—between the United States and New Zealand and Australia. Pure tourism. Starting only seven years ago, it now constitutes a substantial percentage of the total passenger traffic to and from this country and the South Pacific.

## The W.P.A.: Politician's Playground

*(Continued from page 25)*

that, as employment increased, so did W.P.A. The expansion of its payroll went hand in hand *not* with the employment trend, but with the elections. In June 1938, two million seven hundred sixty-seven thousand were engaged on its projects. Despite the steady rise in industrial production and employment curves, the number of W.P.A. workers steadily increased until it reached a peak just prior to election of three million two hundred forty-five thousand. Thereafter it declined. In states like Florida and Kentucky—where the New Deal's big fight was in the primary elections—the rise of W.P.A. employment was hurried along in order to synchronize with the primaries.

When these manifold machinations have been brought to the attention of Washington, the Washington technique has been to deny them with such round phrases as "absolutely unfounded," "not a grain of truth in the charges," "ridiculous." When twenty-two abuses from Kentucky were presented to Mr. Hopkins, he denied all but two of them. A Senate Committee, however, sustained eighteen of the charges.

CONGRESS itself has up to now moved cautiously and with plenty of whitewash. The Senate's committee investigating campaign expenditures was careful to affix no blame on the higher-ups. After prolonged investigation of reported shenanigans in Tennessee, the committee opined that "in reference to the nomination to the Senate of Hon. A. T. Stewart the committee finds no evidence justifying any question as to his right to his seat." Despite the nation-wide stench which Kentucky's primaries generated, the committee's decision was that there is "nothing to show that Senator Barkley had any knowledge of any activity by persons soliciting contributions from federal employees in his behalf or of political activity within the ranks of the W.P.A. personnel in his interests."

There is no easy solution to this problem of relief politics. Prior to the last election Senator Hatch of New Mexico attempted to find a partial answer with a bill which would have fixed severe penalties for political activities among W.P.A. workers. The Republicans in the Senate—having been denied a place at the trough—supported him to a man. A considerable number of independent Democrats lined up on the same side. But Senator Barkley—alarmed at the prospect of defeat in his home state—made a plea which sounded like a personal request not to deprive him of W.P.A. aid. The administration cohorts, touched by his plight, were able to defeat the measure.

MOST objective critics of the present set-up, including some of the officials of the W.P.A., agree that the appointment of more military men to administrative posts would check the politicians and increase W.P.A. discipline. Legislation is undoubtedly called for along the lines of the Hatch measure, making political activity among W.P.A. workers a felony.

But in the final analysis, the obligation and the power to remedy this situation rest with those at the top. Specifically, it rests with the White House. The administration of work relief, which is now America's biggest business, can be no better than the President of the United States insists that it shall be. The Congressional Committee of Investigation, if it takes off the gloves and lifts the lid, will uncover a mess that badly needs airing. But whether, then, the mess will be once and for all cleaned up or the lid clamped on again is something that the President himself—in his joint capacity as the nation's Chief Executive and the party's political leader—will have to determine. His decision may determine, for some time to come, not only the future of an adequate program of relief for the unemployed but, also, the health of our governing institutions.

It is clear that the time has come to eliminate these evils. For good or ill, the W.P.A. is moving toward permanency. Whatever party flag flies over the White House after 1940, this organization—or something like it—probably will have to be continued. It is of critical importance, therefore, that the evils of the W.P.A. system be torn out before they become as deeply rooted as the system itself.

## Those German Refugees

(Continued from page 22)

ugees have resettled without the help of the Coordinating Committee.

The most heartening aspect of the entire refugee situation has been the high degree of intelligence and sense of responsibility displayed by the friends of the refugees in this country. Of this, the work of resettlement is one good example.

Refugee immigration has been conducted within the framework of the 1924 immigration regulations; there has been no attempt to revise these laws so as to allow a larger immigration. On the other hand, the friends of the refugees feel that the present laws provide ample protection for this country against an over-large influx that could not readily be assimilated. They point to the fact that the present quota system was inaugurated at a time when feeling against immigration was high, that the present laws satisfied the most fervent restrictionists then, and that there is no reason now to curtail further the traditional American hospitality to refugees.

Various immigration laws, however, have been proposed in Congress. Two polar opposites are a bill which would stop immigration completely and another which would double present quotas. The widely circulated New York *Daily News* has urged that we take in all the refugees who want to come here. Another suggested plan would allow the refugee countries to utilize the unfilled quotas of countries from which there is no present emigration. Still another plan would allow immigration authorities to mortgage the quotas of the refugee countries, that is, allow immigrants to come in now under the quotas for their countries for the next ten years.

Washington observers report that none of these bills, either for increase or decrease of immigration, has any prospect of passage, with the exception of the Wagner-Rogers bill, which would allow ten thousand refugee children to come to this country outside the quota for each of the next two years. This bill has prominent bi-partisan sponsorship and the endorsement of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, the Society of Friends (Quakers) and other large groups.

The chances are that the status of the refugee in America will remain unchanged. He will continue to be treated as are all other immigrants with no special provisions or bars to his entry into the United States. Approximately thirty thousand a year will be admitted. They will be assimilated into American life without unduly disturbing the economic or social pattern of the country.

They are definitely not a threat to the American workman in that their numbers are relatively small, many have especial skills new to this country, and already a large number of American workers have been given employment in projects started by refugees or with refugee capital. Ignoring completely the inhumane and un-American aspects that would be involved in complete immigration stoppage, it would also, from a strictly utilitarian point of view, be bad business for America not to avail itself of the refugee talents now available. America has already gained much and stands to gain more from Germany's ill-advised and self-imposed loss.

## The Press

(Continued from page 55)

crusading sheet," he says, "but we do have three main points in our policy. First, we are definitely New Deal and for Franklin D. Roosevelt for President in 1940; second, we are definitely anti-Fascist, and, third, we are against anti-Semitism. We will sometimes use frontal attack but mostly the flank attack of kidding. It will be roughly a liberal paper with serious ideas.

"We are definitely a labor union paper. We have a Guild shop contract, the second in Connecticut." (Broun is president of the American Newspaper Guild and the *Nutmeg* is printed by the Bridgeport *Herald*, the second paper to which he referred.)

So far, his "we" is mostly editorial prerogative; his staff is small; his wife, Connie, rustles advertisements. The former owners, who turned the paper over to him on consideration of his assumption of its debts and promise of future dividends, and who continue as contributors, include Quentin Reynolds, Deems Taylor, George T. Bye, John Erskine, Stanley High, Colvin Brown and Gene Tunney.

The *Nutmeg* is operating on a shoestring, according to its new owner. Before the change the circulation was something over 6,000 but Broun is out for a national audience.

The contract for "It Seems to Me," Broun's column which appears in forty-two newspapers and brings him more than $36,000 a year, expires this year. If it is not renewed—and even if it is—Broun expects the *Nutmeg* to add appreciably to the many millions of words which he has already written for the American press.

### *Birth of a Journalist*

*—Condensed from an article by Frank Parker Stockbridge, well-known author, in* The Villager, *a neighborhood newspaper published in Greenwich Village, New York City*

I have just received in the mail a copy of the smallest newspaper ever published. The title of it is the *Critic, Junior.* It consists of eight pages, each fifteen-sixteenths of an inch wide and an inch and an eighth long. It is about an eighth of an inch larger in each dimension than a standard sized postage stamp. The total contents of the copy before me run to fewer than 150 words.

The *Critic, Junior* is the [illegible] handed product of a [illegible] boy whose name appears as Editor and Publisher, but who also wrote all the copy, set the type and printed the paper himself. I believe the copy of this little paper which I found in my mail the other morning is the only one still in existence. Its date is April 11, 1882. I hadn't seen one in fifty-seven years, and had no idea that anyone else had.

You've guessed by this time that the boy who wrote, edited, printed and published the *Critic, Junior*, was myself.

It was, I think, the year after the *Critic, Junior* that another boy and I started my second venture into journalism. This was a somewhat larger paper, about three inches by five, or post-card size. Its title was *The Ax.*

We had to leave the final "e" off *The Ax*, because the only appropriate type we had for a title heading was too big for another letter.

*The Ax* was what we would call in these days a "crusading" paper. We—the other boy and I—were going to show up everything that was rotten about the old Curtis public school in Georgetown. We got out one issue of *The Ax* and its career ended instantly, by edict of parental and school authorities. Perhaps that experience is what fired me with the zeal for the freedom of the press which I have had occasion to express many times. And perhaps it is what started the other boy on his career of journalistic crusading.

His name was Charlie Decker, but he won newspaper fame, back in the '90's, under the name he still uses, Karl Decker. His most memorable feat was his expedition under Hearst paper auspices to rescue Evangeline Cisneros, the beautiful Cuban girl who had been thrown into a Spanish [illegible] Weekly.

I've written a good many million words for print, in the fifty-seven years since I started *The Critic, Junior.* I still write an average of two thousand words a day, most all of which gets printed, somewhere, sometime. There may be harder work, but I don't know what it is. And there may be more satisfying work, but I've never found it. I've jumped the fence more than once into pastures that looked greener from a distance, but always found my way back.

## Mrs. Justice Douglas

(Continued from page 27)

Sundays she and her husband are apt to go off alone or with another couple to bicycle around Haines Point at the edge of the Potomac. Otherwise for recreation she turns to the theater and to books. She likes biography, and "I love modern novels—until I've finished them—and then I usually wonder."

Politics? "Just to fool you—I was brought up a Republican." But politics and parties are words she dismisses lightly. There is no difference between her views and her husband's views on public affairs.

She has a good sense of humor but when she talks she talks slowly, thoughtfully, sincerely. It isn't small talk. In company she is on the quiet side. When her brilliant, articulate husband talks, she listens and looks extremely happy doing it. She isn't inclined to drop down on the floor, as he is, to talk things over more comfortably, but you might find her in a chair with her legs curled under her.

She dresses well, but quietly, has good looks but does not attempt to be striking. Her friends are the wives of officials of the S.E.C. and women she has met in the League of Women Shoppers group and the badminton group. The people one sees at the Douglas's home usually are New Dealers. On the Court, the Douglases know the Stones and the Frankfurters better than the others.

Mrs. Douglas is not in Washington society with a capital S, and the chances are she never will be, in spite of her husband's new position. Washington Society sometimes tends to be pretentious and trivial. The newest and youngest of the Supreme Court wives has better things to do with her time.

# CURRENT HISTORY

manner that is something less than absorbing or even merely engaging. Even assuming that Mary R. Beard was responsible for a large part or all of the writing, the fact remains that the book is an amalgam of the special skills of two persons and credit for its ideas and presentation belongs equally to both.

The Beards are sharply critical of many aspects of our recent development but find much, on the whole, that is hopeful. They conclude that we have been experiencing a "mid-passage"—a period in which we have had occasion to re-examine our heritage and in which we have become conscious of the positive values of our democratic institutions. "It took the great economic depression, the domestic conflict, the rise of Hitler, and the consolidation of fascist forces abroad to arouse what appeared to be a fierce affection for democracy and to produce a tumult of praise for the idea and its institutional embodiments."

At the same time, the authors are careful to point out that democracy is a word used indiscriminately by many groups which find it a convenient and inexpensive prestige symbol to conceal undemocratic methods and objectives. Moreover, the word has a popularity that is relatively new: "For at no time, at no place, in solemn convention assembled, through no chosen agents, had the American people officially proclaimed the United States to be a democracy . . . Not until the United States entered the World War was the conception of the nation as a democracy given something that looked like official sanction."

President Roosevelt, though sharply criticized for many of his policies, especially on foreign issues, is applauded for combining in his thinking "the severe economic analysis of the Hamilton-Webster tradition with humanistic democracy." The major measures of his Administration, they add, have been pointed in the general direction of strengthening our economic foundations by "salvaging agriculture, fortifying the bargaining power of industrial workers, minimum wages, social insurance, old-age pensions, employment for the idle, security of livelihood and home, protection against the hazards of economic defeat." In attacking our basic problems—human and economic—the President showed a courage and range greater than any of his predecessors, say the Beards.

Almost half the book is devoted to the story of our cultural and scientific development during the last decade. It is here that the Beards display a versatility and a competence that might be surprising were it not that their famous *Rise of American Civilization*, of which the present book is in effect the third volume, demonstrated their many talents and cemented their reputations as our leading historians.

Their view of contemporary American letters, though far from deprecatory, is not as roseate as that pictured by many critics. With apparent disregard for the almost certain clamor that would greet their unflattering opinions of many of the literary mighty, the Beards—who are anything but conformists—have directed their darts where they feel they belong, without regard for rank or reputation. Thus Van Wyck Brooks' *The Flowering of New England*, which has won every important non-fiction award during the last two years, including the Pulitzer Prize, is the subject of a caustic commentary: "Brooks . . . spoke of Hawthorne, Emerson, and their friends, of apple blossoms, of splashing rivulets, of the fragrant honeysuckle. With such exultation was this sweetness and light hailed by reviewers and readers that stray objections were buried in the oblivion which could so easily be accorded to doubters in America. The Brooks triumph was almost Roman in its magnificence."

On the other hand, they are strongly enthusiastic about John Dos Passos, who represents to them an ideal combination: writer and realist.

In a book that does not want for barbs, the motion picture industry comes in for perhaps the heaviest share. The indictment drawn up by the Beards against Hollywood is incisive and challenging. Quoting a survey which found that, of 115 pictures investigated at random, there were 54 murders, 59 cases of felonious assault, 17 hold-ups, 21 kidnappings, they point out that altogether there were 449 crimes, or about 4 for an average film. This emphasis on crime is approached solely by emphasis on sex or biological instincts. "Just what effect 'a century of progress' in that kind of education would have upon the morale of human relations and upon the institution of the family no one could say."

The Beards are much more sanguine about our development in the arts and sciences; but even here there are important reservations. They remark at the curious state of public interest in art, that it is only aroused when an artist's work is censored. They see tremendous possibilities in the work of the federal art projects. "Nowhere was the nature of the midpassage better exemplified." Discussing science, they write of the widening gulf between medical progress and medical needs. Other fields of science "did not differ in any absolute manner from experiences in other so-called domains of human interest . . . No unbridgeable chasm separated the scientist from the artist in methods of work and intellectual operations."

It is impossible, in the brief space of a review, or even a full-length article, to attempt a complete report on this work. One thing, however, is certain: *America in Midpassage* takes its place as our most important history of recent times. This is a book about which other books may some day be written.

THE ideal function of a book dealing with world affairs is effectively illustrated in Raymond Leslie Buell's *Poland: Key to Europe*. It does not attempt to compete with spot news headlines but provides a broad informational background for a competent understanding of day-to-day happenings. Mr. Buell, who has written on Poland in CURRENT HISTORY (April 1939), obtained the material for this book at first-hand and after extended study.

Poland is the key to Europe, says Mr. Buell, because geographically and diplomatically she is in the most vital position in Europe. Geographically, she lies in the hollow between Germany and Russia; any ideological or materialistic clash between the two totalitarian states would find her the immediate battleground. Diplomatically, her fate—and therefore the fate of Europe—is tied up in the future relations between her two giant neighbors. Even if Germany and Russia should effect some basis for an understanding—and recent reports seem to point in this direction — Poland fears she may have to provide the price of peace. For Poland is loved by neither giant.

It is not altogether impossible, according to Mr. Buell, that any rap-

prochement between the two dictatorships might find Poland on the carving block. Germany covets the Ukraine, and Russia a portion of her old lands. Whether the partitioning of Poland would be an inevitable consequence of such an "unholy alliance" is difficult to say; but the Poles—as well as all Central Europe—are not dismissing such an event as remote.

For her part, Poland has little affection for either Germany or Russia. Her fears of German invasion are perhaps greater than her fears of Communism, which she has always regarded as a barrier to Slavic unity. But Poland, a highly religious nation—she is attached more strongly to the Roman Catholic Church than any other country in Europe with the exception of Ireland—is antagonistic to anti-religious forces, with which she identifies Russia.

Even if Poland's external worries should be solved, there are enough domestic problems to keep the brows of her statesmen knitted for many years to come. Few countries in Europe present the spectacle of such widespread poverty and suffering. Food is increasingly scarce but the population continues to skyrocket more rapidly than that of any other nation on the Continent. Lacking the industrial development to process adequately even the limited resources she does have, Poland is unable to support her present population. Mr. Buell quotes one writer who observed that many of the peasants are "mere skeletons wracked with fever and malaria. Their clothes are skins and rags, and their foot-coverings are bark cut from trees." He quotes another source as saying that a Polish peasant will use the same water over and over again in boiling potatoes, in order to save salt.

Add to this Poland's minority problems—she has 5,000,000 Ukrainians, 750,000 Germans and 1,500,000 White Russians—and it is readily understandable that the country might at any moment erupt into civil conflict. Poland has come close to prolonged civil war twice in the last twenty years, though civil war undoubtedly would mean intervention by either or both of the neighboring dictatorships. Thus her domestic problems are interlocked with her foreign problems; she hopes that no outside influence will be used to precipitate an internal quarrel which might provide an opportune moment for ambitious neighbors.

The picture Mr. Buell draws does not presage too bright a future for Poland. But he points out—and this is borne out by events which have happened since the book was written—that Poland's big hope lies in the possibility of alliances with friendly nations and in the principle of Slavic unity. This would mean that some sort of an understanding would have to be reached with Russia—the Soviet is largely Slavic—whereby Poland might at least secure herself against German aggression and at the same time receive some assurance against Bolshevist penetration.

*Poland: Key to Europe* is a storehouse of valuable factual and interpretative data. Mr. Buell has succeeded not only in clarifying the external and internal policies of a nation which has heretofore received scant attention in the United States but has gone a long way toward unraveling the complicated knot that is Central Europe.

A HIGH point in dramatic effectiveness for a non-fiction book is reached in *We Didn't Ask Utopia: A*

*Quaker Family in Soviet Russia*, by Harry and Rebecca Timbres. It is written in diary and letter form and tells of the life—which ended in tragedy—of an American physician and research scientist and his wife and two children in the Soviet Union.

The Timbres first visited Russia in the early twenties as famine relief workers for the American Friends Service Committee. Returning to America, Harry Timbres studied medicine at Johns Hopkins University and received his degree in 1928. One year later the Timbres family of four migrated to India, where Dr. Timbres organized the medical services in Santiniketan, Bengal—educational settlement of Rabindranath Tagore. For five years Harry and Rebecca Timbres fought malaria in the Near East; before he left he received an award for his work in malaria control from the Ross Field Experimental Station. Back again in the United States, Dr. Timbres served as medical officer for a cooperative community administered by the federal government in West Virginia, where he was in charge of medical and surgical work. Later, he taught medical statistics at Johns Hopkins.

For this information concerning the background of Harry Timbres we are indebted to Dr. Charles-Edward A. Winslow, who has written an introduction to the book, which, incidentally, also contains a foreword by Walter Duranty. Both Dr. Winslow and Mr. Duranty write movingly of the young scientist who lost his life in Russia in an effort to continue saving the lives of others. "He ranked high," says Duranty, "amongst those 'microbe hunters' whose careful, patient efforts are truly making the world safer for humanity." To this Dr. Winslow adds: "Harry Timbres's life was not wasted . . . To know Harry and Rebecca Timbres is to gain a new hope in these dark days . . ."

For nearly a year—June 1936 to May 1937—Harry and Rebecca Timbres worked in Russia, as they had in India, to eradicate epidemic and disease. Almost oblivious of the discomforts and handicaps for an outsider of life in a strange country, the Timbres regarded their stay in the Soviet Republic as an opportunity for valuable medical research in the control and prevention of malaria.

Their work, though difficult and exhausting, had its rewards in their special research and in the lives the Timbres were able to reclaim from almost certain death. But the strain was too much for the young physician; fatigue robbed his vitality and he became stricken with typhus. For two weeks Hal Timbres fought for life. Then:

"It was just seven o'clock. Long shadows slanted across the grass on the hill where we stood high above the Tartar fields and the Volga River. The sun was flaming a triumphant red and gold as Hal was lowered into the earth.

"The swift, beautiful service commenced with the silence of man—the symphony of sky, trees, grass, birds . . . Our friends covered Hal with earth . . ."

Here in real life is enacted a remarkably similar counterpart of Hemingway's hospital scene in the last chapter of his *Farewell to Arms*, in which Catherine Barkley dies. The

similarity in effectiveness is brought almost inevitably to mind in reading the closing pages of *We Didn't Ask Utopia.* The entire book, in fact, has dramatic effect rare in non-fiction. Quite aside from its value as a documentary record—it is unquestionably one of the most important of recent books on the Soviet—it tells a human story that deserves a wide audience. The impact of the book comes both from the story itself and the simplicity and quiet enthusiasm with which it is written.

ATTRACTIVELY compressed between the covers of a new book is the story of one of the most historic years the world has known since the end of the War. It is an important year and an important book, for the events of 1938 were far-reaching in their significance and deserve—indeed demand—the chronicled permanence that only a book can give.

It is called *The World Over: 1938;* its editors are Joseph Hilton Smyth, Editor of *The Living Age,* and Charles Angoff, Contributing Editor of *The North American Review:* assisting were Lamar Middleton, Walker G. Matheson, Samuel Dashiell, Allan Angoff, and William D. Allen.

With such an array of talent, it is not surprising that this ambitious undertaking has accomplished all that it set out to do and more. The aim, according to the editors, was to present a "clearer and better focused picture of the year than may be gained from the nervous and often disconnected narration in the press of the world." But *The World Over: 1938* does even more: it furnishes an expert record and account which will undoubtedly be accepted by historians as the "last word" on 1938.

The book has two distinct, though complementary, uses. The first half consists of a running commentary, month by month and country by country of the year's significant happenings. It can be read for interest as well as information, for it has good continuity and is clearly written. The second half consists of a chronological account, also month by month and country by country. This section, particularly, is a reference tool difficult to duplicate unless you have at your disposal a warehouse stocked with back numbers of newspapers and journals from all over the world—plus, of course, the time

*(Continued on page 64)*

## bylines

I am going to be a stuffed shirt. I got beat for Congress for not being one—*Maury Maverick, ex-Congressman following his election as Mayor of San Antonio.*

America CAN stay out of war. America SHOULD stay out of war—*George Fielding Eliot (See Page* 13).

**The Germans are finding that financial rabbits are progressively more difficult** to conjure from the hat of **bankruptcy**—*Henry C. Wolfe and Robert Strausz-Hupé (See Page* 19).

She is the lady who knows all my secrets but never lets them out, who gently corrects my faults, who never forgets to praise me, who remembers all the things that I forget and who, for now nearly thirty years, has been my best friend and counselor.—*Prime Minister Chamberlain.*

No matter how much noise they make [Fritz Kuhn's bunds], they are merely a ridiculous minority when balanced against our twenty or thirty million Americans of German ancestry who help to man, have manned and will man again our fortress of democracy against the aggression of tyrants—*William Seabrook (See Page* 22).

The fact is that there no longer is an Open Door in China and the indications are that there never will be again—*Luther A. Huston (See Page* 34).

There isn't a thing produced from the soil that we cannot use in industry. Name anything grown on the farm and I will tell you an industrial use for it.

I don't believe there will be another world war, because there are people in the world who believe in producing things instead of destroying them—*Henry Ford.*

That afternoon, before the quitting-time whistle blew at the Owosso, Michigan, beet sugar factory, Thomas E. Dewey (12) had delivered all his copies of the *Saturday Evening Post,* as had the 15 boys working for him—*S. T. Williamson (See Page* 27).

In San Francisco there is only one race. The race of the living—*William Saroyan.*

**Everybody wants a natural-looking girl now. Her hair mustn't be too curly. Mascara's taboo and lipstick is out—*John Powers, employer of models.***

CURRENT HISTORY

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## JUNE, 1939

COVER PHOTOGRAPH FROM HARRIS & EWING

### ARTICLES



Current History, Volume L, No [illegible] May, 1939 Whole No. 294. Published monthly by C-H Publishing Corporation, 420 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. J. Hilton Smyth, President; John T. Hackett, Vice-President; I. H. Williams, Secretary; E. Trevor Hill, Treasurer, John A. Curtis, Advertising Manager, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7, in the United States, possessions, Canada, Central and South America and Spain; elsewhere $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should send change of address three weeks in advance. Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Springfield, Mass. Entered in Canada as second-class matter.

# He's *Carrying* Quite a Load

TAXES are necessary—you couldn't run a city, state or government without them. But they do mount up.

Fact is, a considerable part of the money you pay us for telephone service goes right out in taxes.

Bell System taxes for 1938 were $147,400,000—an increase of 56% in three years. In 1938 taxes were:

Equal to about $550 a year per employee

Equal to $9.50 per telephone in the Bell System

Equal to $7.54 per share of A. T. & T. common stock

***BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM***

*You are cordially invited to visit the Bell System exhibit at the Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco*

# History in the Making

## Neutrality—What Kind?

As the middle of May came and passed, European war scares were dying down sufficiently to give home news a place on front pages once more. Welcome as this was, it failed to satisfy anyone that all danger had been removed. In the United States the European lull was generally regarded as little more than a breathing spell. While it continued, our own government went right on strengthening its defenses and trying to shape a neutrality program which would keep us out of trouble without too greatly injuring trade.

In his annual message to Congress in January, President Roosevelt indicated a dissatisfaction with the neutrality law that was widely shared throughout the country: "We have learned," he said, "that, when we deliberately legislate neutrality, our neutrality laws may operate unevenly and unfairly—may actually give aid to an aggressor and deny it to the victim."

But if what we have is unsatisfactory, what we should have is problematical. Recent discussions of neutrality before committees of the House and Senate indicate that it is hard to strike the right kind of pose toward a war that may never occur, or that may take an entirely different form than is now expected if, as and when it does occur. Clashes between "isolationists," "cash-and-carry-ers," the "pro-democracy faction" and other schools show how far apart American groups stand on this question.

In mid-May the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, having held hearings on neutrality for several weeks, had yet to decide what changes to make in our neutrality policy. Apparently it was puzzled by the lack of any definite recommendation from the Administration. On May 16, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, equally puzzled, and for the same reason, voted to send some of its members to call on Secretary Hull and urge him to come before the committee and make known the State Department's wishes.

Meanwhile, as comparative quiet in Europe permitted the thoughts of Americans to return to their own affairs, they rediscovered a number of familiar but unpleasant truths: The United States still has more unemployment than any other great nation; still grapples with an almost hopelessly unbalanced budget and a rapidly rising debt; still finds it necessary to borrow and spend on a grand scale in its efforts to discover a way back to normalcy.

The gigantic sums we are pouring out of the national treasury to provide work or to equalize conditions between this group and that one, to stabilize enterprises that private capital will not or cannot stabilize, to create markets and boost foreign trade, furnish ample evidence of the size and variety of the tasks looming so large before us.

*New York Times*

*John L. Lewis*

## Billion-Dollar Farm Bill

On May 12, the Senate passed the biggest appropriation bill for the assistance of farmers in this country's history—$1,218,000,000. That is some $400,000,000 in excess of the Budget Bureau's estimate and of the appropriation which the House of Representatives thought adequate.

The Budget Bureau, the House and the Senate, however, all agreed on an appropriation of $500,000,000 with which to finance conservation and crop control by making cash payments to farmers in exchange for contracts to restrict acreage planted in basic crops. They also agreed on an appropriation of $190,000,000 for public roads—$125,000,000 to be used for the Federal Highway System; $25,000,000 for secondary and feeder systems; $40,000,000 for grade crossing elimination.

In addition to this large appropriation for roads, the bill contains several other items that cannot be classified as exclusively for farm aid—for example, $4,000,000 for forest roads and trails; $3,000,000 to acquire national forests, and $770,000 for weather bureau service to transoceanic flights.

President Roosevelt has intimated that, if the $400,000,000 increase for farm aid authorized by the Senate were approved by the House, it would be up to Congress to find some way to get the money through taxation.

## Victory for Mr. Lewis

Aggressive John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, added another victory to his lengthy list on May 13. On that date, following several weeks of negotiations with union officials in New York, the operators who mine most of the country's bituminous coal signed a new contract to govern labor relations in the mines for the next two years.

The new contract, succeeding the

old one which expired in March, continues the present seven-hour day, five-day week, and the wage rates for day workers and for tonnage workers. It differs from the old contract in providing for a "union shop"; that is, it compels mine workers not already members of the United Mine Workers to join up. In this clause rests Mr. Lewis' obvious victory. It not only increases the number of his followers; it prevents them from deserting to the Progressive Miners Union, affiliated with the C. I. O.'s arch-rival, the American Federation of Labor.

The stoppage, strike, or whatever it may be called, in the soft-coal fields following the expiration of the old contract in March forced some curtailment in private enterprises and in municipal services. When far more serious curtailment was threatened, the Government supplemented the conciliatory offices of its Labor Department with the personal intervention of President Roosevelt, who warned the clashing operators and union officials to get together at once. Their settlement followed promptly.

Some operators in Kentucky and in other "border" states, however, held out. In Kentucky's hard-bitten Harlan County, notorious for violence in labor disputes, National Guardsmen patrolled the highways, called out by Governor A. B. ("Happy") Chandler to protect miners who wished to work without a contract. On May 16, President Roosevelt, asked whether he intended to intervene to prevent bloodshed in Harlan County, replied that he had no intention of doing so.

### *Steelman, Conciliator*

*—Condensed from the* New York Daily Mirror.

"OURS is one government agency that can't make anybody do anything," says Dr. John R. Steelman, Chief of the Conciliation Service in the United States Department of Labor, who went to bat for government and public when the coal tie-up threatened to become a national emergency.

Steelman was all but forgotten when operators and miners ended their session of haggling and finally signed up. He didn't mind that. "They settled. That's the important thing." But around the Biltmore Hotel in New York, where the coal conference took place, this leaked out: When President Roosevelt called miners and operators to Washington he told them, "I'm just acting as Mr. Steelman's assistant, trying to help him out."

Coal was one of the toughest assignments Steelman ever tackled in seven years of conciliating. He helped settle the Pacific coast maritime strike, and, in March, settled the Washington, D. C., hotel strike.

John Steelman is thirty-nine, a bachelor, born in Arkansas and raised in Alabama. His father was a farmer and a logger. Steelman spent thirteen years collecting four degrees from five colleges. He's a six-footer, keen eyed, gray around his temples, good looking, warm. He gestures a lot with his nervous hands, peppers his talk with cuss-words. He's ridden freight trains, slept on the ground with hoboes, worked in lumber camps as a logger at $1 a day, sold insurance and maps, and taught economics and sociology. He has a Ph.D. but doesn't like to be called "doctor," says that "mixes me up with the Brain Trust."

He was made the first labor conciliator in the South in 1932, became Chief of the Service two years ago. He has a staff of eighty now, with fifty-three conciliators in the field. His salary is $7,500 a year.

His record: In 1938 the public, workers or employers invited the Service in on 4,231 cases, involving 1,618,409 persons. Batting Average: 98 per cent of the cases were settled on terms satisfactory to both sides. In only six cases was the Service refused.

## Conscripting Wealth

The American people have developed two fixed convictions regarding war: (1) they feel that it is frequently brought on by scheming minorities; and (2) that these minorities often make a killing out of it. This attitude of mind helps to explain the present sentiment for a popular referendum before a declaration of war and for the drafting of wealth as well as man-power in case of war. Bills have been presented to Congress to achieve both objectives.

The most prominent of the wealth-conscripting bills is that introduced by Senator Josh Lee of Oklahoma. Contemplation of it moves the *Baltimore Sun* to imagine new horrors to add to the already over-numerous

Duffy—The Baltimore Sun

*Loaded—and maybe with dynamite.*

horrors of war. Says the *Sun*, editorially: "Senator Lee's scheme calls for a system of forced loans by virtue of which every man with more than $1,000 to his credit would have to lend the Government five per cent or more of his net worth at one per cent interest. Under this scheme, on a declaration of war, the first duty of every man with a little property would be to sit down and calculate how much he had. For some of us, this would not be very difficult, but for many it might be highly burdensome. We all know with what sweating and gnashing of teeth income tax returns are made out prior to March 15. It might mean that we should have to stop recruiting for the army and navy and devote the whole man power of the nation for the duration of the war to accounting."

## Corned Beef for the Navy

A curious sidelight on the aid-to-farmers issue is furnished by President Roosevelt's insistence that the Navy buy canned corned beef from Argentina. It is cheaper and better, he declares. To prove the first point, he quotes the Argentine offer to furnish it at eight cents a pound less than the domestic product. To prove the second point, he challenges newspaper men to try some of it.

All this came about because of a proposed amendment to the Navy Department Appropriation Bill, providing for exclusive purchase of do-

mestic beef. Though the President's statements aroused far-flung controversy, Arthur Krock, head of the Washington Bureau of the *New York Times*, declined to take it too seriously. A condensed version of Mr. Krock's May 15 column follows:

"Ever since the President told the Navy that, since Argentine canned corned beef is better and cheaper than the local product, it should be purchased, members of Congress from the cattle country have been erupting in speeches. The President, they said, was destroying a great local industry in an effort to curry favor with the Argentine for his hemisphere policy.

"The facts are known to the President and the Departments of State and Commerce. They are also familiar to the packers, the chain-store supply men and the meat processors of South America.

"A good percentage of American cattle used to be turned into canned corned beef. The only time people thought much about this product was during the Spanish-American War when the quality was so bad there was a scandal. Probably that was the reason why canned beef became unpopular in this country. At any rate the bellies, or 'plates' of cattle from which canned beef is made were ingeniously diverted to other foods in this country, and in the New World there developed the great American yen for hot dogs and hamburgers.

"From Maine to California, from Florida to Vancouver, the hot dog and the hamburger entered upon a rapid rise in consumption. The scent of the griddle was inhaled in the land. Since good prices and good profits were to be made in these commodities, 95 per cent or more of the plates of cattle were thus processed. The result is that large orders for canned beef cannot be filled in any store or wholesale packing plant.

"In South America and the European countries, where products of cattle plates are sold there is no relish for the hot dog and the hamburger. So the beef raising countries to the southward—Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Paraguay—have used most of the cattle plates—and even better cuts—for canned corned beef. For this and other reasons they can deliver the product here cheaper and better, as the President said.

"Canned beef is handy ration for the Army and the Navy. Not only is it scarce here, because unprofitable in contrast with the hot dog and the hamburger, but its manufacture is held to a minimum therefor. But the plates are completely used and sold at home. No American steer or cow, no domestic cattle-raiser or processor, is being discriminated against by the President or anybody else.

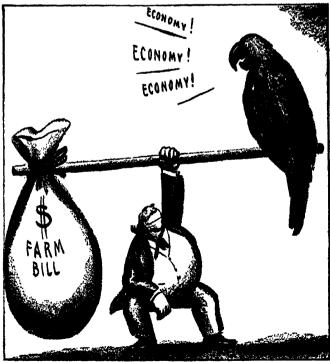
"The United States absorbs its own beef product and thus imports little. But canned beef comes in because it isn't profitable to manufacture much of it here. In 1938 four South American countries sent about 79,000,000 pounds. Argentina can sell it in wholesale lots in the United States for 16 cents a pound, of which 6 cents represents duty and another portion the hauling charge. American bidders wanted to charge the Navy 24 cents a pound for canned beef in which only cattle plates, and none of the better South American cuts, were the base. Their price was high because they don't find it interesting to make much of the stuff. And they don't find it interesting because they are doing better with hot dogs and hamburgers.

"The Navy order given to the Argentine was for only 48,000 pounds of canned beef. Compare that with the 79,000,000 pounds imported in 1938; take the other facts into account; then forget the whole business over a hot dog or a hamburger."

## The Royal Visit

From Thursday, May 11, to Sunday, May 14, the entire British Empire—particularly the British Isles—sat on the edge of its collective seat. For England's reigning monarchs, who had left England May 6, were fog-bound and ice-bound on the high seas aboard the *Empress of Australia*, headed for Canada and the United States—the first trip reigning British rulers have ever made to North America.

London newspapers which had opposed the voyage when it was first projected were grimly silent. The tension increased when it became known that the *Duchess of York*, also operated by the Canadian Pacific Railway on the Southampton to Quebec schedule, which departed but one day before the *Empress*, arrived at Quebec—destination of the Royal Family—in the normal time of six days.

At the beginning of the ninth day,

Fitzpatrick—The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

*How the Senate would balance the budget.*

the *Empress of Australia* was still picking its way through the fog; from Thursday to Sunday it had covered only 172 miles. But all fears were put aside when the *Empress* finally nosed through the fog and negotiated the remaining distance to Canadian waters without incident. Up the colorful St. Lawrence sailed George VI and Queen Elizabeth, their Majesties on deck most of the way and enjoying the river's wonders.

On Wednesday, May 17, England's King and Queen made history when they walked down the gangplank of the *Empress* and set foot on American soil. For more than a hundred years influential circles on this continent and in Great Britain had discussed the feasibility of a visit to these shores by an English monarch. But not until now had such a visit come to pass.

One purpose of the visit is plain. When the Statute of Westminster was passed eight years ago, it severed virtually all the mother country's ties with the dominions save that of the Crown. For all practical purposes, Canada—as well as the other dominions—was given the status of an independent nation. Prime Minister Chamberlain's Cabinet has no control whatsoever over any of the self-governing dominions. Ottawa's Parliament is as free and unencumbered in its deliberations as London's Parliament. The British High Commissioner at Ottawa has a function analogous to that of ambassador.

Thus the circumstances of a visit to the dominions are entirely different from what they would have been before the statute was passed. The King now represents the sole link holding together the British Commonwealth of Nations, and it is now important—more so than ever before —that this link be kept at full strength. King George VI is now under a virtual obligation to visit his subjects all over the world. Accordingly, plans are being made for a Royal visit to other dominions in the near future.

The trip to the United States, following the tour of Canada, is a logical extension of the visit to Canada. Alfred Duff Cooper, former First Lord of the Admiralty, explains in a copyrighted article published in the *New York Herald Tribune:* "To visit the Continent of North America without seeing anything of the United States would be indeed as though a man were to go to a performance of Hamlet only to withdraw from the auditorium whenever the Prince of Denmark was on the stage. Who, having crossed the Atlantic Ocean, would willingly forego a glimpse of New York?"

Duff Cooper emphasized the non-political complexion of the King's trip here. This much, however, was certain: political or non-political, it is being counted on by many Britishers to create good-will in the United States at a moment when England is more anxious to have our friendship than at any time since the end of the World War.

*De Groene Amsterdammer*

*"Do you by any chance feel menaced?"*

## Europe's "Pactomania"

The war of political ideologies in Europe continued during May. Increasingly confusing to American observers became the slogan "democracies versus dictatorships." To most of them, it seemed that European countries were gradually and forcibly being jockeyed into the Rome-Berlin Axis on one hand, and the London-Paris Axis on the other; that democracy, as a form of political government, had little to do with the struggle. In last analysis the European countries—practically all of them—emerged more "totalitarian" than otherwise.

Ironic similarities were to be noted in the ideological war. At times, it was none too easy to differentiate between tactics of the pro-Nazi and those of the anti-Nazi groups of nations. Press and radio censorship were not peculiar to any one country. And the protective "pactomania" with which Hitler has been charging Britain was, if less successful, equally apparent in the Reich.

Indeed, at the very moment Hitler was denouncing England's tactics in attempting to line up an anti-Nazi bloc, Franz von Papen, fixer of the Anschluss with Austria, and now German Ambassador to Turkey, was risking a purge because he had so far failed to line up Turkey with Berlin. Hitler himself showed "pactomania" symptoms by offering non-aggression agreements to the Scandinavian states—which he has no need to attack. Moreover, for weeks Berlin has tried every artifice to bring Japan into the Berlin-Rome Axis, though Tokyo has remained shyly aloof. Meanwhile, German diplomatic agents have been frantically offering pacts to Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia.

## Poland Squeezed

Squeezed between an aggressive Germany on the west and hated Russia on the east, Poland in mid-May was caught in a nutcracker. There was little comfort in the fact that Britain and France had pledged full military support if Poland were attacked; for Poles remembered that Britain and France had made the same solemn pledge to Czecho-Slovakia last spring. Promise of Russian assistance was to Poland as disturbing as any threatened invasion by the Germans. The reason was simple: a deep-rooted fear that if the Red Army were once entrenched on Polish soil it might never move out.

At the same time, although Prime Minister Chamberlain warned Hitler that seizure of Danzig by force would mean war, there was a widespread belief that Danzig nevertheless would be surrendered peacefully to the Reich in one more "appeasement." This belief was heightened when the *Times* of London, usually considered the mouthpiece of the British Foreign Office, stated editorially that "Danzig was not worth fighting over."

Particularly ominous to Poland was the pattern the Axis Powers followed in their dealings with the Po-

lish situation—it was exactly the same pattern Hitler and Mussolini had followed before the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia. Ironic, too, was the fact that Poland itself had looked on calmly as the Czech State was slaughtered and even participated in the final kill by seizing the Teschen area.

A violent anti-Polish press campaign has been launched in Germany, precisely following the procedure of the Nazi press campaign against Czecho-Slovakia. Again following the pattern closely, Hitler has made a violent speech denouncing the German-Polish non-aggression pact and demanding Danzig and rights in the Polish Corridor—almost the exact violent speech he made during the Czech crisis in which he demanded the Sudetenland but disavowed any intention of wanting Czechs under his rule. Foreign Minister Beck of Poland is said to have prepared a strong reply to Hitler, just as did President Benes of Czecho-Slovakia, but pressure was applied on both men and their talks were toned down. On the suggestion of the British Foreign Office, "the door was left open for negotiation" in both instances.

Carefully acting out his allotted rôle, Premier Mussolini of Italy has risen to the occasion during both crises. In the Czech excitement Il Duce gave every indication that he was opposed to a war by his partner and heightened hopes of London and Paris that he would swing away from the Axis when he offered to act as "mediator."

At the height of the Polish crisis, Mussolini again expressed his abhorrence of war and once more raised the hopes of England and France that he could be swung out of the Axis, especially since he once again volunteered to mediate. Once more discussion in London reverted to the possibility of "appeasement." When the discussion reached its height, Berlin and Rome signed a formal military alliance, demonstrating to all of Europe that Mussolini was more tightly in the Axis than ever before.

*Mr. Hitler is willing to deal with any country.*

## The Litvinoff Mystery

The mystery of the month was the sudden withdrawal of Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinoff into the murky silence of Inner Russia. Litvinoff, one of the Old Bolsheviks, earned fame by enrolling the Soviet Union in the League of Nations against tremendous opposition, and had won recognition of the Soviet Union by Washington. Early in May he was reported to have raised Soviet prestige by initialing a treaty with Britain and France. These two powers, with Czarist Russia, once comprised the Grand Alliance that prior to 1914 was the fear and envy of Europe.

The new Grand Alliance was all ready to be made public when Litvinoff was suddenly yanked back to Moscow. Western nations which had been counting on Russian support to prevent the annihilation of Poland were stunned when it was announced that he had been replaced by V. M. Molotov, President of the Consulate of People's Commissars. It was explained that Litvinoff had retired "at his own request," and that he was suffering from a weak heart. Immediately there was conjecture as to what was really behind the shift. Berlin received the news with evident delight. A story was immediately spread that Moscow had lost interest in Britain's "stop Hitler" drive and that the much-discussed, much-feared, but so far never realized pact between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia was actually emerging.

Up until the middle of May Moscow had not seen fit to explain precisely what was behind the removal of Litvinoff. Gradually, however, various foreign observers reached the conclusion that Litvinoff had displeased Moscow by agreeing to sign a treaty with France and Britain that excluded any co-operation of the so-called democracies in case the Soviet became involved in a war with Japan in the Far East.

What Moscow was demanding was a mutual assistance pact. What Litvinoff apparently was about to sign was a treaty which would call Rus-

sian troops into action against the Fascists, but would at the same time leave Paris and London free to hedge in any war. A long-harbored suspicion in Moscow has been that London and Paris, never friendly to the Bolsheviks, desired to embroil Stalin's dictatorship with Hitler's and wreck them both.

THE general public never suspected recently how very close to war we were with Japan. It was the personal diplomacy of President Roosevelt which kept the Japanese from echoing the war threats of the Rome-Berlin axis. Japan, you will recall, was conspicuously silent about going to war against the democracies—after Il Duce announced that Italy would fight with Germany. The brilliant diplomacy which touched the heart of every Japanese was the sending of Ex-Ambassador Saito's ashes home to Japan on an American battleship. The Japanese—from the mightiest to the most humble—considered that gesture a very fine one. That idea was the President's. He and Saito were not merely representatives of two great nations. Roosevelt and Saito were two great friends. This is the second time that F. D. R.—in a crisis—kept us out of war—by appealing directly to the people.—*Walter Winchell in the* Daily Mirror, *New York.*

## Far Eastern Reactions

In the Far East there was considerable speculation on the Litvinoff removal. Reports in Berlin that Moscow was about to sign a treaty with Germany were discounted by Japan as being of purely nuisance value; an effort by Berlin and Rome to swing Japan into a hard and fast alliance, since they would have great need of the powerful Japanese fleet if they were to attempt to force Great Britain out of the Mediterranean. Berlin went out of its way to point out to Tokyo that Japan would face grave consequences if Berlin and Moscow should suddenly become allies, and suggested that Tokyo would be wise to side with the Berlin faction. But Japan apparently thought otherwise, and there was every indication that Tokyo was swinging away from the Rome-Berlin bloc toward the democracies.

At the moment, Japan seems to lean toward increased friendship with the United States. After declining to comment on whether Japan would or would not sign a military alliance with Germany and Italy, a Foreign Office spokesman in Tokyo plainly indicated that Japan was willing to flirt with the democracies when he stated:

"Japan has its own independent foreign policy which, as enunciated by Foreign Minister Arita time after time, antagonizes neither democratic nor totalitarian camps."

## Russia in China

Meanwhile, Tokyo paid careful heed to reports that Moscow is attempting to jockey London and Paris into a secret alliance that would permit Russia to extend more vigorous assistance to Chiang Kai-shek, perhaps even to send Soviet "volunteers" on a large scale to the Chinese war zone.

The reason for the credence placed in these reports is the fact that Soviet Russia is digging deeper into China and extending its sphere of influence into the northwest. Moscow is reported to have offered Chiang greatly increased military support in exchange for concessions in that territory on the following terms:

(1) The Kuomintang Peoples Party must remedy its growing anti-Communist attitude fostered by conservative and Fascist-minded leaders;

(2) The number of Soviet political and military advisers must be increased;

(3) The Comintern (Communist International) is to be utilized, and parts of China not yet under Soviet domination are to be bolshevized;

(4) Compensation for Soviet support is to include oil and gold-mining concessions in Sinkiang Province—in which order is to be maintained by Soviet troops and the permanent independence of which is to be recognized by China—and the right to construct railroads in Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang and Kansu Provinces.

## Chile Facing Left

Precisely what price the United States will have to pay to keep the various Latin American countries in line in the present war of political ideologies is hard to guess.

Following the example set by Mexico in the expropriation of American oil and ranching lands, there is a strong movement among the Chilean peasants to establish collective agricultural colonies, which would mean the seizure of the richest farm lands for distribution among 20,000 families in the provinces between Coquinbo in the North and Biobio in the South. At the same time, Minister of Trade Bianchi is negotiating for foreign loans totaling $350,000,000 for the intensification of national production in accordance with the law recently passed by Congress.

Advanced under the so-called "Popular Front" Presidency of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, millionaire plantation owner and leader of the Radical party, this program is regarded in conservative American circles as next door to out-and-out "bolshevism."

## Bolivia Facing Right

In direct contrast to the Chilean communal program, Bolivia on the northeast border of Chile a few weeks ago adopted a regime which was widely described as "totalitarian"—despite the statement by the Bolivian Foreign Office on May 16 that "there is absolutely no connection between the new Bolivian government and a totalitarian state."

The new government functions under the leadership of German Busch Becarra, German-trained Bolivian militarist. Although Bolivia for the past two years had been under two successive military governments, which outwardly pretended to maintain a democratic form of government, that pretense was dropped by thirty-five-year-old Dictator Busch in a proclamation suppressing all civil liberty. He placed the newspapers under strict control and subjected the entire population of Bolivia—3,226,296—to a strict political and moral discipline.

Following Dictator Busch's successful *putsch*, a surprising prediction that Bolivia would join the anti-Comintern pact came from a curious quarter—Tokyo. There, Kokichi Seitoh, a native of Kumanoto, Japan, and long-time resident of Kochabamba, Brazil, where he is an importer, declared that Bolivia would join Rome, Berlin, Tokyo, Spain, Manchukuo and Hungary in a moral alliance against the Communists. The reason for the announcement coming from Tokyo was the little known fact that Seitoh is a brother-in-law of Dictator Busch.

# America CAN Stay Out of War

## A reply to the argument that if Europe plunges into war the United States must be drawn in also

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT
*Military expert; author of "The Ramparts We Watch"*

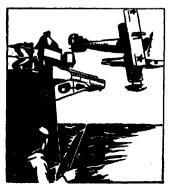
THE greater part of the winter of 1938-1939 I spent traveling about the country, lecturing on the subject of national defense and the relationship of military to foreign policy. I had the opportunity of speaking to more than fifty audiences, of a diversity of character which may be gathered from the fact that they included—for examples—the officers and cadets of the United States Military Academy, the Labor Club of New York, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Commercial Club of Boston, various peace societies, the Foreign Policy Association, and various public discussion groups. In practically all cases, my address was followed by a discussion period in which questions were asked from the audience.

They were interesting, and on the whole, intelligent questions. They indicated a considerable and rising degree of public interest in the matter of national defense, a far greater interest than would have existed in, let us say, the year 1913. Classifying them, I now find that certain questions recurred in almost every audience, whether in New York, Washington or Minneapolis, whether composed of business men, educators, reserve officers, students of world affairs, or the general public.

For example, not a lecture passed without someone inquiring whether the airplane was really an effective weapon against the battleship, indicating a clinging to the American belief in the efficacy of new and wonderful inventions to upset the old and expensive methods of waging war—the eternal search for a "get-rich-quick" road to victory in war, to national security in peace.

After the controversy over the fortification of Guam had broken in the public prints, there was no single audience in which at least one questioner did not desire to be informed on this point; there was an eagerness clearly evident for a full understanding of both its strategical and political implications.

Our future relations with Canada and with our Latin American neighbors were the subject of many questions. For the most part, they seemed to assume the vigorous support on our part of the Monroe Doctrine, while quite generally recognizing the delicate and intricate character of the international relationships between the republics of the New World. In this connection, the Mexican oil controversy was frequently brought forward, and there was surprisingly little tendency to insist upon a "strong" policy regarding it.

ALMOST every audience produced at least one questioner who wanted to know about the possibility of a hostile air base being secretly established in Latin America which might menace the Panama Canal, or the cities of the continental United States. There was a general appreciation of the vital importance to us of the Canal, and much anxiety as to its security. There seemed to be a very general agreement, as far as could be judged, with my suggestion that it might be well for the United States to acquire the right to use for military purposes certain Western Hemisphere positions, notably Newfoundland, Bermuda and Trinidad, in exchange for a remission of part of the war debt of Great Britain.

It was surprising to note how generally these various audiences accepted the view that the United States, by the operation of inexorable historical and geographical forces, was becoming the predominant sea-power of the world and stepping into the position and the responsibilities which had been Britain's for so many years.

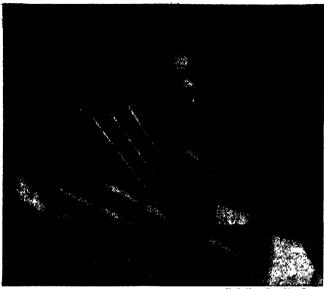
But of all the questions which were asked, one was most frequent, and it was put with the greatest degree of anxiety:

If war comes in Europe, can we stay out?

It is necessary to add that very often this thought was rather differently expressed, in an outright assertion (usually with a sort of fatalistic grimness) that it would, of course, be impossible for America to stand aloof if Europe went to war.

In every such case, I can well recall the tension which instantly became apparent in the atmosphere of the lecture hall as the audience waited to hear my reply. It was clearly evident that this was the question which was in everyone's mind; this was the fear which haunted every heart.

Nor is this fear confined to those who have a sufficient interest in national defense and foreign policy to attend a lecture on these subjects. It is far more widespread than that. One reads it in editorials, in columns, in magazine articles; one hears it in conversations everywhere; one senses it in utterances of all sorts of people on all sorts of subjects. Polls of public opinion show that a large proportion of our people are convinced that we cannot avoid involvement in a general European conflict. Congress spends much time in debating and holding hearings on such legal devices as neutrality acts and the war referendum, intended to keep us out of war.

At a time, therefore, when the European witches' cauldron is boiling more fiercely than ever, when we may

U. S. Navy Recruiting Bureau

*The forward turret of the U.S.S. Pennsylvania, Admiral Claude Bloch's flagship, is armed with 14-inch guns.*

be about to see a renewal of the struggle for power on that unhappy continent, it may be well to review this matter of "inevitable" American involvement in that struggle calmly and carefully.

If war comes again in Europe, *must* we be involved?

To this question, my answer is an unequivocal "No!"

Let us examine, one by one, the reasons put forward by those who can see no escape from American participation in the suicidal quarrels of Europe:

(1) *We cannot afford to see Great Britain and France "go under," leaving us face to face with the victorious axis powers.*

But Great Britain and France are not going to "go under." There is almost no chance of such a catastrophe. Great nations are not wiped out, or reduced to impotence, in the twinkling of an eye. Consider how severely France was defeated in 1870-71, or Germany in the last war; and look at those powers today. Moreover, the French still possess the best and most formidable army in Europe; the British by far the most powerful navy; the two powers are so superior in resources and wealth to the axis countries as to beggar comparison. It is true that the axis is superior in the air, but it is a superiority which is dwindling day by day; and air power alone is unlikely to be decisive in a major conflict. But it is also true that, if it should be decisive, it will be by an "all-out" attack upon civil populations, a bolt from the blue, or rather a succession of bolts, to bomb the will to resist out of the British people. It is not likely that such an attempt will succeed; it is not likely, indeed, to be made, because of the element of risk involved.

If it fails, God help its authors.

But if it is tried, and wins, it will win long before any aid of ours could arrive to prevent it. Which is another way of saying that, if the axis powers win at all, they must win quickly, which we cannot arrive in time to prevent. In a long war, they are sure to lose, whether we are involved against them or not.

It is high time that the myth of "invincible Germany" be exploded. As a matter of cold fact, the Germans are far less ready for war than they were in 1914, they lack the resources for a struggle of any duration, their Italian ally is the weakest and most vulnerable power in Europe, their economic and financial situation is uncertain (to say the least) and their armed forces are suffering the pains of a rebirth begun only four years ago. Not even Germans can overcome these obstacles to an extent which would permit them a chance of victory over two great powers—or perhaps three, if one is to include the Soviet Union as an enemy of Hitler.

(2) *Our people are not neutral in their sympathies, and those sympathies will involve us on the side of Great Britain and France.*

Granted that they are not neutral in their sympathies; one hesitates to believe that they are not realistic in their thinking. They have observed the catastrophe of Munich. They are noting the present hesitations and dilly-dallyings of the London and Paris governments. They appreciate quite well the characters of certain ministers in those governments. They appreciate even better the fact that the "peace" of Versailles was not an American peace, and that at the end of another war there is little likelihood of any better or more permanent result. They are not such fools as to suppose that any military victory can bring about peace in Europe unless and until the peoples of that continent make up their minds that there is nothing worthwhile to be gained by fighting—and implement that decision with realistic measures to keep the peace.

In other words, against the pull of emotional sympathy may be set the restraining influence of good American horse-sense—of which there is a great deal more in current American thought on this subject than there was in 1914-17. For this, we may largely thank the radio, which has kept us informed of the hour to hour occurrences of Munich and the succeeding crises.

If our natural sympathies for our former allies, for those whose ways of life and government more nearly approach our own than do the German ways, were suddenly to be fanned into a white-hot blaze of fury by some such occurrence as a German bombing of open cities, it is quite possible that emotion might overcome horse-sense. But the Germans cannot be without appreciation of that fact, which is one of the reasons why one may be permitted to doubt that they will ever adopt such methods of warfare.

(3) *We must stop the spread of dictatorship in order to make the world safe for democracy.*

This is an appealing idea, and is the father of all sorts of schemes and crusades to involve us in "measures short of war" against Germany, Italy, and Japan; embargoes, boycotts, and the like. But dictatorship is not imposed from without; it arises from internal causes. Germany is a dictatorship because despair (a despair

for which we are not without responsibility) drove the German people to accept Hitler as the lesser evil. Italy is a dictatorship because her governmental machinery had broken down and become so worthless that even the Italian people were sick of the resultant conditions. Russia is a dictatorship because of a lack of political, racial and economic coherence, and because her people have never known any other form of government. Japan is a dictatorship by inheritance and tradition.

It is of course true that three of these dictatorships have set out upon careers of conquest. Germany has absorbed Austria, a nation of German population where at least a considerable part of the populace desired absorption; she has overrun Czechoslovakia, a conquest the fruits of which are yet to be apparent. Italy has conquered Ethiopia, but has not derived much benefit therefrom; she has also seized Albania. Japan is engaged in an attempt to conquer China, which is a long way from being (at this writing) completely successful.

But one might suppose, from the attitude taken toward these occurrences by some American commentators, that the like had never before occurred in foreign parts during the history of this Republic. One might suppose that we had not observed the rise and fall of the Napoleonic Empire; that we had not been the spectators, during the past century, of the conquest, not of one African country, but of practically the whole of that continent by the French and British; that we had not seen the independence of a score of Indian states overturned by the British, or the reduction of Annam, Cambodia and Cochin-China, to say nothing of Madagascar, to vassalage by the French; that we had not witnessed a Russian army standing triumphantly on the necks of the Hungarian people, in Austria's interest, or observed the final partition of Poland amongst three as dictatorial monarchs as ever reigned in Europe.

One might, indeed, suppose that our acquisition of Florida, of California and Texas, of Puerto Rico and the Philippines had been the result of peaceful negotiations, and that our dealings with the Indians had been marked by the most scrupulous devotion to the principles of fair play, justice and democratic ideals.

U. S. Navy Recruiting Bureau

*Here are the great plane carriers, Saratoga and Lexington, seen at dusk from the crowded deck of the Ranger.*

If we are to interfere in arms every time "the good old rule, the simple plan, that those shall take who have the power and those may keep who can" is applied by a great power against a small one anywhere on this troubled planet, we shall have plenty to do, and we shall not last very long at the doing of it. Nor is our own past so free of questionable conduct as to make our moral position imposing to the gaze of impartial opinion.

One further and all-important consideration here intrudes itself—that war in Europe has become totalitarian in its nature, involving the full and co-ordinated effort of every citizen, every resource of the states involved in it. This is made clear by the preparations now being made in France and Britain—the handing over of dictatorial powers to the French premier, the adoption by Britain of conscription and a Ministry of Supply. In only one way can war be made successfully against a totalitarian power by other than totalitarian methods, and that is by the use of sea-power, which involves keeping the enemy at a safe distance by the use of a superior fleet backed up by a system of suitably located advanced bases protected by a highly trained and fully equipped regular army and long-range aircraft. The British learned and applied this lesson, and it was the basis of all their imperial expansion and matchless prosperity for two hundred years—save as to the aircraft, the invention of which exposed the British Isles to a form of attack with which their navy cannot deal, and is the basic cause of their present deplorable situation.

Today the United States is the one power which can successfully base her national defense upon a sea-power policy, because we are out of reach of any save sea-borne attack. Yet we are asked to make the world safe for democracy by interfering once more in the affairs of Europe. To do that with any weight, we should have to send our young men to die again on the ancient battlefields of that continent, and to keep them there we should have to adopt the same measures of totalitarian control which other powers must employ if they are to fight with any hope of victory. In other words, we must begin the defense of democracy in Europe—assuming it to exist there at all—by destroying our democracy at home with our own hands; we must abandon a position, presented to us by a merciful providence, in which we are amply able to defend our own democracy and the independence of our neighbors by weapons which free peoples may safely wield (the weapons of sea-power) and throw our fate and the future of our children into the cauldron of Europe's hates and blood-feuds.

THE people are more than six to one against sending American troops abroad. Moreover, they are not unanimously convinced of the perfect justness of the British and French case against Hitler. Even today—after all the Nazi government's exceedingly unpopular moves—nearly four Americans in ten think that Great Britain and France were unfair to Germany in the years immediately following the World War. A majority of Americans, even at this date, would favor a new international peace conference if it would settle the claims of Germany and Italy in a manner that gave any assurance of an honorable peace.

These are some of the things that make it impossible to predict what the American public's attitude might become upon an actual outbreak of fighting in Europe. Much would depend on the situation here and abroad, the American people's notion of who is responsible for the war and the type of war that might be waged. In view of America's sympathies it is likely that Herbert Hoover was not overstating the case when he said recently that an aerial bombardment of London or Paris by Field Marshal Goering's air force would extinguish all inclinations to neutrality in this country.

Certainly the American people would be immediately confronted with momentous questions. While technical questions of policy and defense belong to the nation's military and political leaders, the people themselves would have to define America's general goals. They are defining these general goals today in clearer terms than it was possible for them to do in 1914 or even in 1917.—*George Gallup, Director American Institute of Public Opinion, in the New York* Times Magazine.

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It may well be hoped that the American people will prove too intelligent to follow this senseless course. If the ideals upon which this Republic was founded are to continue to exist in this world—above all, the ideal of individual freedom, the superiority of the rights of the individual citizen to the rights of the state—it is here in our own land that they must be preserved. We may hope that they will flourish elsewhere; but democracy no more than fascism is an article of export—at least, not with arms in hand. If we succeed in preserving our own ways of life and government in our own land, we shall have done as much as posterity has any right to expect of us; and we shall have no inconsiderable difficulties to overcome, without adding to them the strains and risks of another armed crusade to Europe.

(4) *But we can and should do a great deal to support our friends in Europe besides sending armies to fight there.*

So we can; and so, no doubt, we shall. The seas are open to them, closed to the dictators. We should certainly be fools to deny Britain and France the right to purchase from us such goods and materials as we can sell them; for it is obviously to our interest that they shall be successful, if there is war in Europe. But it is not sufficiently to our interest so that we should send another A.E.F. across the ocean. We must not forget that we were told this same story last time: American troops weren't wanted, just American money and American munitions. Then it was announced that we would send just a token army—a division or two to "show the flag." We wound up with two million men in France, to say nothing of certain little sideshows such as Siberia and North Russia where a goodly number of American youths left their bones—for what purpose, or to what good end, no one today can tell. We must avoid participation to the extent that we become the economic partners of other countries, with a huge stake in their victory and a great vested interest pushing us toward war. We have the legal machinery at hand for such avoidance—the Johnson Act, which forbids additional American credits to states which have not paid their debts, and the financial controls which can prevent too rapid liquidation of foreign-held securities.

(5) *Yes, but our ships abroad will be fired on, or sunk, our citizens abroad will be molested, and then we shall be in it.*

We can keep our shipping out of war zones, and we can bring many of our citizens home. Of course we can't bring them all home, but we can take the measures for their protection which we have taken in the past, and which, on the whole, have proved both effective and safe. It might just as well be understood by all concerned that today, whether we like it or not, we are the predominant sea-power of the world, and that in the years to come our predominance will become more marked. It is a position not without its responsibilities, but it has also its benefits. The predominant sea-power, historically, has had a minimum of trouble in protecting its citizens and its shipping in foreign parts, and the use of its naval forces to afford such protection has rarely indeed been the cause of war.

Of course we may have to forbid our merchant ships, temporarily, from entering zones where they might get into trouble—the Mediterranean, perhaps, or the Baltic. This does not amount to isolation, nor to the destruction of our foreign trade—conclusions to which some people seem to leap very easily. It amounts to a temporary and local inconvenience, not unattended with financial loss to some of our citizens, but by no means either a permanent loss or an extensive one.

(6) *Peace is indivisible, and we cannot remain isolated from the world; we must accept our responsibilities.*

As for peace being indivisible, this is Old World philosophy. One wonders whether the condition of affairs would be improved by extending as far as possible the scope of such wars as may occur. No one expects us to remain isolated from the world, or to build a Chinese wall around our country or our continent. What we *can* do is to assure ourselves of the possession of the necessary military instruments to control the oceans which are the medium of our foreign contacts; and, with such control, to pre-

*(Continued on page 62)*

# Missouri's "Molly" Stark

## They all came from Missouri and didn't believe it could be done but the Governor showed them

GORDON HAMILTON

PARADOXICAL indeed was the tabulation of votes in the Second Ward of Kansas City, Missouri, at the close of the Democratic primary to select a candidate for Governor in 1936. Boss Tom Pendergast's midwestern version of Tammany Hall had ruled Kansas City for a generation, and it was in particularly good form that day. Its enthusiastic vote-counters tallied 19,202 ballots for the Boss's man, Lloyd Crow Stark. Stark's opponent was given an even dozen.

It was a famous victory, but—there was a catch in it. The trouble was that the number of people who lived in that ward—including Republicans, aliens, and babes-in-arms totalled only 18,478. Somewhere, something had slipped.

Stark won not only the Second Ward but the state as a whole; and he followed up his primary landslide by victory in the November election. But Tom Pendergast shrugged aside warnings that the new Governor might fail to heed his master's voice.

Today Pendergast former barroom bouncer who plunged into politics because "it looked like a good business to be in," has occasion to regret his misplaced confidence. For the Boss is under indictment, and will come to trial on June 12, charged with evading federal income tax to the tune of $265,465. And this difficulty with Uncle Sam is said to have resulted from a tip which Governor Stark passed along to Washington, charging that Pendergast had received a payoff of $315,000 in a compromise settlement of a $9,500,000 fund impounded by the courts during a dispute over fire-insurance rate increases.

Regardless of the outcome of the trial, "Tough Tom's" long-invincible machine is crumbling under Governor Stark's persistent attacks. The City Manager and Police Director of Kansas City have resigned from their jobs. The prosecuting attorney of the city and the former State Superintendent of Insurance have been indicted. The body of one of Pendergast's trusted lieutenants, who was to testify against the Boss, was found in the river—a suicide. Kansas City's narcotic and gambling rings have been smashed to smithereens.

*New York Times*

*Lloyd Crow Stark*

"Missouri," rejoices the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "emerges from the baleful shadow of a powerful corrupt tyranny. Our dictatorship has been dethroned. Democracy has been restored. Missouri is once again a sovereign State."

OVERNIGHT, Governor Stark has become the "Tom Dewey of Missouri" and one of the most prominent Democrats in the country. Trial balloons advertise him as a possible nominee for President. The *Kansas City Star*, which had crusaded against Pendergast, hails Stark as "a good bet as a compromise presidential candidate if the conservatives and extreme New Dealers find themselves in a serious deadlock over a candidate." Others insist that he is more modestly aiming to replace Harry Truman, Pendergast man, in the United States Senate in 1940.

As Governor, Lloyd Crow Stark has steered a course down the middle of the road. His guiding philosophy is: "I feel that the government should not take control over people's lives. What we must do is to give everyone an equal opportunity." He has balanced his budget, raising the sales tax to carry the load of relief.

Stark was a novice at politics when he was elected Governor three years ago, but his name had been prominent in the United States for two centuries—since the Starks fled from Scotland to Virginia in search of religious freedom. Known to every school child is the battle-cry General John Stark, first cousin of the Governor's great-great-great-grandfather, uttered before the Battle of Bennington in 1777:

"We'll lick the Red Coats today or Molly Stark's a widow."

General Stark's Green Mountain boys carried the day—not knowing that they were bequeathing to the present Governor of Missouri the embarrassing nickname "Molly."

Known also to most school children are "Stark's Delicious" apples and the slogan "Stark trees bear fruit." For Governor Stark today heads the Stark nursery, biggest of its kind in the country—specializing in apples just as Governor Aiken of Vermont, another nurseryman, specializes in wildflowers and raspberries. Since Stark has managed the business it has increased threefold. It employs one thousand men directly and has fifteen thousand salesmen scattered throughout the country.

The nursery business was handed down through the family from its founder, Stark's great-grandfather, who ran away from home at the age

## He Built the House that "Molly" Dismantled

THERE was a curious alignment in the first job Tom Pendergast held in Kansas City and the avocation he pursued as his chief means of relaxation in later years as a political boss and a wealthy businessman. His great pleasure was horse race betting. His first job of consequence was acting as cashier of a concession of a Kansas City race track.

Aside from the political dynasty he has created, Pendergast's only likeness other than race and religion with Frank Hague, boss of the Jersey City Democratic machine, is a passion for the horses. Where Hague revels in ostentation, public appearances, flashy clothing, and a bubbling constant wrath that a biographer once said is equalled only by Donald Duck's, Pendergast is retiring, rarely seen in public, conservatively clothed, direct and cool in his demeanor.

Among horse people, he was regarded as one of the nation's heaviest bettors until his illness three years ago. A racing publication said in 1936 that his losses for the preceding year had mounted high into six figures. He was in his office at 1908 Main Street at six o'clock each morning, saw the long line of visitors, but when noon came, 'Cap" Matheus, his Kentucky-bred secretary and major domo, cleared the reception room, brought Pendergast his lunch, and the boss became a student (if business affairs were in hand) of the Racing Form.

*Fitzpatrick—The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

*The winnah—"Molly" Stark!*

Rumor said his individual bets ran high. He was not what horse parlance calls a "plunger"—the bettor who bides his time, finds something good, and places all the money at his disposal on that selection. He bet several races daily. A friend once described his ability as much better in picking political winners than the horses.

He bet little in the last year or two. He said to a friend one day: "I had to slow down. The bookies from the Atlantic to the Pacific began to think I was their biggest sucker."

He himself owned a string of horses. Only a few of them were rated highly.

*—Kansas City Star*

of fourteen to fight in the War of 1812 and four years later settled in the town of Louisiana on the Mississippi River, ninety miles north of St. Louis.

From that section of Missouri came Mark Twain, Eugene Field, and John J. Pershing. A few miles down the road lived Champ Clark, who taught Governor Stark's father in school and was deprived of the Democratic nomination for President, in 1912, by the two-thirds rule. Champ Clark got young Lloyd Stark an appointment to the Naval Academy at Annapolis—little knowing that today Stark, as Governor, may displace his son, Senator Bennett Champ Clark, as Missouri's favorite in 1940.

Graduating "with credit" from Annapolis, Stark served on submarines and on the battleship *Montana*, resigning in 1912 to take over the nursery business. One day after America entered the World War, he asked reinstatement in the Navy, and when action on his application was dilatory he enlisted instead in the Army. As a captain of artillery he served under fire in the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne offensives, later rose to the rank of Major. When the war ended, he returned to the nursery.

In 1928 a bee began to buzz in his bonnet. A speaker at a banquet, complimenting him for leading a campaign for a $75,000,000 bond issue for rural roads, predicted that some day Stark would be Governor. From that time on, the fruit-grower yearned to make that prediction come true.

In 1932 Pendergast vetoed the selection of the nurseryman. But four years later the Boss took a chance, conceding that "Ten men spoke for Stark when one spoke for all other Democratic candidates." Boss Tom saw his mistake after the election, when Stark refused to consult him on appointments and even had the effrontery to inquire into the qualifications of office-seekers.

The first open break with Pendergast came in 1937, when Stark appointed James M. Douglas to fill a vacancy on the State Supreme Court. "The Pendergast organization wanted the Supreme Court," Stark later explained. "They were not so much concerned with who was appointed just so it was an 'organization' man. Douglas was not such a man."

The lines of battle were drawn. In the 1938 primary to fill the court seat permanently, Stark stuck to Judge Douglas over Pendergast's opposition, stumped the state for him, even carried the fight into Kansas City itself. That was as if Edouard Benes were to mount a soapbox in Berlin and plead for Czech independence.

Stark's candidate was selected; Pendergast was licked. And then the Governor felt strong enough to fumigate Kansas City's "stench in the nostrils of decent citizens."

Stark has the puissance to accomplish that job where dozens of other reformers have failed. He is sure of himself, is used to giving orders and having them obeyed. He speaks slowly but strongly and confidently. He is a hard worker, stays at his office till six o'clock in the evening, and plugs on at home until late at night.

A six-footer, he retains a trim figure and a well-knit military bearing. He dresses neatly, conservatively. He is young-looking in appearance, more a typical country gentleman than a politician. He has two grown sons by his first wife, who died in 1930, and by his charming second wife, two young daughters.

His hobbies are horses, fishing, and hunting. His military marksmanship has not left him: he likes to talk about one shot of his that pierced the heart of a wild boar, came out the animal's side and drilled a wild turkey through the head. That was the best shot he ever made—until he hit the Tammany Tiger of Boss Tom Pendergast.

# Bargains by Barter

## Germany, foremost exponent of barter, is trying one form after another of economic black magic

HENRY C. WOLFE and ROBERT STRAUSZ-HUPÉ

WHEN Prime Minister Chamberlain told the House of Commons on May 4 that Great Britain and the United States were negotiating a mammoth exchange of rubber and tin for wheat and cotton, there was headshaking here and abroad.

This was barter, an abnormal method of trading which the conservative democracies were supposed to abhor. This was the kind of deal the Germans excelled at, the device they were pursuing to oust Great Britain and the United States from the rich markets of South America, the Balkans, and the Near East. Chamberlain's announcement seemed but another indication of world confusion, even an admission by the democracies that hereafter they might be forced to play the game according to totalitarian rules.

The deal that is pending between Britain and the United States certainly is barter—but with a difference. In the first place it involves governments directly, not individuals. Secondly, it is non-commercial—that is, the basic commodities in question, our surplus wheat and cotton, and Britain's rubber and tin, would never find their way into an open market. On both sides the deal would stand as a defense measure, a storing up of essential materials against the drain of war. But whatever the reason for it, it is plain barter after all, an attempt, unthinkable ten years ago, to solve an economic dilemma by extraordinary methods. Perhaps the present British-American discussions are a portent of things to come, perhaps merely a temporary dislocation in a befuddled world, but in any event the news provides an ironic twist in the history of the oldest trading method known to man.

Barter was practiced in prehistoric times. The caveman who killed a deer and exchanged part of the carcass for a bone fish-hook was carrying on a barter trade. Later, when man progressed toward a higher standard of living, barter flourished in the ancient civilizations of the Near East. Galleys sailed from port to port in the Mediterranean, exchanging the materials and products of one region for those of another. This system was the principal means by which goods were exchanged in medieval times. The peasant, for instance, brought to city markets and fairs the grain and poultry he raised in the country, returning home with cloth and farm implements manufactured in the city. When money came into general use, barter became less important. It was still used, of course—witness the American country store and the mining community trading post—but it was no longer the principal method of transacting business.

The man of business, no longer satisfied with two-way methods, wanted to take what he received from the sale of his product and buy where he pleased. With money in hand he was no longer compelled to accept the product a particular customer had to offer. Wider distribution of money stimulated international trade enormously by speeding up the exchange of goods and thereby preparing the way for modern capitalism.


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If, then, human experience has proved that the use of money is preferable to barter, why are we and other countries returning to this ancient and out-moded method of commerce? The answer is that we are living in an abnormal economic society, in which the return to barter may be a symptom of the decline of the capitalistic system. Perhaps, amid the fear and imminence of war, we are seeing the initiation of a system that will supplant capitalism.

War always sharpens social and economic trends, but it also destroys and disrupts. Since 1914 the world has been unable to return to the comparatively unrestricted international trade of pre-war days. In the last twenty years, by erecting high tariff walls to protect their own commerce and industry, nations have tried to sell much, buying little. This attitude compels them to try to live within their means. It is the father of *Autarkie*—what we call economic self-sufficiency. But the catch is that few, if any, nations can isolate themselves economically. So those lacking enough foreign exchange to finance their deficiencies have been forced to resort to barter.

Such an eventuality should not greatly concern the United States, provided barter deals between foreign countries do not affect us. Unfortunately they often affect us directly. Let us say we are selling farm machinery to nation A. We cannot buy nation A's wheat because we have more wheat than we can use. So nation A sells its wheat to nation B for cash. But along comes nation C and offers to exchange its farm machinery to nation A for wheat. Nation A says to itself: "The United States does not buy our wheat. So why not exchange our wheat directly with nation C for the machinery that we have been buying from the Americans?" The barter deal is made. Nation A receives the machinery; nation C receives the wheat. And we Americans

have lost an export market for the machinery—or whatever we have been selling to nation A. Obviously, we cannot afford to be nonchalant under such circumstances.

When we hear the word barter, we naturally think of Germany. The Reich is its foremost practitioner in the world today, although even Herr Hitler does not believe that barter is the best avenue for international business. If the Nazis had enough money, they would buy when and where they pleased, but lacking reserves, they justify barter trade on the ground of necessity. In his speech before the Reichstag on April 28, blaming virtually all Germany's (and Europe's) economic ills on the Treaty of Versailles, Hitler declared that "these democratic peace dictators destroyed world economy with their Versailles madness." In the next breath he explained that the Versailles pact created conditions that "increased development of autarchic tendencies and, thus, extinction of general conditions of world economy which had hitherto existed."

Few independent observers, however, agree with Herr Hitler's explanation. They believe that the Reich's present economic plight should be attributed in no small degree to Nazi political and military policies. Huge armaments are draining the economic life blood of a country that is poor in soil and minerals, deficient in gold reserves and lacking in colonial natural resources. To meet the constantly and rapidly mounting costs of armament, the Reich has been compelled to resort to one financial adventure after another. "Brown Bolshevism" is the name given this system of forced loans, confiscation and financial legerdemain. The Germans are finding that financial rabbits are progressively more difficult to conjure from the hat of bankruptcy. And always in the back of German minds is the fear of inflation.

Next to war Germany dreads inflation most. All her people past twenty-five remember the catastrophic deluge of paper marks that engulfed them sixteen years ago, destroying the purchasing power of savings, insurance policies, bonds and fixed income securities, impoverishing the lower middle class, the backbone of the German democracy. This debacle contributed to the elevation of an obscure Austrian agitator to the position of dictator of the Reich.

Several years later, when Hitler needed an economic "miracle worker" to provide Germany with money and at the same time ward off inflation, he turned to Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, President of the Reichsbank. This man in the picturesque high collar has been called by Montagu Norman "the greatest living central banker." As the head of Germany's financial system he had need of all his ability.

Without loss of time he plunged into a campaign to bind the smaller Central European nations to Germany by means of barter deals.

How well has he succeeded? Some of the answers have appeared in the *Ost-Europäischer Volkswirt*. It reports that in 1932 Germany sold Rumania 28.6 per cent of Rumania's imports; in 1937, 40.1 per cent. Britain, on the other hand, had lost 0.8 per cent of Rumania's import trade during that same period. In Greece the German percentage mounted from 11.9 per cent to 30.2 per cent, but the British share dropped 2.6 per cent. In Turkey Dr. Schacht's trade moved up from 25.3 per cent to 43.7 per cent. These statistics tell at least a partial story of the Reich's trade drive in three countries of Southeastern Europe and the Near East.

But there is another side to the picture. Let us see how this barter trade worked in practice instead of figures. Greece, for example, producing an export surplus of tobacco, olive oil, currants and raisins, needs Germany's sewing machines, textiles, electrical equipment, tools, chemicals and household utensils. In theory a barter deal would, in this case, seem to be an excellent arrangement for both parties. However, this is the way it really worked out: Germany received the shipments of Greek agricultural products, but when barter trains from the Reich reached Greek freight yards, they contained, not sewing machines and electrical equipment, but hundreds of thousands of mouth organs!

The Yugoslavs and Rumanians have had similar experiences. Like the Greeks, the Yugoslavs shipped large quantities of raw materials to Germany, and in return wanted and expected machinery and consumers' goods. Instead, they found the Nazis had shipped them—who knows with what sadistic intent?—enormous quantities of aspirin. The Rumanians fared little better. Their peasants had harvested food for the hungry Reich, their forests had grown timber, their oil wells had been drilled for this most basic of lubricants. And what manufactured products did the Reich's freight cars unload in Rumania? Just the thing for a peasant population—thousands of German typewriters.

Aside from these semi-ludicrous episodes there are other implications in a German barter deal. In a relatively free world economy the Hungarian wheat grower, for example, would sell his grain where he could obtain the best market. That might be in Germany, or it might be in some other country. But tariffs, trade quotas and other commerce restrictions of the post-war world block the arteries of business so that normal market outlets are closed to him, and he must sell, if he sells at all, under severe handicaps. Indeed, he must nearly always sell on the buyer's terms. When that buyer happens to be Hitler, these

terms are extremely hard. In return for his wheat the producer may have to accept some article that he cannot use, and must, therefore, sell it to some one else, and at a low price. In other words, he has to barter the grain, then try to sell the barter goods (it may be mouth organs, or typewriters or aspirin) which he has received from his German purchaser. During 1938, 41 per cent of Hungary's exports were being taken by Germany. And 44 per cent of Hungary's imports came from the Reich. This state of affairs is economic vassalage.

Now let us see what Germany does with her wheat from Hungary. If she doesn't use it herself she may try to barter it for some product that she needs, or she may try to sell it for cash. But, one asks, if Germany can sell the grain for cash, why couldn't the Hungarians do the same in the first place? The answer is simple: the Reich may sell the grain considerably under the world market price, even under the price paid to the Hungarian grower. By debasing a world price, itself normally regulated by supply and demand, she has concluded what is, unquestionably, an uneconomic transaction.

ALTHOUGH any operation that affects a world price affects the United States, we are particularly concerned with Germany's efforts in South America. During the first nine months of 1938, she sent 12.2 per cent of her exports to Latin America. This compares with only 4.1 per cent in 1932. In that year Brazil, the largest nation of South America, purchased $2,101,782 worth of farm machinery from Germany. During the same period she bought only $572,236 of the same import from the United States. (Argentina, by the way, bought $1,031,010 worth of farm machinery from Germany, but only $415,342 from the United States.) As it happens, Brazil has a coffee surplus, but Germany has no coffee production of her own, nor has she any foreign exchange with which to buy Brazilian coffee. For some of the coffee the Reich barters manufactured goods; for the remainder she must pay cash. So Hitler sends the Brazilians special *aski* marks, worthless except for the purchase of German goods from Germany. The holder, unable to exchange *aski* marks for dollars, pounds, or francs, can only use them to buy

*Funk: German Economics Minister*

something that Germany wants to sell.

The Brazilians cannot use *aski* marks to meet their indebtedness to any other country than Germany, and must, therefore, purchase German goods they might be able to buy more profitably from some other country. In paying Brazil these *aski* marks Germany does not lose any of her own meagre foreign exchange reserves.

In addition to this the Brazilian coffee may never reach the Reich. Hitler may trade some of it to the Soviet Union for manganese, some to the Dutch for tin and rubber, some to Swedes for iron ore—or he may elect to sell it in the open market for cash, possibly at a figure ruinous to the world price. If he must have foreign currency for essential military purchases from countries with which he cannot make a barter agreement, then he must sell the coffee for what he can get. Dumping it on the world market is one way to obtain dollars, pounds, guilders and francs. Of course such dumping not only depresses raw material prices the world over; it adversely affects all producers—indirectly, all consumers, too. This economic policy ultimately must lead to disaster.

How such autarchic methods are working out at home can be seen from recent figures. Last year, enlarged Germany bought 432,400,000 marks worth of goods more than she sold. In 1937, she sold 443,000,000 marks in goods more than she bought. This means that Germany's trade position has shifted its trade volume to the extent of 875,400,000 Reichsmarks in two years. In the first three months of 1939, greater Germany's March exports came to 480,500,000 marks. This was an increase of nearly 70,000,000 marks over February. The Reich's imports amounted to 504,200,000 marks, an increase of 32,700,000 over the preceding month. Germany's trade deficit for February was 60,500,000 marks. But even with this so-called improvement, the Greater Reich bought goods worth 115,200,000 marks more than she sold for the same period.

These economic experiments have had political repercussions. In January, Dr. Schacht was dismissed and his job was given to Dr. Funk, a Nazi journalist, whose loyalty to Hitler and Nazism is equalled only by his lack of experience in finance and economy. Dr. Funk and his fellow Nazis maintain that there is no danger of another disastrous inflation. They argue, that, because Germans are borrowing from themselves to make the barter trade and armaments possible, there is no real national debt; they simply owe the money to themselves. They claim, too, that it is impossible to have currency inflation in the presence of the Nazi state-controlled wages and prices.

But orthodox economists in the Reich and abroad point out that since Hitler came to power the cost of living in Germany has been rising. Thus real wages have gone down. And as these wages go down, the peoples' purchasing power drops. How much the Reich really owes is a state secret, but it is no state secret that economic conditions in Germany are steadily deteriorating. On January 30 of this year, Hitler admitted as much when he said that Germany must "export or die!"

Here is where the United States comes into the picture again. In an effort to export rather than die, the Reich is waging a renewed drive to win the markets of Latin America. Our next-door neighbor, Mexico, with an anti-Fascist government, has nevertheless been dealing on a barter basis with Germany. American oil producers complain that the oil, seized by the Mexican government, is being bartered to the Reich to supply the Nazis' mechanized Army and armament industry. Mexico retorts that she has no place else to sell it. In return for the oil, Hitler trades armaments and consumers' goods to

*(Continued on page 63)*

# Try to Make Nazis Out of Us!

## German-Americans whose fathers made rich contributions to our national life hold militarism and oppression in horror

### WILLIAM SEABROOK

HEIL HITLER! From Nordic German Rhinebeck—on the Hudson.

Your Ministry of Propaganda has succeeded in awakening us to the fact that we, along with perhaps thirty million others in this United States of ours, are of predominantly Aryan German origin. We had almost forgotten it. We've been Yankees so long. But our town was originally named *Rheinbach*, after the village in Rhenish Prussia from which, in 1715, our first settlers came. And though many of our own names have been anglicized, in our veins there flows the thickest, best Teutonic Nordic blood on earth.

And now you have under way a consistent drive to warm up that German blood—in the hope of lining up for your own purposes all ancestrally Aryan Germans in America. Few people realize how ambitious your drive is, or that your Nazis are compiling a card-index of all German families who migrated to America—and following up their descendants with Nazi blood-brotherhood propaganda. We are being assured that Nazism is a world movement bound to end in Teutonic domination of America, and are invited to get aboard the band wagon. This propaganda is even being disseminated by circulars and letters sent direct to us Americans of German ancestry, designed to persuade us to become *Amerikaner* instead of plain American.

Well, since you're telling us you know we're "Nazi at heart," it's going to be nice to let you hear from us in turn. For myself, my middle name is Bühler (with the umlaut, mind you!). I'm blond, blue-eyed, flat-nosed, Prussian, Lutheran. And I loathe everything you stand for. And so do my *Amerikaner* neighbors. It's not because of what you've been doing to German Lutherans, Catholics, Czechs, Poles, Jews, so much as be-

cause of what you would do, if you could, to everything that's free, honest and decent on earth.

I own ten acres up a back road here that was originally cut through virgin forest by blond Nordic Germans who had fled the Fatherland to escape the same sort of persecution, torture and military madness that are again clutching Germany. Our road runs to Wurtemburg, past farms still owned by Lutzes, Marquardts, Schultzes, Ackerts and Hartmanns, who all hold you in horror because they believe you are a menace to decency and civilization.

I know exactly what they think of you, because I've been talking with them by the score. With the *Amerikaner* pastor of our Lutheran church; with Jay Holsapple, of the A & P; with our local plumbers, the Sipperly brothers; with Ethan Coon, the violet grower; with Ostroms, Schryvers, Treibers and Schaads. They're Aryan Germans by ancestry, every one of them—and every one of them spoke of you with epithets the least bitter of which were "beast" and "mad dog."

Doc Cookingham, whose forebears spelt it Kuchenheim, said you were "a worse scourge to the human race than the bubonic plague"; and Hot Hotten, whose father still spells it Hottüng, said you were "the cruelest and craziest tyrant since Nero."

I interviewed our leading professional men and three fourths of the merchants on Main Street. I picked only those of known Christian German ancestry. Unanimously they think you're "the most evil single influence in the world today."

The response of these German-American neighbors of mine is the best answer to the question that many people are asking: "Will Hitler's propaganda for German racial unity take hold in America?" It won't.

I think it has no more chance among the Germans in the rest of America than among the Germans in German-founded Rhinebeck.

With childish naïveté, the Nazis tell us this is "Unser Amerika." You bet your boots it's "Our America" in the deepest sense: we helped build it, we love it, and we are just as much a part of it as anybody who hailed from London, Edinburgh or Donegal. What the Nazis blindly overlook is that our Germanic ancestors came over here precisely to get away from the Hitlers and storm troopers of their day—and that in the process of making America "ours," we have made ourselves "America's."

BY their own pretensions, the Nazi propagandists for German blood brotherhood hope to make Nazi sympathizers out of all our Rockefellers, Wanamakers, Woolworths, Chryslers, Schwabs, Drexels, Astors, Pulitzers; out of Herbert Hoover; out of Babe Ruth, along with about a third of our big-league baseball stars; out of Walter Damrosch and about a third of all who conduct and play our symphonies; out of Lowell Thomas and Hans Kaltenborn.

"If you're of German descent," the Nazis say, "you are German always, owing loyalty to the German Reich." That would include Clark Gable; the Hersheys of chocolate fame; the bulk

of St. Louis, more or less, including Charles Nagel, long-time vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and Adolphus Busch who built American submarines during the World War; a fourth of all Chicago, and the mayors of many neighboring cities; Cardinal Mundelein; much of Pennsylvania, except the Quakers; Hans Zinsser, America's greatest bacteriologist, whose name can stand for some thousands of famous American scientists of Christian Aryan German blood; a good fourth of all our farming population, including all those who followed Carl Schurz over here seeking *liberty from the kind of thing that* now goes on in Germany; the bulk of Baltimore, including Otto Ortmann, Director of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, and, for good measure, H. L. Mencken.

WILLIAM SEABROOK is both writer and adventurer. Between his various explorations, which include trips to the Arabian mountains, the Sahara, Kurdistan and Haiti, he has managed to write frequently for leading periodicals in this country and Europe. He started his career as a reporter in Augusta, Georgia, more than thirty years ago and held a similar position on the *New York Times* for a brief period during the war. Since then, he has traveled widely and has free-lanced. He is best known for his *Asylum*, published in 1935. Other books include *Adventures in Arabia, The Magic Island* and *The White Monk of Timbuctoo.*

THEY'RE going to make Nazi sympathizers too out of all the descendants of Molly Pitcher who was born Maria Ludwig; General Custer; Barbara Frietchie; a half dozen Civil War generals; World War colonels and doughboys; the Ringling Brothers; and John Philip Sousa, half German, who wrote *The Stars and Stripes Forever!* You can go on with this yourself, adding cities, sections, individuals, and the further you go the crazier it gets.

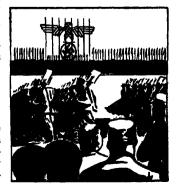
To Hitler I say: If you focus attention on Germany's historic contributions to America, as your propagandists have been doing, you are much more likely to make democrats out of decent Germans in Germany than to make Nazis out of our Germans over here. For, when you consider what those contributions are, it follows inevitably that descendants of the people who made them, whether living here or gagged in Germany, could never normally hold militarism and oppression in anything but horror.

The kindergarten, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, our American Youth Hostels, the models on which our great liberal universities are based, are all German in origin. Germany gave us Martin Luther's church whose followers defend the right of Catholics, Jews, and everybody else to worship God as they see fit. German Americans, clasping hands with the Quakers, gave us our abhorrence of aggressive militarism. Incidentally, our Bach choral festivals came from the Moravians who, along with the Mennonites, are pure German "Pennsylvania Dutch." Try indeed to make Nazis out of those peaceful people!

GERMAN AMERICANS have given us much of the everyday color and texture of American life—our comic strips, hot dogs, animal crackers, Brooklyn Bridge, Funk & Wagnalls' *Standard Dictionary,* along with many of our Colonial Dames and Daughters of the American Revolution. Germans gave us Bausch & Lomb's lenses; the linotype machine; the Bethlehem Steel Company; the Frick Locomotive works; music, hiking, pickles, waffles—and stopped Pickett's charge at Gettysburg.

**Yet I'm wondering whether the greatest German contribution of all hasn't been simply the average German's patience, thrift and cleanly pride in slow, honest, lasting, self-respecting work.** It has certainly been of priceless value in our often-too-hurried American national life. Under the surface of our seeming haste their solid craftsmanship has done a lot to help keep us sound. The German artisan, the German craftsman, the German farmer and German storekeeper, are inextricably woven into the fabric of America.

I am not ignoring the existence of Fritz Kuhn's bunds, of Nazi sympathizers and propagandists. But no matter how much noise they make they are merely a ridiculous minority when balanced against our twenty or thirty million Americans of German ancestry who help to man, have manned and will man again our fortress of democracy against the aggression of tyrants.

Indeed, one of them may lead us again, as an *Amerikaner* did in the war against the Kaiser. His name was John J. Pershing and his family spelled it Pförchin as late as 1860. Try, indeed, to make Nazis out of us!

# Radio: Here's Looking At It

## Still dozens of difficult problems to iron out but television in general use is not far away

BEN GROSS
*Radio Editor of the New York Daily News*

WHEN the New York World's Fair is but a footnote in history, its opening day, April 30, 1939, will still be remembered. The annals of these times will record it as the occasion on which President Roosevelt, delivering the dedication address, served as the subject of the first program of the first regular high definition television service in this country.

It is certain that visual broadcasting will some day exert a greater influence on the daily lives, the amusements and reading habits of the masses than either the motion pictures or the radio. The inevitable changes, however, will not come overnight.

Radio, as we know it today, had its birth in November 1920, when Station KDKA of Pittsburgh broadcast the returns of the Harding-Cox election. Almost two years elapsed before the first sponsored program took the air over WEAF of New York, August 28, 1922. And it wasn't until around 1925 that the effects of air entertainment became pronounced enough to attract the serious or satirical comments of the pundits and the humorists.

Television's growth will be slower than that of sound transmission; at present it is still like a streamlined train—without a route chart or a time table. The engineer knows where he is going, but not how or when he will get there. Technical and financial obstacles are responsible for this uncertainty.

Television in the United States, just as radio, is a privately owned and operated enterprise. So it, too, must depend on the sponsored or advertising type of program for its existence. Important sponsors, however, must have national or network coverage for their presentations, an impossibility at this stage of visual broadcasting. Although the Radio Corporation of America, the National Broadcasting Company, and the Columbia Broadcasting System have spent more than $13,000,000 in experimentation during the last five years, the maximum range of a picture transmitter is still only fifty-five miles.

Furthermore, sight stations cannot be linked into networks, as radio studios are, by means of telephone wires. Only a coaxial cable, which is a copper wire within a copper tube, can serve as a physical connection between stations. But its cost is prohibitive.

Lenox R. Lohr, president of the National Broadcasting Company, testifying recently before the Federal Communications Commission, estimated that a coast-to-coast coaxial would demand a minimum investment of $100,000,000. It would be less expensive to send programs from station to station via the airwaves by a series of relay transmitters, erected forty to fifty miles apart, but this, too, is very expensive.

An even greater barrier against too rapid development is the necessity of using ultra-high frequencies for picture transmission. Under the existing system, the transmitter signals fill so much space in the ether, that there simply would not be room enough for anything like the seven hundred radio stations now operating in the United States.

*Columbia Broadcasting System's ace television team, Gilbert Seldes (left) and Dr. Peter Goldmark.*

Equally troublesome are the monumental budgets confronting sponsors on the video lanes. A full hour variety show of the Fred Allen or Jack Benny grade, on a coast-to-coast radio hookup, costs somewhere between $25,000 and $30,000. On a television chain of like coverage it would jump to $75,000.

A one hour sight show may need from forty to fifty hours of rehearsal, instead of the ten or fifteen hours devoted to a similar sound broadcasting entertainment. Unlike the radio performer, the television player must memorize lines, put on makeup, wear costumes, take direction and master the complicated art of always being within proper focus of the camera. This requires lengthy practice which must be paid for at union rates. Add to this the expenditures for scenery, props, equipment and the high salaries to big staffs of technicians and producers, and it becomes apparent why this is no small timers' game.

Obviously, a sponsor can afford to spend such big sums only if his programs be seen by a vast enough number of prospective customers. But today, while sight transmission is, frankly, still in an experimental state, only a very few of such prospective customers own picture receiving sets. Thus, it is up to the television broadcasters to create an audience for prospective advertising clients by creating entertainments of such wide interest that millions will desire to witness them. Such an undertaking will demand much capital and considerable time.

Although broadcasters admit that most of the programs heard over the air today may eventually be televised, they insist that there will always be a demand for the conventional sound programs. A lecture on philosophy, for example, needs no pictures to make it more effective. Also, a two

hour concert of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra will please the music lovers just as much, without trick shots of the camera showing close-ups of the maestro's hands or panoramic views of Carnegie Hall.

Another point in favor of the survival of present-day radio in some form is that it demands far less concentration than television. A housewife, washing dishes in her kitchen, may listen to an exciting serial emanating from a receiver in the next room, or a family group, in the evening, may have its set turned on while reading or playing bridge. Such casual eavesdropping will not suffice for the visual form of entertainment. First, the room must be darkened; then, the listener-spectator must sit or stand close to the set, giving undivided attention to the images produced by the cathode ray tube on the tiny screen.

Even so, the radio companies, which control television, are making ready for a revolutionary change, one comparable to that created in Hollywood, when talking pictures displaced the silent features. A vast proportion of microphone players and directors may give way to those having movie or stage experience. Many of the former are now seeking engagements in Summer stock companies or studying under dramatic coaches to prepare themselves for the battle with the camera. And perhaps still more significant, two New York plastic surgeons have opened "television hospitals" for the remodeling of performers' faces!

HOLLYWOOD, just as Radio City, is putting up a brave front but it, too, cannot disguise its concern. All television entertainment, as seen over the receiver, is in itself a species of the motion pictures. So it's not surprising that broadcasters are planning to fill a considerable part of their schedules with the showing of films. NBC, in the New York area, is televising twenty-three hours of movies, ranging from newsreels, cartoons, old issues of "The March of Time," to condensed versions of old features, such as "Gunga Din."

How will this affect the motion picture box office? Producers admit that even one telecasting of a full-length feature (which may cost from $500,000 up) over a limited group of stations, would do considerable damage to its profit-making possibilities. To ward off such a menace and yet cash in on the new medium, Hollywood is playing with the idea of a new type of film which will not compete with its regular products. Special newsreels, comedies, travelogues, serials and even feature productions are being considered. Paramount Pictures, in fact, has already become part of the television industry by the purchase of an interest in the Allen B. Du Mont Laboratories, Inc., a manufacturer of receiving sets.

*In five years these television cameras may look as antedated as the earliest radio microphones do today.*

Other movie companies may do likewise but this may not solve the box-office question. Will not the generous serving of these special films diminish the attendance at the theaters? If the effects of radio may be used as a criterion, then the answer must be an emphatic "yes."

Just a few months ago, picture exhibitors throughout the country revolted against the presence on the air of so many Hollywood stars. Variety and dramatic programs, featuring an abundance of movie celebrities, they complained, were keeping their patrons home. Twentieth Century-Fox was alarmed sufficiently to order one of its most profitable players, Tyrone Power, off the ether lanes. In televised entertainment, the public not only hears but also *sees* the performers; so it is almost certain that picture producers will either forbid or carefully regulate appearances of their stellar properties before the iconoscope of the television camera. For this new branch of film-making the companies will draft the services of stock players and minor writers.

Because these pictures will be shown to the world's most heterogeneous audience, stories will be keyed to an even greater popular appeal than that of the movies. As a result, film houses, in order to survive against this free competition, may take it upon themselves to present a better grade of entertainment.

In the New York metropolitan area, within a fifty-five mile radius of the Empire State Building, where NBC has installed its transmitter, and within the same radius of the Chrysler Tower, where CBS begins its transmitting in June, there are approximately ten million persons. But on the day President Roosevelt was televised not two hundred of them had television sets. The prices, ranging from around $175 to more than $600, of course, had something to do with that. Nevertheless, the gigantic ballyhoo heralding the birth of this new industry has led retail dealers to anticipate a steadily-growing demand.

With so many hurdles, many unbiased observers believe that it will be five, ten or even fifteen years before sight broadcasting can approach the current status of radio. However, they do not express their doubts too emphatically. They know that engineers are trying to devise some method of linking stations which will not be more expensive than that used in sound broadcasting. Also, that scientists are striving for a means of transmitting visual signals on lower frequencies. They realize, too, that studios will eventually find some way to reduce rehearsal and production costs. As for the steep sales prices of receivers, mass manufacturing will undoubtedly bring them within range of the popular purse.

*"Shooting" a television scene. Unlike moving pictures, visual radio scenes must be screened consecutively and in immediate sequence. A National Broadcasting Company television set is shown in action.*

It was no quixotic gesture, therefore, for the two national networks, NBC and CBS, to plan to spend millions on television programs at an average cost of $2500 an hour. Each has already booked two sixty-minute studio shows a week, in addition to the transmission of motion picture films and the pickups of outside events by portable camera units.

Major responsibility for the gathering of a vast audience of lookers-in rests on two men: Thomas H. Hutchinson and Gilbert Seldes, television program directors of NBC and CBS respectively. Hutchinson, a former actor, and Seldes, a former newspaper man and critic of the arts, have invaded already many realms in search of suitable visual bait. The mass of their presentations will be drawn from news events, such as political campaigns, official ceremonies, sports and spectacular disasters; opera, musical comedy; concerts, both popular and symphonic; studio dramas; sight acts including juggling, dancing, magic and acrobatics; special films and newsreels; fashions and domestic science; commentaries on world affairs, such as those of H. V. Kaltenborn, illustrated at times with animated maps and dramatized incidents; straight talks and out-and-out educational features.

Already experimental telecasting, both here and in England, has shown that news broadcasts are by far the most popular of all televised items. If these reflections of real life are of such major interest to the looker-in of today, when even the best receivers display pictures on a "screen" only seven and one-half by ten inches, how much more will they attract the spectator in the near future, when the images will be reproduced on a full-sized home picture screen?

Politicians are losing no time in the charting of the inevitable role of sight broadcasting in public affairs. If not in 1940, then surely by 1944, not only the microphone personality but also the photogenic quality of a candidate may be a vital consideration in his election. In this connection, experts place their money on President Roosevelt and District Attorney Dewey of New York as men most ideally suited for appearances before the television camera.

For this new medium, orators will have to acquire a new technique, one combining force with a restrained manner. The hand-waving, hammy style of spellbinding, already considerably subdued by the radio, appears unspeakably ridiculous over the home receiver. The handsome candidate, but not necessarily the best looking one, will have a definite advantage. Good physique, clearly defined features, a strong chin and flashing eyes will sway many voters, especially feminine ones. Mere logic will have a harder fight than ever.

Much sooner, however, than in politics, visual broadcasting will bring changes in its two allied fields of entertainment, radio and movies.

Just as Hollywood took over, advantageously, certain categories of plays from the theater (mystery stories, thrillers, obvious farces and spectacular presentations) so will television, in the long run, lay claim to the boy-meets-girl formula and other stencils of the movies.

As for the legitimate stage, most likely it will be the least affected of any of the amusement enterprises. Its patrons, despite the multitude of good radio programs, will not be kept away by television. For a limited but highly cultivated group, the well written, expertly acted flesh and blood comedy or drama will always be the ultimate in dramatic entertainment.

Unlike those in the theater, however, the big-wigs of the press are indulging in a display of old-fashioned breath-holding. Their histrionics arise from the fear that television may soon become a nation-wide advertising medium. But it must be said that no newspaper man, whether copy boy or publisher, believes the home picture receiver will ever supplant the daily newsprint. After all, the image on the television screen is but a fleeting vision. It demands the presence of the spectator at a specific place, at a specific time; and most persons cannot so restrict their movements as to be always within sight of a picture machine.

EVEN if one could see every news item flashed on a visual receiver, the chances are he would still be impelled to buy a newspaper. Those who have attended first nights of plays, sports exhibitions or witnessed accidents are invariably eager to seek confirmation of their impressions in the printed word. During the Munich crisis, radios of this country blared forth the greatest amount of wordage ever devoted to a news event. Yet, far from curtailing the sales of papers, circulations throughout the land jumped to record heights during this period. It is more likely that development of facsimile radio, a device which prints newspapers in the home, will offer a more potent threat of competition than television.

Granting that television cannot destroy the dailies, some journalists believe it will bring about marked changes in newspaper content and style. The picture consciousness of the masses will develop to such a degree that the majority will come to think in terms of images rather than of words. This should increase

*(Continued on page 62)*

# Footnotes on 'Fourteen

## This fine article recalls what today's headliners were doing when the World War began twenty-five years ago

SAMUEL T. WILLIAMSON

ON a bright, warm Sunday forenoon in early Summer, Nedjelko Chabrinovitch stood where Cumuria Bridge joins Appel Quay. In his pocket was a metal object the size and shape of an alligator pear. At the corner of Franz Josef Street, four blocks up the Quay, stood Gavrilo Princip. In one of his pockets was a Browning pistol.

Crowds packed the sidewalks. Buildings were draped with red, white and green Austro-Hungarian bunting; and windows displayed chromos of a man with shoe-brush hair-cut, handle-bar mustache and a pair of angry eyes.

There was a stir in front of the Girls' High School at the sight of four automobiles rolling down the Quay. In the first motor was the Mayor with the Chief of Police of Sarajevo. In the second was the man whose picture hung in the windows, and beside him was his wife, laced tightly into a white dress.

Chabrinovitch knocked the cap of his bomb against a post, then cast at the second car. The chauffeur saw the danger and speeded up, and the exploding bomb wrecked the third car, wounding occupants and bystanders. The two leading cars streaked down the Quay to Town Hall, where the Mayor drew from his pocket an address of welcome. Although Chabrinovitch's bomb had canceled some of its sentiments, the Mayor doggedly assured Archduke Ferdinand of the loyalty of the Bosnian people and of the joy with which they welcomed the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. "Enough of that, Mr. Mayor!" Ferdinand interrupted wrathfully. "I pay you a visit and you receive me with bombs!"

The Mayor fumbled through the rest of his speech, and the royal party left for the hospital to console the injured. As the archducal car turned in narrow Franz Josef Street, General Potiorek, Governor of Bosnia, called out, "That's the wrong way! Drive straight along the Quay."

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SAMUEL T. WILLIAMSON was born in Maine, grew up in Massachusetts, was graduated from Harvard College, spent fourteen years as reporter and feature writer for the *New York Times*, for four years was editor of ***Newsweek*** and is now a magazine writer and editorial consultant in New York. Because he has shown such microscopic curiosity about what others were doing in 1914, it seemed only fair to inquire what he was doing. "In August, 1914," he replied, "I was recuperating from a sophomore year in college by acting as a field clerk with the Michigan State Tax Commission, assessing farm property about which I knew, and still know, nothing. Had you told me in 1914 that four years later I would be in France, a Second Lieutenant in the Ninth Infantry, Second Division, A.E.F., you would have scared the living daylights out of me. I was scared enough as it was."

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But for that change in direction, 8,000,000 might not have died within the next fifty months. When the chauffeur put on his brakes and backed, Gavrilo Princip could not miss. His first shot passed through Ferdinand's jugular vein and his second went through the Duchess' abdomen. Ferdinand and his morganatic wife died at 11:30 that Sunday morning of June 28, 1914, on the anniversary of their fourteenth wedding.

It was also St. Vitus' Day.

**Far to the North, the afternoon sun shone on the sails of a Kiel regatta in which Wilhelm II of Germany was racing his American-built schooner *Meteor*. A fast navy launch headed for the white yacht. With his one good arm, the Kaiser waved peremptory gestures to keep off the course, but the launch kept on and shot alongside. Admiral Mueller in the smaller boat brandished a sheet of paper and folded it into a cigarette case which he tossed on board. Wilhelm turned pale when he read the message, for it told of Archduke Ferdinand's assassination. The *Meteor* headed into the wind and turned about towards Kiel. The regatta was over.**

**In Paris that afternoon Alice Roosevelt Longworth, who had christened the *Meteor* twelve years before, watched as did Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt the running of the Grand Prix at Longchamps. At Kiev, Russia, Igor Sikorsky landed safely from St. Petersburg on the first successful flight of a transport plane. In London, Mrs. Winston Churchill, wife of the First Lord of the Admiralty, made her husband promise that he would make no more airplane flights that year. Too dangerous.**

**In Washington that evening, Senator Borah brooded over a speech he would deliver next day opposing the Administration's Trade Commission Bill. Senator and Mrs. Key Pittman of Nevada were expecting several score guests at a dance at Altha Hall, their Virginia home.**

**Mrs. Margaret Sanger was under indictment in New York for disseminating birth control information. At Newport, the Vincent Astors were expected on the yacht *Noma* for their first visit since their wedding. In Baltimore, a little black man named George Baker took part in a ceiling-shaking meeting of Jehovah's Disciples. Baker was known to worshipers as "The Messenger." Soon he would be known as Father Divine.**

July 2.—Evidence indicated that Serbian officials knew of the plot to kill Archduke Ferdinand. Count Bertchold, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, believed that now

was the time to settle accounts with troublesome Serbia, provided that Germany would stand by. He sent word to Berlin that Serbian plotters also contemplated Wilhelm's death should he attend Ferdinand's funeral next day. Berlin announced that the Kaiser was unable to go to the Vienna funeral —lumbago. "I see a dark future," mourned 84-year-old Emperor Franz Josef.

At Hammondsport, N.Y., on this Thursday, Glenn Curtiss made a flight of the *America*, at 60 miles an hour, carrying a 2000-pound load. The plane was built for Rodman Wanamaker for a trans-Atlantic flight in the interest of disarmament. Orville Wright had recently said: "The airplane will put an end to war, for when the men who make war find their lives in danger, they will be less likely to decree war."

In Kansas City, Earl Browder, then 23, had just received a Bachelor of Law's parchment for having completed a correspondence course of Lincoln - Jefferson University. In Washington that afternoon a Senate doorkeeper refused J. P. Morgan admission to the visitors' gallery because he had no pass.

Rockefeller Institute announced that day that Dr. Alexis Carrel had kept the tissue of a baby chick alive in a test tube for 28 months. In Little Falls, Minn., the 12-year-old son and namesake of Rep. Charles A. Lindbergh was on vacation from grammar school. Anne Morrow (7) was at the family summer home at North Haven, Maine.

Other youngsters on vacation were: Thomas Corcoran (14) of Pawtucket, R.I.; Henry Luce (16) editor of the *Weekly Record* of Hotchkiss School; William Paley (13) of Chicago; Fritz Kuhn (17) of Munich; Oswald Moseley (17) of Sandhurst Military College; Robert Tyre Jones (12) turning in scores in the 80's and amazing veterans at East Lake Country Club, Atlanta.

Joseph Chamberlain died that day in London. He was never seen without an orchid or a monocle. He left two sons: Joseph Austen, in government service and rarely seen without a monocle; and Arthur Neville, a Birmingham Alderman and business man, seldom seen without an umbrella.

July 6.—"Austria must decide what to do about Serbia. Whatever she decides, Germany is her friend and ally." Thus the German Foreign Office gave Austria a blank check—but did not fear that Austria would go to extremes. "Now or never," noted the Kaiser—and left on a three weeks' yachting trip through Norwegian fjords.

Off Cape Haitien this Monday, Ensign Richard E. Byrd of U.S.S. *Washington* saved a seaman from drowning. Newspapers the day before reported that a bomb intended for John D. Rockefeller at Tarrytown exploded on a roof of a New York tenement, killing four persons; Eddie Rickenbacker averaged 78 miles an hour and won a $10,000 purse in a 300-mile auto race at Sioux City, Iowa.

The Treasury Department reported total collections of $71,000,000 under the new income tax law. This innovation in raising revenue amounted to one-tenth of the Federal government's receipts for the fiscal year, bringing satisfaction to Rep. Cordell Hull (Tenn.), author of the law, and Rep. John Nance Garner (Tex.), of the House Ways and Means Committee which reported out Hull's measure.

James A. Farley, of Grassy Point, New York, Supervisor of the Poor of Rockland County, was circularizing voters in the hope of breaking up Rockland's Republican organization. In Decatur, Ill., an 11-year-old boy was studying ventriloquism in the *Wizard's Manual*, a mail order house booklet. He was Mr. and Mrs. Bergen's son Edgar, the best-looking boy on the block.

July 9.—Count Bertchold secured the approval of Emperor Franz Josef and Premier Tisza of Hungary to demands upon Serbia short of an ultimatum. Bertchold favored, however, the stiffest possible demands and said Serbian acceptance would be "very disagreeable" to him.

On this Thursday Henry Ford had luncheon with President Wilson. "Cheer up," he told White House reporters who anxiously pressed him for news. "I agree with the President that the era of prosperity is coming."

Morris Ernst, manager of a C. Ludwig Baumann furniture store in Brooklyn, sent a letter to the *New York Times* protesting that indiscriminate sales of dictaphones led to violations of personal legal rights. Dr. Morris Fishbein of the American Medical Association was on his honeymoon. The Rev. Norman Thomas of the American Parish of New York's upper East Side was on vacation at a Connecticut farm. And Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt, widow of a Washington jeweler, was at Kineo House, Moosehead Lake, Maine. She was with a friend, Miss Altrude Gordon, who had just received a proposal of marriage from Commander Cary Grayson, President Wilson's physician.

In New York, Philip Musica, president of the U.S. Hair Company, was in the Tombs awaiting sentence for grand larceny. He had pleaded guilty to defrauding banks through loans made to him upon false invoices of goods that did not exist. The Chief Guard at New York State Reformatory at Elmira, where Musica might be sent, was Lewis E. Lawes.

July 14.—Count Tisza was persuaded by Foreign Minister Bertchold to agree to military measures against Serbia. It was decided to postpone dispatch of an ultimatum until after the Russian visit of President Poincaré of France.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt announced on

this day that 700 Marines would be transported to Guantanamo for possible duty in Haiti and San Domingo. His wife was at Campobello, New Brunswick, with her three children, James, Anna and Elliott. She was inactive, expecting her fifth child the middle of August. If a boy, it was to be given the name of a child who had died in infancy—Franklin, Jr.

United Mine Workers of America were negotiating a new contract with Ohio bituminous operators. William Green, secretary-treasurer, expressed confidence that an agreement would be reached. John L. Lewis, 26-year-old orator, was trying to organize the steel industry for the American Federation of Labor.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., offered $800 to the Park Commission for preservation of trees in New York City streets. Joe Louis Barrow, whose parents were cotton field hands near Lafayette, Alabama, was exactly two months old. Jack Johnson was heavyweight champion of the world.

Anthony Eden was in the Fourth Form at Eton. After the Eton-Harrow cricket match at Lords' some undergraduates from Magdalen College, Oxford, went on a tear and played pranks in London. Participating in the horse-play was the Prince of Wales, a special student at Magdalen and corporal in the University's Soldiers' Training Corps. Bessie Wallis Warfield of Baltimore, a June graduate of Oldfield's School at Cockeysville, Md., expected to make her début in December at the Baltimore Bachelors' Cotillion.

July 18.—Russia warned Austria that she "would not be indifferent" to any attempt to humiliate Serbia. Expecting no crisis, Maj. Gen. Ferdinand Foch, commanding a French army corps at Nancy, left on a fortnight's leave of absence in Brittany.

On this Saturday afternoon William Averill Harriman was thrown from his sulky while driving in a trotting race at North Randall, New York. In New York, H. Sinclair Lewis, employed by George H. Doran and Co., publishers, left for a week-end and work upon another book. His first novel, *Our Mr. Wrenn*, had been published. Harry L. Hopkins was a supervisor of case work for the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and was paid $26.25 a week.

Commanding the Eighth Brigade with headquarters at Fort Bliss, near El Paso, Texas, was Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing. Since the American seizure in May of the Mexican port of Vera Cruz, army border patrols were extra watchful. The Pershing family was living in a fire-trap house on officers' row of the San Francisco Presideo. Serving with the First Cavalry at Monterey Presideo, was Second Lieut. Hugh L. Johnson, who had just been ordered to study law at the University of California. Assistant Chief of Staff of the Mexican border command was Captain Hugh A. Drum. Across the border, 19-year-old Lazaro Cardenas was a ranking officer in the Mexican revolutionary army.

The second baseman of St. Basil's College nine in Toronto was Charles Edward Coughlin. In Berlin Albert Einstein, manager of Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Research, was lecturing at the Academy of Science. The holder of a Catholic scholarship at the University of Bonn was a 17-year-old cripple named Paul Joseph Goebbels. He was concentrating in art, literature and history.

July 20.—In the workingmen's quarter of St. Petersburg, Cossacks charged a crowd that was singing the *Marseillaise*. Almost simultaneously President Poincaré landed for a three-day visit of State to Russia, and the *Marseillaise*, played by the band of the guard of honor, was heard officially for the first time by the Czar's subjects since 1812 when Napoleon's bands played it in Moscow. Bands of the Franco-Russian alliance were strengthened. "Serbia has friends in the Russian people," Poincaré told the Austrian Ambassador, "and Russia has an ally, France."

On this day Thomas Manville, Jr., received considerable newspaper notoriety. His wife left him, demanding $150,000 separate maintenance. Pearl Sydenstricker, who had received her A.B. degree in June from Randolph-Macon Women's College, was preparing to return to her missionary parents in China where she would marry John Buck, an instructor of English. An obscure young man named Chiang Kai-shek had taken refuge in Japan with the saintly but revolutionary Dr. Sun Yat-sen and now he was in Manchuria, China's northern province, instigating a revolt.

In London, Major Edward Swinton of the Royal Engineers had just been told by a mining engineer that he had seen in Antwerp an American machine that could cross rough fields and "climb like hell." This was the caterpillar farm tractor invented by Benjamin Holt of California; Sir Edward believed that it might be transformed into an armored contraption capable of charging enemy machine gun positions.

July 23.—Austria-Hungary sent an ultimatum to Serbia. Asserting that the Sarajevo assassination plot was hatched in Belgrade, it demanded public display of humiliation by Serbia and dismissal from government and military service of all persons deemed hostile by Austria-Hungary. Serbia was given 48 hours to reply.

Near Tetuan in Spanish Morocco, a diminutive 21-year-old lieutenant named Francisco Franco was in command of a detachment of Moors, fighting Riff tribesmen. At the Vatican, Mgr. Eugene Pacelli was an under secretary to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State for Pope Benedict XV.

That afternoon, before the quitting-time whistle blew at the Owosso, Mich., beet sugar factory, Thomas E. Dewey (12) had delivered all his cop-

ies of the *Saturday Evening Post*, as had the 15 boys working for him.

**July 24.—Austria-Hungary notified other powers of the terms of her Serbian ultimatum. Poincaré was out at sea; so was the Kaiser. Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, pronounced the ultimatum "the most formidable document addressed by one State to another that is independent." The Czar termed it "very disturbing" and approved orders for partial mobilization of the Russian army. Between protracted British Cabinet meetings over the vexing Irish question, Grey tried to bring Austria and Russia together, and complained, "My usual week-end was curtailed."**

William Christian Bullitt, of Philadelphia and a recent Harvard Law School student, stood with his mother this Friday on the balcony of a Moscow hotel and watched Russian crowds cheering for Serbia and demonstrating for war with Austria. In London was a traveling salesman with a thick Russian accent. He avoided the Russian Embassy, for he was in exile and went under a variety of names, of which the most common were Maximovitch and Litvinoff. One of his friends, Joseph Djugashvili, was in political exile at Turukhansk in northern Siberia, close to the Arctic Circle. Litvinoff knew him by the name of Stalin.

John Kieran was foreman of a construction gang enrouting a sewer before the building of the Seventh Avenue subway. Alexander Woollcott was reviewing plays for the *New York Times* and seemed rather shy. One of the *New York Tribune* baseball reporters was Heywood Broun. Mae West was a rising star in vaudeville.

The youngest bank president in the country was Joseph P. Kennedy (25) of the Columbia Trust Company in Boston.

**July 26.—Austria termed Serbia's conciliatory reply "unsatisfactory" and severed diplomatic relations. Serbia mobilized. Germany continued to seek to localize war between Austria and Serbia. Sir Edward Grey vainly sought a conference of ambassadors.**

On this Sunday afternoon, Commandant Eamon De Valera of the Irish Volunteers took part in the landing of arms and ammunition from a yacht just off Howth. After a brush with soldiers and constabulary, De Valera and his men escaped with all but a few smuggled rifles.

Events in Europe had made no more impression upon Arthur Vandenberg, editor of the *Grand Rapids Herald*, than they had upon most other American newspaper editors. Twelve-year-old Lucius Beebe was on the family 140-acre farm at Wakefield, Mass. He was not a popular child, for he had blown up neighbors' outhouses with dynamite carelessly left unlocked by road builders.

Herbert Clark Hoover, an American mining engineer, had returned to London after having failed to persuade European governments to exhibit at the San Francisco Panama Pacific Fair.

**July 28.—Britain told Germany that she would remain neutral if Russia and Austria fought, but she "would be forced to rapid decisions" if Germany and France went to war. Kaiser Wilhelm returned from his Norwegian cruise boiling with rage because he had not been kept informed. He was relieved to read Serbia's conciliatory reply to Austria and he wrote, "No more cause for war exists." One hour later Austria declared war upon Serbia by telegram.**

Manuel Quezon, resident Commissioner from the Philippines, was expected in New York on his way to Washington to work for immediate Philippine independence. In Jersey City, Director of Public Safety Frank Hague crusaded against streetwalkers, forbade police and firemen to join the A.F. of L.

Sally Rand was a little girl on a farm in Hickory County, Missouri. Edna St. Vincent Millay, a Vassar Sophomore, was writing verse. The name of the violinist in the four-piece orchestra at Elitch's Garden, Denver, was Paul Whiteman.

Extract from a confidential file in Milan Police Headquarters: "Benito Mussolini, editor of *l'Avanti* and revolutionary Socialist leader, has received a large amount of money to intensify revolutionary propaganda activities."

**July 30.—Belgrade bombarded by Austrians. Russia mobilized. Germany called on Russia to halt within 24 hours, demanded that France indicate whether she would be neutral and informed Britain that in the event of war with France she "might be forced" to march through Belgium. "The stupidity and clumsiness of our ally (Austria) has been made a hangman's noose for us," wrote the Kaiser.**

This day Captain Nicholas Horthy, commanding the cruiser *Novara* of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Navy, cleared his ship for action. Professor Edouard Benes of the University of Prague was spending his summer holiday in the country. He had never engaged in politics but he believed that war would break up the empire of the aged Franz Josef and pondered what steps to take to help free his fellow Czechs.

"F. H. La Guardia, Attorney-at-Law" read a sign on the door of a Greenwich Village office. Walter Lippmann, one of the young editors of the magazine *New Republic*, bought a railway ticket from Brussels to Switzerland.

**August 1.—At 3:45 P.M. France ordered mobilization. Germany's mobilization order was one-quarter of an hour later and at 5 o'clock she declared war on Russia.**

An informal canvas of the Senate indicated Attorney General McReynolds as the most likely candi-

date for appointment to a vacancy on the Supreme Court of the United States. In the House, Carter Glass of Virginia was unable to get a quorum of the Banking and Currency Committee to consider a bill giving emergency financial powers to the Secretary of the Treasury. Hugh R. Wilson, Second Secretary of the American Embassy at Buenos Aires, sailed from New York to return to his post.

Lew Lehr, son of a Newark, N.J., leather merchant, started his first theatrical tour as Simple Simon in a Mother Goose vaudeville act. William Randolph Hearst had put out his first newsreel a few months before. He had bought a movie camera and at San Simeon that summer wrote and directed a series of film stories. In New York, Marion Douras, daughter of a Brooklyn lawyer, hoped to get into Florenz Ziegfeld's Follies and take the stage name of Marion Davies.

In Westbrook, Maine, 12-year-old Hubert Vallee spent a busy Saturday afternoon behind the soda fountain of his father's drug store, a skilled dispenser of soft drinks.

In Switzerland, Ignace Paderewski mourned the failure of his party of the night before, to honor St. Ignace Day. Only a handful of his friends was there to watch fireworks and a Chinese pageant. Absent guests had been called to the frontier. "This," said Paderewski, "is the end of my artistic life."

August 2.—Germany gave Belgium 12 hours to allow troops to pass through her territory to the French boundary.

Among those mobilized this Sunday: In Paris, Edouard Daladier, Professor of History at Lycée Condorcet; in Mulhausen, near the French border, Lieut. Hermann Goering of the Mulhausen Regiment of Infantry—a thin, handsome 21-year-old youngster.

There were no mail deliveries on the Lord's Day at Estes Park, Colorado, where William Allen White had gone to write a novel *In the Heart of a Fool.* Discussion on the White's long porch centered around whether Belgium would be invaded. Not for many years later would Alfred M. Landon go to Estes Park. He was doing well in the Kansas and Oklahoma oil fields and had gone to visit his grandmother Mossman at Chautauqua, N.Y., and ask Miss Margaret Anne Fleming to be his wife.

Young Mr. Lippmann was back in London; troop movements had annulled trains to Switzerland. A huge crowd gathered in Munich in front of Felderrnhalle. In the crowd was a pale young Austrian, a painter of picture post cards. He had a flowing mustache and his hair was combed over his left temple.

August 3.—At 7 A.M. Belgium rejected Germany's ultimatum.

In New York Douglas Fairbanks entered the final week of rehearsal of a new play, *He Comes Up Smiling.* Mary Pickford was earning $100 a week in her second year in Hollywood. Also in his second year in Hollywood was Charles Spencer Chaplin, making $150 a week on the receiving end of custard pies for Keystone Comedies.

Noel Coward was 14. Barrie's *Peter Pan* in which he played a small part had closed after a long London season and he was in Cornwall visiting a friend and watching British cruisers steam by. Beatrice Lillie was rehearsing for her début at the Alhambra in London in *Not Likely.*

Harold Ickes, a Chicago lawyer, had two vexations: how to keep alive the Progressive Party of which he was State Chairman; and plans for a house that Mrs. Ickes and he wished to build at Winnetka. In the tough little town of Black Hills, Wyoming, Dr. Francis E. Townsend was practicing medicine with no thought of old age or of $200 a month. In the tiny sawmill town of Callander, Ontario, Dr. Allen Roy Dafoe, a modest country doctor, was bringing an occasional baby into the world.

The pale young Austrian picture postcard painter and beer garden orator petitioned King Ludwig III of Bavaria to enlist in one of his regiments.

August 4.—At 2 P.M. went Britain's ultimatum to Germany. Berlin had until midnight to make satisfactory reply to demand that German troops keep out of Belgium.

The Duke of York, second son of King George and Queen Mary, was a midshipman on the middle watch of H.M.S. *Collingwood* with the British Fleet at Scapa Flow. Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, youngest daughter of the Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, celebrated her 14th birthday at a theater party in London.

In Des Moines, Iowa, a $25 a week newspaper cartoonist named Westbrook Pegler observed his 19th birthday. In New York, Thomas Benton was earning $7 a day, when he got it, painting portraits of movie stars at Fort Lee studios.

Mohandas Gandhi, a wealthy Hindu lawyer from British East Africa, arrived in Southampton, England, after his ship was delayed passing through mine fields. Leon Bronstein, a Russian political exile known as Trotsky, arrived in Switzerland from Vienna.

Gracious permission to enlist in the Third Company, Sixteenth Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment, was granted by His Majesty Ludwig III to Adolf Hitler.

11:59 P.M., August 4.—"That evening," wrote Sir Edward Grey, "some of us sat with the Prime Minister in the Cabinet Room in 10 Downing Street. I was there in touch with the Foreign Office to certify that no satisfactory reply came from Berlin. Churchill also was among those present, ready to send out at the appointed hour the war order that the Fleet was expecting. Midnight came. We were at war."

# Let's Mind Our

## AN EDITORIAL ON WAR BY

IN THE confusing conflict of opinion regarding the foreign policy of the United States, there is one fundamental and unvarying fact—the people of the United States are overwhelmingly opposed to the United States going to war with any foreign nation unless that foreign nation attacks our shores or our possessions. This opinion is shown by every poll. Even those whose policy leads irresistibly to the participation of the United States in a foreign war forswear all intention of carrying their policy to its logical conclusion. If the choice lies between war and the loss of American commerce with Europe and Asia, the American people are willing to abandon that European and Asian commerce.

This public opinion is no prejudice; it is based on the soundest of logic. War has always been horrible, but it has had a certain glamour nevertheless. For centuries the evil has been interred with the bones of the casualties, and only heroism and enthusiasm have lived in the history books. But today there is little glamour. Millions are killed by machine weapons, and suffering and death overtake women and children and civilians as well as the soldier.

Furthermore, we have learned that war seldom accomplishes its objects. The World War was represented as a war to save democracy. Yet out of the settlement of that war arose more dictatorships than the world had seen for many years. The nations which won the war lost the war. Their young men were destroyed, and a huge debt left for future generations to pay. The economic structure of the world was so distorted that the entire world was plunged into extreme economic hardship ten years after the end of the war.

UNDER present conditions another war would destroy democratic government in the United States. War today is a tremendous organized business operation. The entire population would be subjected to government direction and confiscation of property and liberty, and would be transformed into a socialized nation which never again could be the kind of democracy established by our forefathers. Those who yearn to secure more freedom and improvement in material welfare for all groups in the population, and particularly for the poorer people, must shun war at almost any cost.

There is a powerful and influential minority, however, including some in high places, who really believe that we should threaten to take part in a European war, and take part in such war if necessary, though they may not admit this belief even to themselves. They present various arguments.

WE SHOULD use our armed force, it is said, as a threat to prevent other nations going to war, in order that humanity in general may be saved the horror of war. Of course if we could prevent war by such action, the argument might be sound. It is the argument which reasonably supports united action by a league of nations, or a league to enforce peace. Unfortunately the American people refused to join the league in 1920, and such a league is impossible today. But no one has ever suggested before that a single nation should range over the world, like a knight-errant, protecting the weaker nations for humanity's sake. Nothing we do will prevent wars in Europe, where races are so mingled that no one can draw boundaries without leaving minorities which are a perpetual source of friction.

It is urged that we should threaten to take part in a European war because we are bound to become involved in any such war. I don't believe it. If we are determined to stay out of a European war, and our leaders are determined to stay out of a European war, what power exists to force us in?

It is argued that if we stay out, democracy in Europe may be destroyed. I don't believe that England and France can be overwhelmed by Germany and Italy. But if we do go into a war to save democracy in Europe, we may well find, even if they win, that France has gone Communist and England has gone Fascist before the war is over. There are already aligned with them the autoc-

# Own Business

## SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT

racies of Poland, Russia, Rumania and Turkey. No, the present situation is not a battle of democracy with dictatorship; it is another phase of the racial and nationalist warfare which has devastated Europe for many centuries. The effort to tell other nations what kind of government they shall have, the effort to save for any of them some favored form of government, is doomed to failure before it begins.

It is argued that we should take part in a European war because, if Germany and Italy win, they will attack the United States. This danger is imaginary. Even if they won, Germany and Italy would never be released from the complications of the eternal European situation, or the difficulties of dominating two great nations like England and France. There is some selfish reason for all of Hitler's and Mussolini's acts of military aggression up to now, outrageous as those acts have been, but it is hard to see any reason for an attack on the United States if we attend to our own business. We are building up a most effective naval and air force. We can defend our position in North America and the Caribbean against the world. That very fact means that we will never have to do so.

It is said that we can threaten war without taking part in it. World politics is not yet a game of poker. What we threaten we may have to go through with. If we threaten without meaning to perform, the very people we are trying to help may be encouraged to go to war only to have us let them down.

But, say the collectivists, we do not need to threaten war; we can threaten economic sanctions, and all possible assistance, short of sending troops abroad, to those nations we wish to support. That was the original idea in the World War. It did not long survive. If a war occurs in Europe, and our government deliberately sides with one nation, and assists that nation by embargoing exports to its enemies, it will not be long before our people identify their interests completely with one side. In these days of propaganda, all the propaganda would come from that side. The government itself, having taken sides, would tend more and more towards war until we would find ourselves first financing, and then supporting with troops, the favored nation. The slightest incident with a nation against whom we discriminated would arouse both in the people of that nation and in our own people the intense bitterness which leads inevitably to war. Economic sanctions may be reasonable if applied by all nations of the world, as the League of Nations contemplated, but as applied by us they would have a partial effect, and would inevitably be followed by real war. The policy of threatening an embargo is dangerous because it may lead England and France into taking a position they cannot maintain without our active assistance. It might encourage a too aggressive attitude, which the French at least have often adopted in the past.

The way to keep out of war is to remain neutral. That has been the policy of this country from George Washington to Woodrow Wilson. George Washington said, "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns." Under no circumstances should we change the Neutrality Act to permit any officials of this government to favor one foreign nation over another, or finance and arm one group while embargoing shipments to their enemies. The provisions of the Neutrality Act requiring that cash be paid for purchases in war-time, and those forbidding the shipment of munitions of war on American ships, the financing of belligerents, and the travel of American citizens on belligerent vessels, certainly will tend to keep us out of war. The only amendment of the Neutrality Act which should even be considered is that proposing that arms and munitions be purchasable in this country by either belligerent.

# Peace In the Pacific

## This observer holds that the popular unfavorable opinion of Japan is against our best interests

LUTHER A. HUSTON

EXCEPT for the amateur Battle of Manila Bay, which made a hero out of prosaic old George Dewey, and the skirmishes during the pacification of the Philippines, the United States has never fought a war in the Pacific. True, we helped to quell the Boxer Rebellion in China, which was a savage attempt to throw all foreigners out of the Celestial Empire—still a smouldering aim of Chinese patriots. True, we sent troops against the Bolsheviks in Siberia at one stage of the World War. But these were police movements, and hardly military justification for our maintaining our strongest fighting forces in the Pacific, as we have done since the World War. Even before that, we concentrated a formidable naval and military power at our Pacific bases, such as Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and San Diego, California.

The present Congress has approved appropriations of millions of dollars for the development of this system of bases, particularly those providing facilities for aviation. Only the resistance of a few influential Senators and Representatives prevented the inclusion of funds for harbor works at Guam, which, it is admitted, were preliminary to a vast naval building scheme which would have made that tiny island an "American Singapore."

The Army and Navy do not announce how much of the money for national defense is spent in any particular area. We, therefore, do not know how much it costs us to maintain our battleships, airplanes, gunboats and garrisons in Hawaii, China, the Philippines or along the western coast from the Panama Canal to that ice-bound cape in Alaska that gazes across bleak seas at the territory of Japan's other unfriendly neighbor—Soviet Russia.

From the preponderance of our naval strength in the Pacific, however, a layman might guess that more than half, and probably nearer two-thirds, of our expenditures for military and naval purposes could be charged up to the Pacific. That runs into a lot of money in these days of billion-dollar-a-year bills for national defense.

It cannot be that we keep this huge fighting establishment in the Pacific because we fear China. I have never heard anyone argue that we need it to keep Russia from creeping across Siberian steppes and attacking our island or continental possessions. Not even the most bitter Anglophobe contends that Britain might threaten us in the Pacific because of her naval base at Singapore or her interests in Australia and New Zealand. And certainly we are not building air bases in Alaska in anticipation of trouble with Canada.

Why, then, do we keep the bulk of our fleet and air force operating from bases in the Pacific? It must be because we think that, some day, we will have to fight Japan.

And why might we have to fight Japan? Well, Japan might gobble up the Philippines. She might stir the Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands, who are a pretty fair grade of American citizens, to revolt. She might send her battleships to drive our fishermen from the banks along the North Pacific, so that the gigantic canneries of our Pacific Northwest would rust away in idleness. She might send powerful aircraft carriers near enough to our shores to launch fast bombers that would rain death upon the cities of Oregon, Washington and California. She might conspire with Mexico to build naval or aviation bases in Lower California. She might blow up the Panama Canal. . . .

And she might—which is far more probable—stick to the Far East and her immediate problems there.

Unless peace can be maintained on the Pacific, there is, of course, no possibility of preventing a world-wide conflagration, with the United States caught in the ghastly cross-fire from Europe and Asia. And peace in the Pacific can hinge only on maintaining our trade and bolstering the traditional good will between the United States and Japan.

AT this writing, it is reported that Japan is considering the adjustment of her diplomatic relations with the United States to maintain that peace. At this writing, despite strong pressure from Berlin and Rome, Tokyo has diligently refrained from signing the military alliance which those two capitals announced on May 7. Obviously, the best way for the United States to expand its commerce in the Pacific is by trading with Japan, the only market in the Orient that can afford to buy American goods in worthwhile quantities.

But for nearly half a century, and especially during the past twenty years, the policies of the United States, and at times those of Japan, have been so contrary to this formula for peace and Pacific trade that our statesmen have seemed unaware of it, if not deliberately hostile to it.

Peace and trade are not promoted by name-calling. They are not promoted by the introduction in Congress of embargo resolutions that tell some eighty million hard-working, friendly Japanese, who can pay for what they buy, that we will not sell them the goods that we produce because we do not like the uses to which they might put some of these goods after they had bought and paid for them.

In all the history of Japanese-American relations since Commodore Matthew Perry, with his black ships manned by "hairy barbarians," brought economic imperialism to a land that had got along pretty well without it for centuries, Japan has not made a deliberately offensive move against the United States.

There have been stupid and unfortunate incidents, of course, such as

the bombing of the *Panay* during the current war in China. Japan has broken—or at least ignored—treaties by which our diplomats set great store. She has jostled our business interests in China and elsewhere and, in pursuit of her policies in Asia, has been arrogant with our nationals. At times her statesmen, patriots and newspapers have been less than reverently circumspect in commenting upon policies and pronouncements of our great men. But the record does not reveal that, during almost a century of Japanese-American relations, Japan has used or threatened to use her armed strength to menace the peace and security of the United States or its possessions.

On the contrary, the manifestations of Japanese friendship for the United States and its citizens have been many. Going far back to the time when Perry's ships were in the harbor of Shimoda and Townsend Harris, first envoy to Japan, waited in that small fishermen's village for permission to go to Tokyo to be received by the Shogun, the friendship of the Japanese for Americans has been traditional. On a hillside in Shimoda there is a tiny cemetery where for almost ninety years Japanese have tended the graves of sailors from Perry's ships. Griswold, in his *Far Eastern Policy of the United States*, tells how the Japanese Red Cross, at

the time of the San Francisco earthquake and fire, when exclusionist fever was burning in California and visitors from Japan were being stoned in the streets, contributed to the victims of the disaster more generously than all the other nations of the world combined. I'll wager that if you ask the sailors of the U.S.S. *Astoria*, which carried the ashes of the late Ambassador Hirosi Saito back to Japan in April, how they were treated during their stay in Japanese ports, they will tell you they met with nothing but friendliness. Yet at that time other units of our fleet were being ordered hurriedly back to the Pacific, presumably to scare Japan into refraining from too close cooperation with Germany and Italy.

The United States has given many demonstrations of friendship for Japan, as well. We poured out treasure to aid her in 1923, when an earthquake all but shook her hapless people into the sea and fire made vast funeral pyres of Tokyo and Yokohama. Our scientists and teachers have taught Japan many things that have made life more pleasant for her people. Our capitalists have loaned her needed millions for the development of industrial enterprises. Our schools and colleges have received thousands of her students and trained them for service in their native land.

Yet now we are apprehensive that we might have to fight Japan in defense of a policy to which we committed ourselves at the end of the nineteenth century—the Open Door in China and the loose "guarantee" of China's territorial integrity. Our quarrel with Japan, if we ever really quarrel with her, will be over China, and not over any Japanese menace to our own possessions.

When John Hay proclaimed the doctrine of the Open Door, it was not Japan of which he was principally afraid. Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter, of the Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College, expressed the basic idea recently when she said that the Open Door policy "was formulated to secure equality of commercial opportunity for ourselves and other nations at a time when the various Western powers were especially active in securing concessions and special spheres of interest. . . . Our traditional Far Eastern policy represents, in large part, an effort to restrain Western imperialism in China in our own interest."

We retained the Philippines after the Spanish-American war because we thought they would give us an advantage in the China trade. For more than forty years we have kept gunboats in Chinese waters and troops on Chinese soil because we thought them essential to protect our commercial interests in China. For more than forty years we have been following the will-o-the-wisp of rich commercial opportunity in China. Even now our economic and political leaders seem unable to disabuse them-

selves of the idea that China's 400,000,000 people are, *per se*, our best market in the Orient. That argument is as out of date as Commodore Perry's whiskers. China is now and always has been a poverty market. By her own efforts she would not become a rich market for generations.

It is not the purpose of this article to cite statistical proof of the comparative value to the United States of the Japanese as against the Chinese market. It need only be stated that the American share of foreign investments in China is about 6 per cent, and our average annual trade with China totals about $100,000,000, or less than 3 per cent of our foreign trade.

It costs us more than that to keep our fleet in the Pacific for six months. We could repay to the owners every dollar that Americans have invested in China, including the holdings of missionary interests, and still not spend nearly as much as the present program of naval expansion in the Pacific will cost American taxpayers.

Our trade with Japan is much greater than our trade with China and has been for years. In 1937, for instance, Japan's purchases from us were valued at $288,000,000. Furthermore, unless hindered by embargoes, or boycotts, or official pronouncements that stigmatize as unpatriotic Americans who deal with Japan, our trade

## JAPAN'S EXPORT NEEDS

JAPAN must continuously expand its export sales. This need arises from Japan's two contradictory domestic policies of restricting, rather than elevating, the purchasing power of its own people, and of increasing the productive capacity of its manufacturing industries to the utmost extent of its technical ability.

It is true that the volume of Japan's export trade, recently, has shown sensational growth. It increased by fully 100 per cent during the five-year period from 1931, the time of the "Manchurian Incident," to 1936, the year before the outbreak of the present war on China. But even this huge expansion of sales abroad—which, partly at least, had been made possible by great national sacrifices in cutting selling prices—would not have been sufficient to fill the ever widening gap between Japan's domestic purchasing power and the volume of goods which its industries are designed to produce, if war preparation had not absorbed an increasing share of Japan's industrial output.

Japan proper is also in chronic need of importing a great volume of goods, especially raw materials, which it cannot produce itself. This means a need for foreign exchange with which to buy such goods in the richly stocked world market.

—*The China Weekly Review.*

with that country can be steadily increased. In fact, during 1938, the volume of American goods imported through the port of Dairen, the Japanese gateway to the Kwantung Peninsula, increased by about 29 per cent as compared with the previous year.

Now Japan has slammed shut the Open Door in China. There is no doubt that the door has been closed, if we define the "Open Door" in terms of John Hay's time or even of five years ago. It is my contention, however, that a doorway to American participation in the trade of China, on a basis more profitable than it has been in the past, is wide open.

It is a new doorway and it is attended by a new butler. We can no longer walk in without scraping the mud from our shoes, but if we will observe the Japanese custom and remove our shoes at the door, a smiling and courteous butler will usher us into a richer house of trade than we have ever before known in China. Some of the things we have sold we will sell no longer, for the new master of the house also has these things to sell, and he will supply the market. But we still will have a market for large and increasing quantities of our products at prices that will yield a gross profit greater than we made when the Open Door was open at its widest.

A developing market always is better than a stagnant market. And the Japanese will develop the Chinese market. They will have to. That is why they are in China—so they can obtain and develop the resources which will supply the economic deficiencies of the Japanese homeland. The Japanese have developed, and are still developing, the resources of their homeland far beyond any similar progress made by the Chinese. The Japanese also are developing the resources of Manchukuo, and they will develop the resources of whatever area of China remains under their control when the present war is over.

But, I hear some one say, suppose China wins and drives the Japanese troops from her soil—will not the door Japan has closed swing open again?

It will not.

IF China is strong enough to drive out the Japanese, she will be strong enough to drive out other foreigners, too. Those who think she would not do so fail to comprehend the basic purpose behind the nationalist movement which brought Chiang Kai-shek to power and provoked the present conflict with Japan. If China again attains full sovereignty over her territory she will trade with the rest of the world on her own terms.

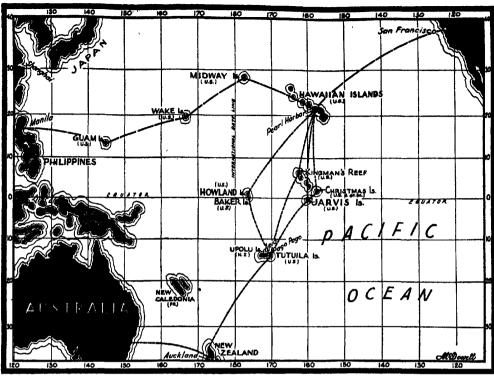
But suppose Japan's economic structure cannot support her military machine and its costly campaign in China and collapses—would not the Open Door, with the Japanese key removed, be as easily opened as it was before Japan closed it? The answer is no again. That idea is founded upon illusion, like the argument that economic sanctions imposed by the United States would force Japan to abandon her campaign in China. Economic sanctions have never compelled any nation to stop fighting a war. In Japan's case, her economic resources have increased, rather than diminished, since she began her war in China, chiefly because of the development of resources on the Asiatic continent that have come under her control. There is no sound ground for the assumption that an economic collapse will force withdrawal of her troops from Chinese territory.

So the fact is that there no longer is an Open Door in China and the indications are that there never will be again. Hay's policy is obsolete. That policy was a manifestation of economic imperialism, which has been slain by the new policy of economic nationalism. And we cannot help China or help ourselves by clinging to an outmoded policy in the Far East.

I do not approve of the methods by which Japan has closed the Open Door in China in disregard of treaties she solemnly subscribed to, nor do I condone the brutality of her militarists in China: I dislike their arrogance. Neither do I approve the methods by which the British acquired Hong Kong, or by which the French took Indo-China. Sometimes, as an American, I am troubled to recall how we brought within our own borders all the land over which our flag now flies.

But until the world learns that the purity of methods by which a goal is reached is more of a test of men's souls than is the purity of the objective, until men and nations know that it is sometimes nobler to fail than to succeed, we will go on justifying the means by the end. Chamberlain did that after Munich. Hitler did it in his recent speech to the Reichstag in response to President Roosevelt's peace appeal. That is the way of the world as it now operates.

The United States, therefore, is adhering to a policy that has become wholly idealistic and utterly impractical and spending billions of dollars because of the fear that our insistence upon that policy might force us to defend it by armed might. We are in the paradoxical position of maintaining, with regard to the Far East, a policy which we do not apply to our relations with the rest of the world.

There are two courses we can pursue to correct that situation. First, we can back up our sentimental support of China with force. That means that we would send our navy and as much of an army as was needed to

*Our stepping stones across the Pacific Ocean now include three new islands: Jarvis, Howland and Baker.*

fight against the Japanese in Asiatic territory and drive them back within their native borders. If we were logical and whole-souled about it we would free Manchuria and Korea, as well as China, and perhaps Formosa as well. As long ago as 1910 Theodore Roosevelt told President Taft, who asked his advice on Far Eastern policy, that if Japan chose to "follow a course of conduct to which we are adverse we cannot stop it unless we are prepared to go to war." Not in Theodore Roosevelt's day nor at any time since have the American people manifested a desire to go to war to save China or to save our trade with China.

The second course is to face the facts as they are and conform to them. This would mean what some would call a practical modification of it. I cannot say that the soul of the nation would be ennobled by following that course. But I do assert that to follow it would achieve an objective greatly to our advantage. And certainly it would be less reprehensible than it would be to plunge our country into war to drive the Japanese out of China.

I believe that a strong liberalism underlies Japan's political structure, despite the current dominance of the military. I believe that Japan would rather be aligned with us in the field of international politics than with Berlin and Rome. I think she is now a member of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis because of the rebuffs we and other democracies have given her, and, so doing, have afforded her militarists an excuse for throwing in their lot with Hitler and Mussolini.

I believe that if the United States would say to Japan that, while we do not approve of her course in China, we will not express our disapproval by force of arms or impose economic sanctions or trade barriers because we dislike her Asiatic policies, the Japanese response would be immediate and friendly. If we were to give further evidence of our desire to cultivate this friendship, a reciprocal trade treaty applicable to all the territory under Japanese control could be negotiated without great difficulty.

If we followed this course we would sound the death knell of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. We would be sure that if the exigencies of the European situation forced us into war on the side of European democracies we would not have to fight a foe in the Pacific also.

We could bring our gunboats and our soldiers out of China: we could reduce our naval and military establishment in the Pacific to the requirements of hemisphere defense. We would need to build no new fortifications in the Pacific nor expand or strengthen existing ones. We could cut our defense bill in the Pacific in half, at least.

Unless our reciprocal trade agreement policy is not the balm for wounded commerce that its sponsors proclaim it to be, the negotiation of such a treaty with Japan would give tremendous impetus to our trade with the Far East. Some of the surplus commodities that are causing our farm economists and farmers such headaches might begin to move through trade channels without the stimulus of costly subsidies.

Thus might we assure peace in the Pacific, not only for our time but for a long time to come. Thus might we open channels of trade that would help solve our economic problems.

It may not be true American idealism, but it seems to me to be good Yankee common sense.

*Current History Presents*

# What's YOUR Opinion?

**A monthly department conducted by George V. Denny, Jr., founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting of the Air and President of Town Hall, New York**

*The Question this month:*

## CAN BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT CO-OPERATE NOW?

### Foreword

IT is self-evident that democracy cannot survive in this tumultuous modern world unless it can elevate into positions of leadership men and women who have the knowledge and the courage to grapple with the tremendous problems of our times. Democracy cannot survive unless it can devise methods of creating a soundly informed public opinion to strengthen and support such leadership.

While the Constitution of the United States stands as the most successful document for the conduct of orderly democratic government adopted by any nation during the past century and a half, it makes no provision for a fundamental requisite of democracy—an informed electorate. It protects freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press. *But it does not require that any citizen who has attained voting age should have even the most elementary knowledge of the complex and controversial current questions upon which he is expected to vote.*

As a contribution to the unending task of keeping the American people thoroughly informed on such controversial questions, CURRENT HISTORY presents this department, What's YOUR Opinion? It has invited Mr. George V. Denny, Jr., president of Town Hall, New York, and founder and director of America's Town Meeting of the Air, to conduct this department just as he conducts this nationally famous radio forum. It will be his aim to assemble, each month, authoritative opinions on controversial questions by outstanding economists, statesmen, business and professional leaders, journalists and educators, as well as a special section of opinions by readers of CURRENT HISTORY.

This month we are not including original contributions. But next month original contributions will appear on one of the most important problems of our times—CAN DEMOCRACY PUT MEN BACK TO WORK?

In addition, there will be a special section of opinions by CURRENT HISTORY readers on the question discussed in the present issue: CAN BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT CO-OPERATE NOW? We take this opportunity to ask our readers to send in their opinions as soon as possible on that question.

Letters should be no longer than three hundred words, and preferably shorter. They should be addressed to

Mr. George V. Denny, Jr.
CURRENT HISTORY
420 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

This department cannot publish lengthy panaceas or plans. It is concerned primarily with concise, well-expressed and well-reasoned opinions. It will attempt to present impartially and fairly a well-balanced cross-section of American opinion on the most pressing problems before our country today.

CURRENT HISTORY reserves the right to use any portion of letters submitted to this department. It cannot return manuscripts unless they are accompanied by a return stamped self-addressed envelope. Contributions for next month's department must reach this office by June 10. On page 41 will be found a list of topics which are under consideration for discussion in later issues. Readers are urged to check those listed subjects which they wish to see discussed and to suggest others which may have been omitted. Which questions do you consider the most important before America today?

What's YOUR Opinion?

IT has been said that only the voice from the White House can rival George V. Denny, Jr., in making politics exciting. His success as moderator of "America's Town Meeting of the Air" and President of Town Hall, New York, has earned this 39-year-old North Carolinian the title of Political Educator No. 1. Formerly an actor, manager, and lecture tour agent, Mr. Denny has been able to combine the best showmanship of Broadway with the deep zeal of the educational pioneer.

America's Town Meeting of the Air is his pet idea. This single hour a week brings in more than 60,000 letters in a season. Mr. Denny's fundamental purpose is best expressed in his own words: "We'll educate the independents—those voters who hold allegiance to no party—so that political parties will have to produce candidates that appeal to them. This will tend to counteract malicious pressure groups, sickening political campaigns and, above all, the dangers of dictatorship."

Moderator Denny loves music, dancing, loses his temper seldom; is the soul of neatness, a gull for hair tonics, speaks softly, smiles broadly, wears silver-rimmed glasses, is careful with other people's money, careless with his own, is married and has three children.

HAS the Chamber of Commerce of the United States fired the opening gun in a new war between government and business? Editorial typewriters are clicking on this subject all over the country.

Meeting in Washington early in May, the Chamber advocated repeal of the Wage-Hour Act and revision of many other measures which, taken together, make up much of President Roosevelt's New Deal (see next page). "They certainly spread a lot of gloom around town," said Secretary of Commerce Hopkins, in a stiff comment on the Chamber's resolutions.

At this writing, President Roosevelt was expected to criticize the resolutions further in a speech before the Washington convention of the National Retail Federation on May 22.

From all this, the country seemed to conclude that relations between the government and business had entered a new, and apparently more hostile, phase.

When the present Administration took office in March 1933, business leaders in desperation turned to the federal government to help stop a downward spiral which threatened our whole economic system.

For about six months it seemed that government and business were going to pull together toward a miraculous recovery and a new era of prosperity.

In less than a year, however, questions sprang up. Was the government planning not only to regulate business but to control it? Was it emphasizing reform at the expense of recovery? A huge government spending program was being voted—where was it to end? Government agencies to deal with business and agriculture had multiplied overnight—who was to tell whom what he could do, and could not? So many powers were vested in the President that the theretofore whispered word "dictator" became a political battle-cry of the opposition. At every turn, business men began to feel the strong arm of the government in the form of increased taxes and increased regulations.

SOON advocates of more governmental control of business were locking horns with the more independent-minded business leaders. Their struggle, waged with varying degrees of intensity, has now lasted nearly six years.

When President Roosevelt appointed Mr. Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce, a program of appeasement was widely anticipated. On Feb. 24, in a speech at Des Moines, Mr. Hopkins expressed a decidedly friendly attitude toward business, voicing a desire "to create an enviroment in which private capital will be encouraged to invest." Efforts thereupon were made to get business leaders and government leaders together. But the peace then awaited has not materialized.

Instead, we have had the recent sharp exchange between the Chamber of Commerce, on the one hand, and the Secretary of Commerce on the other.

On the merits and demerits of the Chamber's resolutions there are, as might be expected, dramatically differing opinions. Ernest K. Lindley, Washington correspondent, commented tartly in his column in the *Washington Post:*

"The palm for the poorest sense of public relations exhibited thus far in 1939 has been awarded by several of my colleagues to the United States Chamber of Commerce. From that verdict this column dissents. First, the resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce were obviously based on the high principle that honesty is the best policy. They made only the barest pretense of tolerating as desirable or necessary any of the internal reform wrought by the Roosevelt Administration. They amounted to a demand for a repeal of the New Deal, and as such they had the blunt appeal of an untouched and undraped antique."

Editorially, however, the *Washington Post* commented: "The resolutions adopted, on the occasion of the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Chamber, are, as heretofore, a characteristic expression of changing business sentiment. A very favorable impression is created by the absence of any striving for effect and by the specific character of the recommendations.

"The members appear to have reached a measure of agreement that makes it unnecessary to indulge in evasive or discursive utterances. The prevailing sentiment is certainly unfavorable to the Administration's major policies. But there is a significant absence of sweeping demands for repeal of measures that

everybody knows are here to stay."

One can almost hear the snort Hugh S. Johnson, first National Recovery Administrator, would deliver over that friendly sentiment. In his copyrighted newspaper column, written for the United Feature Syndicate, General Johnson declares:

"The United States Chamber of Commerce could be profitably wrapped in cellophane and put on ice for five years. You can gibe at Mr. Roosevelt and later versions of the first New Deal as much as you care—I have done it until I am weary—but I can never forget Mr. Roosevelt's first brilliant 'hundred days,' and neither should anybody else in business forget them. They took this country from its lowest point of economic disaster to the greatest improvement ever recorded in so short a time in all our history.

"There were many reasons for this, but not the least of them was that the country was united behind the President and his strongest area of support was business. If I had to put my finger on the one principal cause of our failure to carry on to prosperity, having seen much of what happened from the inside, I would say that it was the growing rift between this Administration and business.

"Looking back on that history, I would assess the blame about equally on each side. The President is accused of stubbornness and vindictiveness and I think he deserves it. But in view of the closing resolutions of the United States Chamber of Commerce, he has nothing on them. Talk about the Bourbons who learned nothing and forgot nothing! The net effect is a plea to retreat from all the social advances of the last six years . . .

"Business-baiting radicals in the Administration couldn't have guided or worded their resolutions better to boost their game. They not only intensify the opposition but they make 'appeasement' impossible."

Whether or not the Chamber of Commerce resolutions make "appeasement" impossible, as General Johnson believes, Raymond Clapper, who writes a column from Washington for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, would agree that "appeasement" has become impracticable. His answer to the question, "Can Business and Government Co-operate Now?" would be a simple, "No."

"Mr. Roosevelt and his associates," he writes, "are more determined than ever that the Democratic party shall go ahead in New Deal directions. The President is agreeable toward letting up on new experiments and consolidating the existing ones on a more efficient basis. But he will consent to no such retreat as the conservative Democrats and organized business men now demand.

"Businessmen, or those who undertook to speak for them here in Washington last week, are holding on, waiting for next year, when they hope to put a Republican in the White House. It is too late for appeasement."

That may or may not be the realistic view of the question, "Can Business and Government Co-operate Now?" But neither Mr. Johnson nor Mr. Clapper would contend that it is the encouraging view. It is therefore with something akin to relief that one turns from their forebodings to the meeting of another group of business men—the annual conference of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, held recently in New York.

The cheerful theme of that conference was "Co-operating for Recovery"—an implied assertion that both recovery and co-operation are altogether possible.

"By genuinely co-operative effort," the conference was told by Henry Bruere, chairman of the committee on railroads of the Mutual Savings Banks Association, "the men engaged in the transportation industry, government officials charged with duty respecting it, and the American business community can, if they will, find a way to make our railway system again as genuinely sound and efficient as most of it now remains even after all these years of strain."

In the last analysis, perhaps, the question is not so much *whether* business and government can co-operate as *when* they can co-operate. For, sooner or later, co-operate they must.

It is obvious to all who understand the workings of the American economic system that business can be developed, and unemployment overcome, only by private investment, on the one hand, or government spending on the other.

Few, indeed, would argue that government spending alone would suffice. Certainly President Roosevelt would not. In his message to Congress on the question of relief a few weeks ago, he declared:

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*At its meeting in Washington early in May the Chamber of Commerce of the United States adopted a number of resolutions. Excerpts from these follow:*

**CAPITAL:** Congress should immediately take affirmative action to stimulate the free flow of capital into investments in both established and new enterprises. It should modify the laws regulating the issuance of private securities, without removal of essential safeguards for investors, and should require administrative agencies under these laws to remove unnecessary restrictions from their regulations.

**RELIEF:** Industry endorses the principle of federal financial assistance in necessary relief expenditures. Such expenditures should not only accomplish the objective of relief, but should serve as a contributing factor to employment in private enterprise.

**LABOR:** Without more delay, the Labor Relations Act should be structurally amended. There should be specific provision for preservation of the right of free speech, both for the employer and for the employee. There should be removed from the law the sanction of the closed shop. The [Wage-Hour] law should be repealed for the benefit of employers, employees and the general public.

**BUDGET:** The country should concentrate its attention upon expenditures by every form of public agency—federal, state and local—and insist upon reduction of totals within the amount the country can currently afford.

**TAXATION:** In the interest of revenues for the government as well as economic progress, the Revenue Act should be thoroughly revised. There should be immediate modification of those taxes which, because of excessive rates or because of their hampering effects, are now acting as deterrents to business recovery.

Proposals for the increase in grants-in-aid to states for public health services and for the enlargement of public health programs should not be considered until the country can afford them and can pay for them without burdens that will create new hardships in other directions.

*Asked what he thought of the Chamber of Commerce resolutions, Secretary of Commerce Harry L. Hopkins replied tersely: "Not much." He then added, in part:*

Certainly the resolutions were not justified by press reports of improvements of business on many fronts.

You've got national income at a rate of $66,000,000,000 a year in the first quarter of 1939, as against an actual income of $62,000,000,000 in 1938.

Now I don't mean to indicate for a moment that this is satisfactory, or that because there has been an increase in employment we are satisfied. But I don't believe the facts justify the discouraging tone at the [Chamber of Commerce] meeting.

I think the whole attitude was defeatist. It was not an objective attitude toward an economic problem that should be discussed without emotion.

I think during the next twelve months it is extremely important that the fiscal policy of the government be carried out. On the other hand, everything that can should be done to stimulate the use of private funds.

I think the tone of some of these resolutions—on wages and hours, for instance—indicate a fundamental disagreement with Administration policies on many points.

About 150 people were in the room when the resolutions passed, and probably these were drafted by a half-dozen persons. I don't think the National Association of Manufacturers said the same thing at all.

I simply do not understand the viewpoint of people, considering all the great wealth of resources we have, who take the defeatist attitude that this private economic system cannot work.

While I feel there should be no general rise in federal taxes this year, I believe any federal taxes which tend to freeze the necessary flow of capital should be amended.

I undoubtedly will discuss with the Attorney General problems with relation to the whole anti-trust division. I know nothing about an anti-trust program.

"The national income, which amounted to $62,000,000,000 in 1938, is now running at a rate which should increase it to $67,000,000,000 in 1939. This I regard as all-important, because I believe that if the national income can be increased to $80,000,000,000 our whole economic picture will greatly improve and the problem of unemployment will become much less acute.

"However, I wish to repeat what I said at that time: I do not believe that this increase in national income can be brought about solely by the expenditure of public funds for relief and recovery purposes."

On one thing let us be clear: Without a revival of private investment, we shall face the eventual end of our political and economic system as we know it today. For private investment, it is admitted, will determine the degree to which we can put our unemployed back to work. And the degree to which we can put our unemployed back to work will determine the success or failure of the American system.

"In the world today," declares John T. Flynn, author-economist, "there is a great competition going on. It is a contest between three economic systems—the communist, the fascist, and the democratic-capitalist systems . . . the victory will go to the system which succeeds within its own borders."

In these circumstances, it is thought-provoking to recall one of Walter Lippmann's recent copyrighted newspaper columns, syndicated by the New York Tribune, Inc. Wrote Mr. Lippmann: "It may, perhaps, help us to get our bearings, if we fix our attention to the truly extraordinary fact that, among the great nations of the world, the United States is now the only one left which is not mobilized for war.

"As a result, the United States is the only great nation left which has a problem of unemployment. All the others have reached or are approaching the problem of labor scarcity."

Unique among nations, too, is the United States in that it still has a problem of how and when to produce co-operation between business and government. We shall deal with this problem more basically in the subject chosen for our July issue, for it is logically a part of the greater issue to be discussed at that time, Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work? What's YOUR Opinion?

*Future What's YOUR Opinion departments will feature an important section devoted to letters from readers. We invite you to participate and urge you to begin at once. Send us your comments on this month's subject. What do YOU think? Can Government and Business Co-operate Now? What's YOUR Opinion?*

What's YOUR Opinion?

Which of the following subjects would you like to have discussed in Mr. Denny's department during the coming months?

It would be helpful if you would number the subjects in order of their interest to you.

After marking your choices, please cut off this column and mail it to CURRENT HISTORY, 420 Madison Avenue, New York City—and don't forget to send us any suggestions of your own, together with your name and address.

. . . Should the Townsend Plan be adopted by the United States?

. . . Should work relief be returned to the states?

. . . Should a declaration of war be voted on by the people?

. . . Should the Wagner Labor Act be revised?

. . . Should the Neutrality Act be amended?

. . . Should the immigration laws be amended to permit entry of all genuine refugees?

. . . Should fingerprinting of all citizens be compulsory?

. . . Should the government take over the railroads?

. . . Should income from federal, state and municipal bonds be subject to income tax?

NAME ........................

ADDRESS ....................

CITY .........................

STATE .......................

# THEY SAY
## Quotations from the World Press

## Information Please Loses a Listener

*—An article by Gene Majewski in the* De Paulia, *student newspaper of DePaul University, Chicago.*

I am informing the Canada Dry people that their "Information Please" program has just lost a listener. Me. I am seceding from the intelligentsia. On the ill-starred nights that Fadiman, Kieran, et al., flaunt their knowledge consumerward I shall henceforth be entranced in the soul-gripping drama of "Hi ho, Silver."

Here's why. In the old days of quiz programs it was the business of some lad with a smiling voice to halt unsuspecting pedestrians and ply them with questions. The questions were simple. The answers even more so. In those dear days the questioner would suggest something like, "Who is Lily Pons?" The answer that he very likely would get would be, "A small body of water with flowers on it." Or the questionee would be asked a more involved problem like, "What have you gotten out of democracy?" and would glibly answer, "$55 a month." If the questioning were being done near a railroad the witty fellow would ask, "Give me a synonym for 'freight,'" and would be told, "It's the same thing as 'scared.'"

You can see that these programs were fun. A lad like me could listen to this stuff and gloat. For after all, even I could do better than that. Then one day I heard the Information Please show. Instead of having the mine-run man answer the questions these fellows get four experts (who know at least everything) to answer the queries. Fadiman, the m. c., will ask, "Here is the fourteenth word of a poem by a minor poet of pre-Confucius China. Name the poet and recite alternate lines of the poem." The four experts fight to be the first to answer. The next question is, "Give the middle names of the trainers of all the horses who won the English Derby since 1620." Kieran, one of the lads, in great glee gives not only the middle names but also their ages and marital status. Next comes a musical issue. "I shall play a note. It is part of a dominant third chord in a certain symphony. Give the weight of the composer at the time he wrote the music." The question is answered before he has finished speaking. Next, "Name the philosopher who taught Epicurus and played second base for the Dodgers." Kieran smirks, names the man and gives his batting and fielding averages.

This program, with its offer to pay $10 for every question they accept, is responsible for a hideous situation. The American educational system is going to pot! College professors are forgetting their purpose in life. Instead of asking questions to find out what the students know about a course, they are using the students as guinea pigs on questions to be sent to the Information Please people.

Instead of "Who wrote *Gray's Elegy*?" our classrooms are beginning to resound with, "How many times does one point the toe at Orion, the evening star, during the complete performance of the Shag?"

This must stop!

## Stark vs. Dewey in 1940?

*—Condensed from an editorial in the* Boston Herald.

There is a possibility that Democrats as well as Republicans will turn to a presidential candidate relatively inexperienced in elective office and in politics. The indictment of "Boss" Pendergast of Kansas City on the initiative of Governor Lloyd C. Stark of Missouri has caused as much enthusiasm in the West as the sensational achievements of District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey of New York have stirred up in the East.

As of today, Mr. Dewey is the probable nominee of the Republicans. As of the time when the workings of the Missouri machine are revealed to the public Governor Stark may be the Democrat of the hour. The sordid details of one of the most sinister and successful political gangs will be spread on the record. Everybody will recall that, except for Lloyd Stark, the Pendergast outfit would still be operating.

Mr. Dewey's popularity is due to victories won over figures of the underworld before he was elected, and over Tammany since then. His courage, energy, youth and ability in the law have made him such a glamorous figure to many Republicans that they do not care what his social and economic views are. His inexperience as a political executive means nothing to them. They argue that what counts is the power to attract people and to get the votes.

Governor Stark's four-year term will end in January 1941. His judgment on national and international problems is as little known now as it was when he was elected in 1936, and is certainly no more familiar to the voters than Mr. Dewey's. The Governor was unknown politically in the East until, aroused by corruption, he managed to get his story to the attention of the President and a federal grand jury.

## Lou Gehrig, "Greatest of All First Basemen"

*—Condensed from the column, "It Seems to Me," by Heywood Broun, in the* New York World-Telegram.

Lou Gehrig came up the hard way and seems to be going down in the same fashion. All that Lou could do was field and hit and stay steadily on the job. Although one of the greatest of money players, he has never quite captured the imagination of the fans. To some extent this can be attributed

to the fact that he failed to get the best possible break from the baseball writers. His streak of 2,130 straight games may never again be matched. Now the string is broken, and the Iron Horse has puffed into the roundhouse to refuel and rest awhile. They say that when Lou Gehrig benched himself he was visibly affected. And the Detroit fans cheered him with more warmth than he ever received in his heyday.

Possibly the writers were correct in thinking that it was difficult to find romantic appeal in a man who punched the time clock as steadily as he punched the ball. When an athlete gets himself dubbed "The Iron Horse" he becomes a sort of mechanical monster rather than a plumed knight. The most hard-boiled of sports commentators are incurably sentimental. They go for dash and fancy fielding and all that sort of thing.

Manager McCarthy, not so long ago, was chewing the fat with three paunchy ex-baseball writers. He asked us to name the greatest first baseman of all time. One said Chase, and one said Chance, and I went all the way back to Fred Tenney. Mr. McCarthy seemed irritated. "I am surprised at your ignorance, gentlemen," he said; "there just isn't any debate about it. Lou Gehrig is the first baseman of all time."

This spring I thought the correspondents at the training camp were far too savage in calling attention to Gehrig's decline. I almost think that he has been written into a slump. He isn't really an iron horse but a man with the same sensitivity as anybody else. The string is snapped, all right; in a few days he'll be back and start a new one. And every man with as much as one gray hair upon his thatch ought to be in Gehrig's corner. Who says that we are fading? Smack it, Lou, and show the juveniles that the old guard never surrenders!

NOMINATION FOR 1938

*Charles George Werner, staff artist for the Daily Oklahoman, won a Pulitzer Prize for this cartoon. Only 30 years old, he has been a full time cartoonist for less than two years, was once a pupil of world famous J. N. (Ding) Darling. Werner is a golfer, water colorist, clay modeler, historian, husband, and father.*

## Pulitzer Prize Winner

*The Pulitzer Prize of $500 for "distinguished editorial writing . . . the test of excellence being clearness of style, moral purpose, sound reasoning, and power to influence public opinion," this year was awarded to R. G. Callvert, associate editor of the* Portland Oregonian.

During one of the ever-recurring crises in Europe, Mr. Callvert had assigned the topic—"My Country 'Tis of Thee"—to a colleague, but tackled it himself when he found that the assignment would interfere with his assistant's week-end vacation. The editorial, which follows, attracted immediate attention, was widely reprinted and created a demand for thousands of copies as leaflets.

*My Country 'Tis of Thee . . .*

In this land of ours, this America, the man we choose as leader dons at no time uniform or insignia to denote his constitutional position as commander in chief of armed forces. No member of his Cabinet, no civil subordinate, ever attires himself in garments significant of military power.

In this land of ours, this America, the average citizen sees so little of the Army that he has not learned to distinguish between a major and a lieutenant from his shoulder straps. When the chief executive addresses his fellow-countrymen they gather about him within handclasp distance. Goose-stepping regiments are not paraded before him. When he speaks to the civilian population it is not over rank upon rank of helmeted heads.

In this land of ours, this America, there is no tramp of military boots to entertain the visiting statesman. There is no effort to affright him with display of mobile cannon or of facility for mass production of aerial bombers.

In this land of ours, this America, there is no fortification along the several thousand miles of the northern border. In the great fresh water seas that partly separate it from another dominion no naval craft plies the waters. Along its southern border there are no forts, no show of martial strength.

In this land of ours, this America, no youth is conscripted to labor on devices of defense; military training

he may take or leave at option. There is no armed force consistent with a policy of aggression. The Navy is built against no menace from the Western Hemisphere, but wholly for defense against that which may threaten from Europe or Asia.

In this land of ours, this America, one-third of the population is foreign born or native born of foreign or mixed parentage. Our numerous "minorities" come from fourteen nations. The native born, whatever his descent, has all political and other rights possessed by him who traces his ancestry to the founding fathers. The foreign born of races that are assimilable are admitted to all these privileges if they want them. We have "minorities" but no minority problem.

In this land of ours, this America, the common citizen may criticize without restraint the policies of his government or the aims of the chief executive. He may vote as his judgment or his conscience advises and not as a ruler dictates.

In this land of ours, this America, our songs are dedicated to love and romance, and blue of the night, sails in the sunset, and not to might or to a martyrdom to political cause. Our national anthem has martial words; difficult air. But if you want to hear the organ roll give the people its companion—"America . . . of thee I sing." In lighter patriotism we are nationally cosmopolitan. Unitedly we sing of Dixie or of Iowa, where the tall corn grows, of springtime in the Rockies, or of California, here I come.

In this land of ours, this America, there is not a bomb-proof shelter, and a gas mask is a curiosity. It is not needed that we teach our children where to run when deathhawks darken the sky.

In this land of ours, this America, our troubles present or prospective come from within—come from our own mistakes, and injure us alone. Our pledges of peace toward our neighbors are stronger than ruler's promise or written treaty. We guarantee them by devoting our resources, greater than the resources of any other nations, to upbuilding the industries of peace. We strut no armed might that could be ours. We cause no nation in our half of the world to fear us. None does fear us, nor arm against us.

In this land of ours, this America, we have illuminated the true road to permanent peace. But that is not the sole moral sought herein to be drawn. Rather it is that the blessings of liberty and equality and peace that have been herein recounted are possessed nowhere in the same measure in Europe or Asia and wane or disappear as one nears or enters a land of dictatorship of whatever brand. This liberty, this equality, this peace, are embedded in the American form of government. We shall ever retain them if foreign isms that would dig them out and destroy them are barred from our shores. If you cherish this liberty, this equality, this peace that is peace material and peace spiritual—then defend with all your might the American ideal of government.

## Recovery Prospects

*—Condensed from the column, "This Changing World," by H. B. Elliston, in the* Christian Science Monitor.

Late in 1937 the United States suffered the sharpest recession (if you prefer the word) on record. In June 1938, there was a spectacular recovery, but, looking back, we find that it came to an end last November, and was thus the sharpest recovery on record. Since November some of the indexes of business have lost 50 per cent of their post-June gains.

Some say that the 1937 setback was due to the slapping on of monetary and fiscal restrictions. But the present recession is taking place when government expenditures are increasing month by month. Some say that the 1937 recession was due to the overproduction of goods beyond current demands. Excess inventories, as the President called them. But this new recession has come upon the country at a time when inventories are down so low that industry is operating on a hand-to-mouth basis. Some say that the 1937 recession was due to high, or at least distorted, prices. But the new recession has come when prices are in much less unbalance than usual.

The usual thing is to blame either Roosevelt or Hitler. With the former, it is a case of blaming the boss, since the President of the United States, through the extraordinary powers that have been granted to him under the New Deal, has become the economic manager of America. The specific complaint refers to crippling taxation.

Herr Hitler is a scapegoat because of the fear of war which his program has generated. In Washington he is generally accused of rocking the pump. One can understand why the fear of war holds things back in some European countries; the fear of war should normally encourage enterprise in America, since war for the time being affords a stimulus to business, especially to business situated at a safe distance.

My own inquiries show that businessmen are not ultra-cautious (which is another way of describing economic recession) because of a fear of war *per se*. Their ultra-caution is due to uncertainty about what would happen in Washington in the event of foreign war. It would give the ultra-New Dealers a marvelous opportunity to put all industry in a strait-jacket of regimentation, whether or not the war were fought to save democracy. To the non-entangling legislators it would afford a chance to legislate non-entanglement by strangling business in advance under the guise of "anti-war profits."

On either rock private business would founder. The recession, I think, requires no further explanation. To my view, it will come to an end when the fear of foreign war subsides, and vaulting ambitions and queer legislation have therefore to be put on ice.

## Does College Pay?

*—Condensed from an editorial in the Champaign, Illinois,* News-Gazette.

That question has been asked by more and more anxious parents in recent years. The strongest light ever thrown on the question, perhaps, now comes from a study by the Bureau of Education, using data which cover forty-six thousand graduates of thirty-one colleges, between 1928 and 1935.

Approximately 60 per cent of both men and women have never been unemployed since graduation; fewer than 2 per cent have ever been on relief. Ninety-six per cent of the men and 93 per cent of the women reporting are today either temporarily or permanently employed, though many took a year or two to connect with a job.

The average college man one year out of school is making about $1,314 a year, and after eight years has climbed to $2,383. For women the average salaries are lower: $1,092 in the first year, $1,606 in the eighth. Nearly two-thirds of the graduates go into the professions; after eight years about one-fifth are owners or part owners of businesses. More than half live or work in cities of 100,000 population or over.

There's your picture. A young man goes to college, is graduated at about twenty-two. He gets a job fairly quickly, at a rather low salary, but better than the income of the average wage-earner. After eight years he has married, is getting about $45 a week, in the larger number of cases has no children. There is one chance in five that he is his own boss. The greatest value of his diploma, it seems, must be sought in other places than the pocketbook.

Elderman—the Washington Post

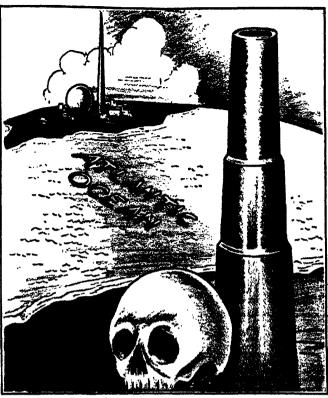
*The World of Tomorrow.*

## Utopia 2939 Model

*—Condensed from an article by Sinclair Lewis in the* New York Herald-Tribune "Books."

This year, with two world's fairs in America, we shall hear boundless claims for the excellence of the World of Tomorrow. But whatever it may be like, it must be a continuation of the World of Today.

I suspect that the physical world will go on; that there will continue to be earthquakes, floods, droughts, hurricanes, and extremes of heat and cold, and that mankind will continue to be controlled by these influences as they have been for the last million years or so. I suspect that as cancer, tuberculosis, and syphilis are wiped out, they will be replaced by subtler nervous disorders, and that as longevity increases, death will seem just as objectionable to men of ninety as it does now to men of seventy.

I suspect that it is pretty shaky to go on imagining a future world in which every average citizen will be a master of all the arts, and employ his sixteen hours of daily leisure in turning out melodies and tales of unheard eloquence. I believe that speed will become so familiar as to be less of a fashionable virtue; that radio and television will be so common that one will, without loss of social prestige, be able to go back to Homer and Dickens.

I believe that brass buttons will become so ridiculous, and jack-in-box bureaucrats so restrained, that there will rarely be any wars except political revolutions—which I expect to last as long as the automatic reaction to an insult is a blow. And I believe that, despite the power of the Stalinists, the greatest enemies of socialism which would interfere with their autocracy, there will, a thousand years from now, continue to be as much socialism as is now implied in rural free delivery.

I will give you a picture of an ideal, a quite miraculous study of the glorious year 2939. At a large, solid, oak table sits a writer. On one side of him is a wood-burning fireplace, on the other a bookcase rich with such novelties as Plato, Cervantes, Keats and Robinson Jeffers. And on a typewriter he is happily writing of the miracles to come in 3939, because Sauk Centre, Minnesota, is holding a World's Fair, and mankind is going to do something about this sorry business of being nothing but mankind.

## Russia Asks Britain for Mutual Guarantees

*—Condensed from an editorial in* Izvestia, *Soviet Government newspaper in Moscow.*

Events have substantially altered the situation in Europe: Firstly Hitler's recent pronouncement in the Reichstag; secondly, the conclusion of a military and political alliance between Italy and Germany. These two events have caused a turn for the worse in the whole political situation. Two most important treaties have disappeared which had regulated relations between Great Britain and Germany and between Germany and Poland.

There was the naval agreement between Great Britain and Germany. There was the pact of non-aggression

between Poland and Germany. After Hitler's pronouncement these pacts ceased to exist.

As to the Italo-German military and political alliance, before this was concluded Germany and Italy represented two "parallel" policies which, despite the laws of geometry, fairly often met around one axis, but also might not meet.

Certain states placed their hopes and even direct calculations on severing Italy from Germany and isolating Germany. An end has now been put to these hopes and calculations. Europe is now faced with a single general and military policy, a German-Italian policy, whose edge, as the authors of the treaty themselves declare, is directed against Great Britain and France.

Soviet people have repeatedly declared that the anti-Comintern pact uniting Germany, Italy and Japan is a mask to conceal a block of aggressive states against Great Britain and France. They were disbelieved and scoffed at. But the conversion of the anti-Comintern pact between Germany and Italy into a military and political alliance against Great Britain and France is an undoubted fact.

These circumstances have given rise to negotiations between Great Britain and France, on the one hand, and the U. S. S. R., on the other, with the object of forming an effective peace front against aggression.

Foreign politicians and press men are giving currency to slanderous rumors regarding the attitude of the U. S. S. R. in these negotiations and are attributing to it the demand for a direct military alliance with Great Britain and France. This absurd nonsense has nothing in common with the attitude of the U. S. S. R.

The U. S. S. R. holds that if France and Great Britain really want a barrier against aggression a united front of mutual assistance should be created, primarily of the four principal powers—Great Britain, France, the U. S. S. R. and Poland—or, at least of Great Britain, France and U. S. S. R.—and that these powers, bound by a pact of mutual assistance on the principle of reciprocity, should guarantee the other states of Eastern and Central Europe which are threatened by aggression.

Great Britain's counter-proposals avoid the subject of mutual assistance and consider that the Soviet Government should come to the immediate aid of Great Britain and France should they be involved in hostilities as a result of carrying out the obligations they have assumed in guaranteeing Poland and Rumania. Great Britain says nothing about the aid which the U. S. S. R. should naturally receive on the principle of reciprocity from France and Great Britain should it be involved in hostilities owing to the fulfilment of the obligations it may assume in guaranteeing any of the States of Eastern Europe.

Under this arrangement the U. S. R. R. must find itself in a position of inequality, although it would assume exactly the same obligations as France and Great Britain. Actual resistance to aggression and time of commencement of this resistance are to be decided only by Great Britain and France, although the brunt of this resistance would fall principally on the U. S. S. R., owing to its geographical situation.

We are told that, by defending Poland and Rumania, Britain and France would virtually be defending the western frontier of the U. S. S. R. That is not true. Firstly, the western frontier of the U. S. S. R. is not confined to Poland and Rumania. Secondly, Britain and France would be defending themselves and not the western frontier of the U. S. S. R., for they have a pact of mutual assistance with Poland, who in her turn is obliged to defend Great Britain and France from aggression.

Not having a pact of mutual assistance with Great Britain and France nor with Poland, the U. S. S. R. is to assist all these states without receiving assistance from them. Moreover, in the event of aggression directly aimed at the U. S. S. R., the latter would have to rely solely upon its own forces. Again the situation of the U. S. S. R. would be one of inequality.

Lewis—Milwaukee Journal

*Where did you see them, Paul Revere?*

## Spanish Art Treasures

*—Condensed from a letter to the* Times, *London, by Neil MacLaren and Michael Stewart, of the International Committee for the Preservation of Spanish Art Treasures.*

The report in the *Times* that an exhibition of part of the Spanish pictures at present in Geneva is to be held in June should do much towards allaying the anxiety that has been felt for these works since the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. It will, however, be possible to show only a small proportion of the material brought from Spain in February. In view of the reports describing wholesale disappearance of works of art during the war, we feel it desirable that some statement should be published as to the findings of the International Committee during March.

The thirteen hundred pictures now at Geneva are mostly drawn from the museums and galleries of Madrid, but include a large number from churches and private houses; they also include 456 pictures brought from Catalan collections. There are 352 pictures from the Prado; among them, all the Velasquez except three; all the Grecos (twenty-six), eighty out of ninety-six Goyas, and sixteen Titians (it was judged that the rest were in too delicate a condition to be moved).

Very few indeed of the pictures suffered as the result of the journey. Of those that did, the most seriously damaged are the two Goyas, the "Dos" and "Tres de Mayo," the case containing them being partially destroyed by a falling balcony during an air raid on Benicarlo while the pictures were being sent from Valencia to Barcelona. Fortunately the damage, though serious, is confined to secondary parts of the pictures. Ruben's "Three Graces," a picture painted on a thin oak panel, has a number of serious vertical cracks, though these are mostly extensions of older ones. A number of pictures are flaking, though it is evident that in most cases the damage is old and existed before the pictures left Madrid.

The works of art include some two thousand tapestries, principally from the National Palace. There are 142 cases of objects and sculptures from Madrid and Central Spain, and fifty-four cases of the archives of the Crown of Aragon. Further, there are 434 cases, including twenty-three from the Episcopal Museum at Vich, brought from Catalonia.

Responsibility for the works of art has now passed to the Nationalist authorities, from whom we may be certain they will receive all the attention due to them, but now that the Republican chapter is finally closed, we wish to place on record our admiration for the work of the members of the Junta and for the manner in which the transport and packing were carried out.

Low

*He talks on a party line.*

## Il Duce's ' Spokesman"

*—A recent dispatch from Rome by the Associated Press.*

It's dangerous business being "spokesman" for a government in these days of secret diplomacy, but one who thrives on it is Fascist editor Virgino Gayda. Daily, in anywhere from two to four columns of editorial, spread across the front page of *Il Giornale d'Italia,* Gayda announces, explains and defends the foreign policy of Premier Benito Mussolini, and challenges Italy's foes. His words are reread throughout Italy, and sent abroad, as the latest indication of Fascist trends.

Theoretically, Gayda has no official status or title beyond that of "centurion" or captain in the blackshirt militia. Actually, however, he has come into general acceptance as the "spokesman" for Mussolini's government, with international politics and problems as his special field.

As such, he holds a rare position now in the European press.

Karl Radek once out-ranked him in importance, as official mouthpiece of the Communist Party in its Moscow organ *Pravda,* but Radek was sentenced to prison in a Soviet purge.

France has its Pertinax and Genevieve Tabouis, both well-informed, but often in opposition to the government. Germany has its controlled press and Britain its party organs, but none with a name so widely known or a column so widely quoted as Gayda's.

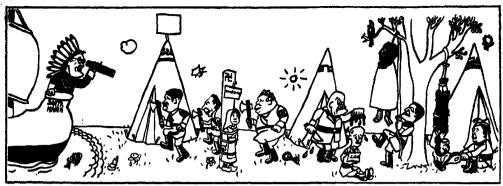
Personally, Gayda is the direct opposite of the commonly accepted Italian type. Born a Roman, he is tall and slender, with fair hair growing gray at the age of fifty-four. He does a tremendous day's work, mostly at his newspaper office, where he types out his own three-thousand to four-thousand word daily editorial stint, and any other articles he has in mind.

His writings involve a lot of research, as he is fond of bolstering his thesis with columns of figures, facts and quotations. And he calls almost daily at the Chigi Palace of the Foreign Ministry to confirm his own impressions. Gayda does not often see Mussolini himself. So seldom does this happen that, when Il Duce received the editor last April 13, just after Italy's conquest of Albania, the audience was the subject of a communique.

More frequently, Gayda talks to the Foreign Minister, Count Galeazzo Ciano, but his regular "contact" is understood to be Gino Buti, director-general of the Foreign Ministry.

Gayda also does frequent magazine articles, turns out numerous books. Outside working hours, he finds time to play a keen game of bridge, goes mountain-climbing on his vacations and keeps a kennel, with Pekinese his favorite dogs.

Gayda began his newspaper career as a foreign correspondent, after studying at Turin University and becoming a doctor of law. When he took charge of *Il Giornale d'Italia,* the most important newspaper in Italy was probably *Il Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, founded by Mussolini and edited by the Duce's nephew, Vito Mussolini, with frequent editorials by the Premier himself. Gayda's steady flow of strident editorials, however, has now made his paper probably the most influential in the country.

His style, to a foreigner, is more notable for its tones of wounded innocence, anger and threats, than

Effel—Le Canard Enchaîné, Paris

1492-1939: AMERICA IN TURN DISCOVERS THE "OLD WORLD."
*To the right of F. D. R. you will find A. H., J. G., C-S, H. G., B. M., Z, H. S., C. C., S, and F. F.*

for clearness. As quoted in the foreign press, his words appear in sharp, striking phrases, but they are taken from the mass of verbiage that arrives every afternoon on the streets of Rome.

## Question for F. D. R.

*—From the* Völkischer Beobachter, *chief organ of the German National Socialists, following a proposal by Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, retired, that the United States build airplane bases in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.*

Americans demand annexation of all the West Indies.

These cannot be regarded as the utterances of private personages. It is an especially flagrant example of hypocrisy since Roosevelt is accusing other countries of all kinds of imperialistic plans while his own appetite for foreign territory is so openly revealed.

We ask him, therefore: Will he guarantee the integrity of Haiti, the Dominican Republic and the Dutch possessions in the West Indies, which are now declared the goal of American desires?

## The King's Estates

*The fact that Britain's King is one of the wealthiest landlords in Europe is not generally realized in the United States. The King, however, receives no money from Crown property. The Treasury, or the Exchequer—as it is known in England—gets the profits from this source. The following article on the King's Estates appeared recently in the* News Chronicle, *London.*

The Commissioners of Crown Lands—the high officials who collect the rents and manage the Hereditary Estates of the Crown—are now jotting up their accounts for the year.

Up to the end of March, 1938 (the 1939 figures are not available till June) the commissioners presented the Exchequer the dazzling sum of $6,500,000. Controlling about 350,000 acres of land in England, Scotland and Wales the commissioners are among the richest landlords in the kingdom.

When you enter a shop or a cinema in Regent Street you are on Crown land. Sitting in the stalls of the Haymarket Theatre, or His Majesty's, or the Criterion, you are on Crown land. The august members of the Athenæum, the Reform and the Carlton Clubs stroll towards a sherry at lunch time on Crown land.

In London alone, about four thousand buildings are administered by the commissioners, mostly in Whitehall, Trafalgar Square, Piccadilly, Oxford Street and Kensington Palace Gardens.

But there are also mines and quarries, fishings in the Wye and Spey, great sporting estates and their lodges in Scotland; the Windsor Parks and Woods, and about six thousand houses and other buildings, in addition to many farmhouses, in various parts of the country. Of all this agricultural land accounts for some 150,000 acres. The Windsor Estate is a further thirteen thousand acres. To this you must add churches, "pubs" and whole villages scattered up and down the kingdom.

This kingly estate (though the King himself receives nothing from it) is presided over by two commissioners, one of whom is always the Minister of Agriculture. The Minister's appointment as an ex-officio commissioner arises from the interest the 1906 government had in converting land into small holdings.

The commissioners have an office in Whitehall exactly opposite the Admiralty, with a permanent staff of one hundred persons and more than two hundred men looking after the parks and woods at Windsor.

It was not until the time of George III that the revenues collected from the Crown lands were surrendered to Parliament. Before then, the money went into the King's pocket, and up to 1925 the Crown Lands Office was known as the Office of Woods and Forests. These rustic but vital duties are now mainly in the hands of the Forestry Commission.

But the wealth of the Crown lands is undiminished—in fact, very much on the increase. In 1862 the Hereditary Estates brought in a paltry $1,500,000. Today they send a check for more than $6,250,000 to the Exchequer, and in addition to this the Crown Commissioners hold over $15,000,000 in stocks and shares.

It may not always be pleasant to be a landlord, but how very pleasant, how altogether delightful to be a Crown Commissioner!

## Electing a Successor to Evangeline Booth

*—Condensed from an article by Hugh Redwood in the* News Chronicle, *London.*

Who is to be the next general of the Salvation Army? Not the least interesting aspect of a question which interests the people of a hundred different lands and languages is that nobody, within the Army or outside it, can make a confident guess at the answer. The answer, however, will have to be given before long.

General Evangeline Booth, who was elected in 1934, has announced her intention of retiring next October. She would have done so last Christmas, on reaching the age of seventy-three, had not the required majority of her commissioners invited her to disregard the regulation which fixes that as the retiring age.

It now becomes necessary for the Army's High Council to meet and appoint a successor. This it will do, in all probability, in the latter part of August. The composition of the High Council is fixed by act of Parliament (it is not always realized that the Salvation Army's constitution is regulated by statute), and its membership consists of the chief of staff (i.e., the second in command), the active commissioners, and all other officers holding territorial commands.

At present it comprises fifty-six members, of nine nationalities, representing the Army's activities in all parts of the world. It is thus an international body, just as the Army is an international organization. It must meet in or near London, since here are the international headquarters, but in its search for a leader the whole world is open to it.

The general can be of any nationality and in theory at least candidature is open to all. He or she might be elected from the "ranks" or indeed from outside the Army altogether. But it is extremely unlikely that anyone outside the High Council would be nominated and still more unlikely that any such person would receive on ballot the absolute two-thirds majority necessary for election.

There is strong support for the contention that the Army should have younger leadership. But this issue is not nearly so simple as it may sound; it is complicated by the fact that the Army's system of government is definitely autocratic. For a long time there has been a growing demand for a modification of the system, and one of the chief points made by critics of General Evangeline Booth is that she, who at one time led the reformers, has herself done nothing to bring in reforms.

It is conceivable that her successor, once in office, might oppose a modification of the general's authority, might even move in the opposite direction, and this possibility may influence the High Council against the choice of a younger candidate.

There are members of the Council who will not reach the retiring age for generals for another twenty years or more. Whatever else may happen, the Army does not want to depose any more generals. But neither does it want to be ruled by the wrong man for a score of years, and rather than run the risk of it, may once again choose a candidate with only a few years to serve.

It has been freely stated that it will not have another woman general. I should put it another way, and say that the High Council will not again elect a woman unless that woman is—Evangeline Booth.

## Gen. Araki Admonishes American-Born Japanese

*—Condensed from the news columns of the* Japan Times, *Tokyo.*

"The first duty of the American-born Japanese is to the United States alone. It is only natural that America should expect undivided loyalty from its citizens."

These are not sentiments from the lips of well-meaning American officials, but from none other than General Baron Sadao Araki, wiry-moustached, die-hard, fire-eating Minister of Education of war-time Japan.

"No citizen without a sense of moral obligation to the country of his birth can be expected to be of any worth to that nation," declared the former War Minister, regarded as one of the extremist leaders in Japan's army.

The occasion for the statement arose when a group of vernacular newspaper correspondents of the Pacific Coast and Hawaii called at the Diet Building to request special consideration for American-born Japanese students seeking to enter schools in Japan. More than fifteen hundred American-born Japanese students are now studying in various private schools in Tokyo. Because of rigid matriculation requirements only a negligible number have been able to enter recognized preparatory schools and colleges.

"The American-born Japanese will best serve Japan by serving America whether in time of peace—or war," the General said.

Asked what would be the role of the American-born Japanese in the event of a war between Japan and the United States, he suddenly sat erect—

"I would dread to be in the position of the American-born Japanese under such unfortunate circumstances. That alone should be enough to inspire them to avert at all cost such a tragedy. Theirs will be the mission to bring about the understanding we so sincerely desire. And that mission can best be realized by confining loyalty to the land that gave them birth, education and the environments of a great nation."

*Der Angriff—Berlin*

***The Holy Alliance on the march.***

## On Reconciling the Argentines and Yankees

*—Condensed from the* Latin-American World, *London.*

The incompatible Argentines and Yankees may never be wholly reconciled, but a removal of the economic factors at present aggravating the rivalry could bring about a real improvement in relations generally. Those factors are, on the one hand, the exclusion from the United States, on hygienic grounds, of Argentine meat; on the other, the virtual embargo on United States products entering Argentina, due to Argentina's decision to discriminate in favor of countries having an adverse balance of trade with her.

Now Argentina wants to sell meat to the United States and also regards the United States meat ruling as an unwarranted slur on her products. The Americans, for their part, are worried about the serious decline in their sales to Argentina. The State Department could lift the restriction on meat imports and grant Argentina a loan to free her exchange, thus reopening the floodgates to United States production. The elements of some rare bargaining are to be found in this situation, if Argentina wants new money for internal financing.

# CURRENT HISTORY IN RELIGION, BUSINESS, SPORTS

## METHODISTS UNITE. . STAMPS FOR MONEY . . BASEBALL'S FATHER

## —Religion—

NEARLY 8,000,000 Americans, more than $1,000,000,000, 140 schools and colleges with 105,000 students, 82 hospitals ministering annually to 263,000 patients, and 42,700 church buildings were affected in the merger, consummated a few weeks ago in Kansas City, which created a united Methodist Church in the United States.

The simple ceremony that formally united the American disciples of John Wesley took place May 10. After two long weeks of conferences, Bishop John Moore of Dallas read this single sentence to the nine hundred who attended the unity conference in Kansas City: "The Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Methodist Protestant Church are and shall be one united Church."

"We do so declare," chanted the delegates, in response. And the merger was completed; a breach that had endured for more than a hundred years was healed; the forty-year dream of unity was consummated.

To churchmen this union is a symbol of a trend in Protestantism that has world-wide manifestations. It is an important step in the development of the universal Christian Church.

Since the eleventh century schism in the Christian Church, nearly nine hundred years ago, the Protestant churches until recently have been busily engaged in internecine denominational strife. There are only 70 nations in the world, but there are more than 250 variations of Christianity. In the United States alone there are 212 denominations.

Lately, largely since the World War, there has been a growing sentiment in favor of the so-called ecumenical church, the universal church. Internationally, this has resulted in such agencies as the World Council of Churches. Nationally, it has resulted in the strengthening of church federations such as the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the merging of various Christian sects into large and stronger communions.

According to Dr. H. Paul Douglass, chairman of the field department of the Federal Council of Churches, there have been twenty-five denominational mergers in Protestantism during the past fourteen years. Of these, none is more significant than the Methodist union which has brought together eight million persons to form the largest Protestant Church in the United States.

IN 1931, the Congregational and Christian Churches in America combined to form a communion of one million souls, the Congregational and Christian Church. Three Lutheran sects merged in 1930 to form the American Lutheran Church with a membership of 500,000. Several other Lutheran groups are engaged in negotiations that will further strengthen and simplify the make-up of this denomination of almost five million. In 1934, the Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed Church in the United States, with a combined membership of 616,000, united to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church. Other important mergers have occurred in France, Great Britain, South Africa, China, Canada and Scotland.

It is expected that the Presbyterian Church in the United States soon will achieve organic union with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Both churches have already approved a unity conclave and Dr. Charles Welch of Louisville, Kentucky, moderator of the assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, has publicly predicted that the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Churches of North and South will unite in one church within three years.

A bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Right Reverend Francis M. Taitt of Philadelphia, went even further recently when he declared that proposals for "organic union" now being considered by the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church in the United States could well be extended to include the Reformed Episcopal, Methodist and Lutheran Churches.

It is this sentiment among churchmen that makes the merger of the Methodists so important. Speaking at the opening session of the Methodist unity conference, Dr. George Arthur Buttrick, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and rector of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York, said: "It is not my job to make the world Presbyterian or yours to make it Methodist. Our united job under God is to make it Christian. The disunion of Protestantism seems daily to become more grievous. Why should any of us deny ourselves the Episcopal Book of Prayer so full of star-fire, or the searching of a Quaker silence, or the free worship of the Presbyterians? It does seem to me that the future of the Protestant Church is bound up with larger units."

Leadership in the movement for church unity in the United States has come from his Federal Council, a confederation of twenty-five church bodies with their 24,000,000 communicant members. Through their experiences in this loose confederation, churchmen have learned to realize the value of co-operation and the strength of numbers.

FEDERAL Council leaders have also been influential in the development of the World Council of Churches, the constitution for which was approved in May of last year by seventy-nine church leaders representing twenty-nine church bodies in twenty countries. This movement represents the larger Protestant denominations of the world, together with Eastern Orthodox and Anglican. It is representative of every phase of Christianity with the exception of the Roman Catholic.

The World Council will have an assembly of 450 members meeting every five years and a central committee of ninety members meeting annually. It will promote co-operation in study, will call world conferences on specific subjects, will offer counsel and provide opportunity for united action; but it will have no power to legislate for the churches.

Though its leaders will not even

discuss the subject, the World Council is the first step towards a united Protestantism. Dr. William Adams Brown, of Union Theological Seminary, recently said of the World Council: "For the first time in a thousand years, there is an agency around which the divided members of the Christian Church may rally to show their essential unity of purpose."

Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, has declared: "The hostility of communism, and the efforts of fascism and nazism to use the church for selfish purposes and to control it, have tended to make the churches feel the need of standing together in the face of opposition. Along with the opposition of the great political movements, there is within the church itself a new awareness of a real spiritual unity far greater than our present denominational divisions recognize."

It was against this background that nine hundred Methodist delegates met at Kansas City to effect a reunion that has been attempted for almost half a century. Each delegate had on his desk in the Municipal Auditorium a book of 342 pages, *The Prospectus of the Discipline of the Methodist Church.* The unity conference was forbidden to touch the twenty-five Articles of Religion, which deal with Methodist beliefs concerning the Trinity, the Scriptures, original sin, free will, good works, sacraments, men's goods and their oaths. These articles were accepted when the three church bodies ratified the plan of merger.

Nor could the conference meddle with the General Rules, which contain admonitions against drunkenness, buying or selling on the Lord's day, quarreling, giving or taking unlawful interest, needless self-indulgence and laying up treasure on earth.

The conference was called to fit together ecclesiastical machinery, to co-ordinate missionary, educational and benevolent boards and societies; to unify publishing interests; to provide a plan for controlling and safeguarding all permanent funds and property interests; to harmonize and combine the rituals.

The ideological differences that caused the two splits in the ranks of Methodism had been resolved before the Kansas City reunion. Looking back at the long history leading to reunion, which began in 1894, the delegates must have wondered at the delay.

The Methodist Protestant Church was organized November 2, 1830, in Baltimore by a group of preachers and laymen of Tennessee, North Carolina and Maryland who advocated lay representation in the annual and general conferences and the abolition of bishops and presiding elders. Since then the Northern and Southern Methodists have adopted the Methodist Protestant views on lay representation. All that remained prior to unification was the election of two bishops to represent the 200,000 communicants of this group. This was done prior to the unity conference. Dr. James H. Straughn of Baltimore, president of the General Conference of the Methodist Protestants, and Dr. John Calvin Broomfield of Fairmont, West Virginia, a former president, were the two Methodist Protestant leaders designated as bishops.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was formed May 1, 1845, at Louisville, after a dispute over the question of slavery. This question had long troubled the Methodists. Two years earlier, a group of ardent abolitionists had withdrawn to form the Wesleyan Methodist Church, which has persisted until now and is not included in the present union. Several other small Methodist sects —Free Methodist, Colored Methodist, African Methodist Episcopal, and African Methodist Episcopal Zion—also are not included.

First steps toward reunion were made in 1894 and 1896, when the Northern and Southern groups joined in appointing a commission to work out a common catechism, to publish a joint hymnal and to unify publishing interests in China and Japan. In 1904 and 1906, the general conferences set up a Federal Council of Methodism to arbitrate conflicts that might arise between the representatives of the Northern and Southern Churches. In 1910, the Methodist Protestants joined this council and a committee was formed for the purpose of planning unification.

The joint commission's plan, similar to the one just accepted, was rejected by the Northern Methodists in 1912. Another plan was drafted in 1920, and this, too, was turned down by the Northern group. But by 1924, the Northern Church approved a plan. The Southern Church at a special general conference voted to submit the plan to the regional conferences. When the votes had been counted, the plan had won by more than 85 per cent in the Northern Church, but it had polled but 52 per cent, an insufficient majority, in the Southern Church.

The Methodist Protestants were included when the present plan of union was drafted in 1935. The Methodist Episcopal Church voted approval in 1936. The Methodist Protestants took the same action.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the plan was sent to the regional conference before it was approved by the general conference, because that body was not scheduled to meet until 1938. The conferences voted 86 per cent for unification, only one regional conference voting in the negative. And in 1938, the general conference added its approval by a vote of 434 to 26.

The united Methodist Church will hold its first general conference in 1940. It will be at work in 43,000 communities, with 60 bishops, 42 of whom are active, 24,900 ministers, 13,100 local preachers and 900 deaconesses in the United States. In the 30 foreign countries where there is work partly supported or administered by American Methodists, the leadership numbers 2,500 ministers, 2,900 local preachers and 1,400 deaconesses.

The new Church will be divided into five geographical major conferences and one for Negroes. Segregation of Negroes was one of the most troublesome barriers to unity, a large number of northerners opposing such segregation.

The Church properties—42,700 church buildings and 20,700 parsonages—are valued at $725,000,000. The 140 schools and colleges, with a faculty of more than 6,000 and 105,000 students, have a property value and endowment of $308,000,000.

The Church conducts 82 hospitals, with 5,300 nurses in training, ministering to some 263,000 patients annually. This property and endowment are valued at $73,250,000.

Publishing interests, homes for children and aged, home missionary societies and other social service projects bring the investment in auxiliary church agencies up to

$437,220,000 and the total investment of the Methodists in the United States to $1,162,220,000.

—HARVEY W. LAWRENCE

# —Business—

*At Rochester, New York, the federal government undertook its first experiment with the food-stamp system, designed to benefit farmers with surpluses, wholesale and retail grocerymen, and persons on relief. If successful, the system is to be put in effect in other cities. The following dispatch condensed from Rochester to the* New York Post, *a newspaper sympathetic to the New Deal, is an estimate of the system's success on the first day of trial.*

GOVERNMENT officials in charge of the New Deal's newest experiment in attacking the problem of "want in the midst of plenty" were afraid that it was going to be a complete flop. The whole thing sounded so complicated. The government, through the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, announced that it would issue "food stamps" of two kinds—orange, good for any kind of food, and blue, good only for surplus commodities [such as butter, eggs, flour, beans and grapefruit].

The stamps are currency at any grocery store. All the grocer has to do to get money for them is to paste them on a form and take them to the bank. It was a sensible idea, everybody admitted. Farmers have a surplus of certain commodities—eggs, butter, dried beans, prunes, oranges, grapefruit, wheat and corn. They are going broke because they can't sell those surpluses at reasonable prices. Hundreds of thousands of Americans would like to eat these surplus commodities, but can't afford as much as they need to fill their stomachs.

The old scheme of buying from the farmers and giving to the needy was short-circuiting other thousands of Americans—retail grocers, wholesalers and all other middlemen who pay taxes. The new scheme was to eliminate that short circuit and connect the farmer with the consumer through normal channels.

Economists in the Department of Agriculture worked out the scheme of orange and blue stamps. Relief families and others receiving public assistance would buy the orange stamps and get as a bonus 50 cents' worth of blue ones for every dollar's worth of orange.

It seemed just too complicated to try on a national basis—or even on a regional basis, so they picked this one city for the first experiment.

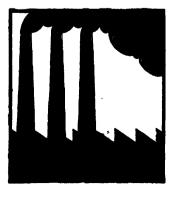
There was no difficulty in selling the idea to grocers, bankers and relief officials. But would the real beneficiaries co-operate? That was the big question. The scheme was to be carried out on a purely voluntary basis. Relief families were asked to shell out actual cash for stamps—and not only to shell out but to take the trouble to go to the Old Post Office Building and stand in line to do it.

Yesterday approximately ten thousand relief families received their checks, some early in the day, some late. And the F.S.C.C. sold 2,253 books of stamps for a total of $12,368 cash. That is a response of 22.5 per cent of all prospects on the first day of a sale, which any advertiser will admit is a remarkable accomplishment.

In addition, more than one thousand prospects went to the F.S.C.C. office and then went away because they didn't want to stand in line.

The day's sales placed $6,184 worth of blue stamps in the hands of grocers' customers. That much business was added to Rochester's daily turnover. It amounts to about $5 for each grocery in the city. "I am delighted," beamed James S. Allen, national director of the stamp plan.

When suspicions of some groups are overcome and the personal tangles of others are straightened out, officials believe that virtually all of the eighteen thousand eligibles—W.P.A. workers, unemployment insurance recipients, blind and aged, in addition to relief workers—will buy stamps.

The latest estimates, on the basis of the first day's sales, are that as much as $30,000 a week will be added to Rochester's business.

## Costs of Distribution

*—Condensed from a news release issued by the Twentieth Century Fund, New York, on May 15*

*In today's America "it costs considerably more on the average to distribute goods than it does to make them." Such is one finding of a survey of the costs of distribution now being completed by a special research staff under the supervision of the distribution committee of the Twentieth Century Fund.*

Figures from the staff's report to the committee indicate that "about 59 cents out of the consumer's dollar goes for the services involved in distribution and only 41 cents for the services in production."

The changing role of distribution in our economic system is underscored by figures in the report showing an increasing proportion of American workers employed in distribution as compared with production. In 1870, among all gainfully employed workers, approximately 75 per cent were employed in agriculture, manufacturing and other production activities, while 25 per cent were in distribution and service activities. By 1930, the workers in production had dropped to 50 per cent of the total. The proportion of workers in distribution and service activities had doubled so that they constituted the other 50 per cent.

During this same period, the volume of goods produced and consumed in the United States increased more than nine times, while the population increased three times. Since 1870 the number of persons engaged in the production industries has less than trebled while those engaged in distribution have increased nearly nine times. "Taking these figures at their face value," says the report, "it appears that there has been more than a three-fold increase in the output of goods per worker, while the amount of goods distributed per worker has increased only slightly."

Willard L. Thorp, former Director of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, is chairman of the Twentieth Century Fund's committee on distribution. The factual findings of the survey, which were gathered by a special research staff, have been summarized in a research report. The committee will review the research data and agree upon a program of recommendations to the public.

The research report shows clearly that distribution is by no means always a simple, straight-line process of carrying goods along from original producer to manufacturer, to wholesaler, to retailer, to consumer. A vast portion of the total flow of goods consists of recirculation—that is, manufacturers selling to other manufacturers for further processing or assembly, wholesalers selling to other wholesalers, farmers selling to other farmers, or using their own products for further production.

## ——Sports——

## Are We Celebrating a Fake "Centennial"?

COOPERSTOWN, NEW YORK, lays claim to fame as the birthplace of baseball, and the claim has been granted throughout America. In Cooperstown, the story goes, a West Pointer named Abner Doubleday exactly one hundred years ago laid out the first baseball diamond. So widely credited is this view of the origin of baseball that Postmaster General Farley recently issued a special stamp as part of the centennial commemoration which is to last throughout the present year.

But the trouble, apparently, with this conception of baseball's beginnings is simply that it isn't true. So says an English-born American who has made a hobby of the origin of sports and has been poking around old letters and archives. It isn't true that Abner Doubleday invented baseball, he insists. And it certainly isn't true, he continues, that Cooperstown is baseball's birthplace. After an investigation extending over more than a dozen years, Robert W. Henderson—an executive officer of the New York Public Library—contends there can be no doubt that baseball existed long before 1839; probably long before Cooperstown ever heard of it. The evidence is effectively presented in an article Mr. Henderson recently wrote for the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*. In condensed version it is presented herewith.

Mr. Henderson is fifty-one, a tall, lithe, fair-haired man who plays exceptional tennis and badminton. He has a son and a daughter, both of whom share his active interest in sports. His own interest serves to supplement his career as librarian; it has supplied the incentive for important research in sports that has brought distinction to himself and his library.

The author of many magazine articles on sports, he has also written a book, *Early American Sports*, which was published two years ago.

ALTHOUGH the first baseball club, the Knickerbockers of New York, was organized in 1845 (the amateurs who started it had played since 1842), it was not until after the Civil War that the game became popular. Then, of course, the curious wondered whence it came, and the unanimous answer, as recorded in the handbooks of the period, was that baseball and the earlier game of town-ball were developments of the "old English game of rounders." But gradually enthusiasts began to look on baseball as an "American" game as opposed to the "English" games of cricket and rounders. Patriotic emotion became confused with sportsmanship; rounders as an origin of baseball was indignantly denied, and the game claimed as an entirely American pastime, with its roots nowhere but in American soil.

In the 1880's feeling ran high; James Montgomery Ward's defense of the American origin and his scorn for those who suggested English sources was vehement in the extreme. "The assertion," he said, "that baseball is descended from rounders is a pure assumption, unsupported even by proof that the latter game antedates the former, and unjustified by any line of reasoning based upon the likeness of the games."

But still, in spite of the lack of supporting evidence, the theory lingered. One of its strongest supporters was "the Father of Baseball" himself, Henry Chadwick. On the other hand, Albert G. Spalding, the famous patron of the sport, defended the American theory. Fortunately Chadwick and Spalding were warm personal friends, and could discuss their differences of opinion in the fine spirit of sportsmanship characteristic of both. Many a time they tried to convince one another, until, at last, they resolved to settle the matter beyond a doubt.

A commission was appointed to weigh the evidence and to render a decision. This commission consisted of "seven men of high repute and undoubted knowledge of baseball," headed by A. G. Mills, the third president of the National League. It collected evidence over a period of three years, and finally decided:

*First*—That baseball had its origin in the United States.

*Second*—That the first scheme for playing it, according to the best evidence obtainable to date, was devised by Abner Doubleday, Cooperstown, New York, in 1839.

Abner Doubleday seems to have had fame posthumously thrust on him—at least as far as baseball is concerned. There is no record that he made personal claim to be its inventor. No contemporary records exist connecting him with the game. His obituary in the *New York Times* of January 28, 1893, makes no mention of baseball, nor does the memorial published by the New York State Monuments Commission in 1918.

A recognition of Doubleday as the originator of baseball, at first thought, may seem to be implied by the presence in the guard of honor, when his body lay in state at New York City Hall, on January 30, 1893, of A. G. Mills of New York. Mills had been an enthusiastic ball player before and after the Civil War.

Actually no such recognition was intended. By a coincidence Mills happened to be a member of the same veteran military organization as Doubleday, and was Commander of the Grand Army Post (Lafayette) at the time of the ceremonies. Doubleday's name was in no way associated with baseball until a press release of the baseball commission was issued some time before June 1906.

It should be noted that the only testimony in support of Doubleday laid before the Spalding Commission was that of Abner Graves, *sixty-eight years after the supposed event!* "Graves was a boy playmate and fellow pupil of Abner Doubleday at Green's Select School in Cooperstown, New York, in 1839. Mr. Graves . . . says that he was present when Doubleday first outlined with a stick in the dirt the present diamond-shaped baseball field, and afterward saw him make a diagram of the field on paper, with a crude pencil memorandum of the rules for his new game, which he named 'baseball.'"

Graves, in all probability, actually witnessed these happenings at Cooperstown, New York, although not in

*As part of the evidence to prove that baseball was not invented in 1839, Mr. Henderson points to this illustration from a boy's book which appeared several years earlier than the supposed founding of the game.*

1839, for Abner Doubleday was no longer a schoolboy in Cooperstown in that year: he became a cadet at the West Point Military Academy on September 1, 1838. But the claim that Doubleday invented baseball, based on his testimony, *sixty-eight years afterward,* is an entirely different matter, and is at variance with the facts. Doubleday undoubtedly *played* baseball, but he did not *invent* it.

Graves stated that Doubleday drew "a diagram of the field on paper, with a crude pencil memorandum of the rules of the game" in 1839. Later, in 1845, "a diagram, showing the ball field laid out substantially as it is today, was brought to the [Knickerbocker] field one afternoon by a Mr. Wadsworth."

"It is possible," wrote A. G. Mills, "that a connection more or less direct can be traced between the diagram drawn by Doubleday in 1839, and that presented to the Knickerbocker Club by Wadsworth in 1845, or thereabouts, and I wrote several days ago for certain data bearing on this point, *but as yet it has not yet come to hand.*"

It never did come to hand. No such connection has ever been shown. Indeed, why should there be any mystery about a "diagram" when at least four books had contained outlines of a baseball diamond before the year 1839?

There is evidence that games resembling baseball, in more or less primitive form, were played in many places in America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: much of this has been noted in Jennie Holliman's excellent study of early American sports.

WHAT may be the first record of an actual game of baseball played in America is related in the journal of a revolutionary soldier, George Ewing, who at Valley Forge on April 7, 1778, "exercised in the afternoon in the intervals played at base." Although Harry Emerson Wildes suggests that baseball was the game played, he adds: "It is, however, possible that the Ewing entry may refer to the children's game of 'prisoner base.'" But bat and ball games were familiar to the men of Valley Forge, for Ewing also records that on two occasions they played at cricket, or "wicket," as he called it, and it is highly probable that baseball was the game that Ewing played.

The students of Princeton were prohibited, in 1787, from playing "with balls and sticks in the back common of the college," because it "is in itself low and unbecoming gentlemen students." When Colonel James Lee was made an honorary member of the old Knickerbocker Club, in 1846, he claimed that he had played baseball as a boy, which would have been about the year 1800. So popular was "ball playing" in the streets of Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1816, that the city fathers passed an ordinance forbidding it. Thurlow Weed, in his autobiography, speaks of "a baseball club, numbering nearly fifty members," which was organized about the year 1825. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his later years, said that he played baseball at Harvard, and he graduated in 1829, and "Mr. Charles Bost, the catcher and captain of the Knickerbockers, played baseball on Long Island fifty years ago, [i.e., in 1838] and it was the same game the Knickerbockers afterward played."

In 1910, Andrew H. Caughey wrote to the *New York Tribune:* "I am in my eighty-third year, and I know that seventy years ago [i.e., in 1840], as a boy at school in a country school district in Erie County, Pennsylvania, I played baseball with my schoolmates; and I know it was a common game long before my time. It had just the same form as the baseball of today, and the rules of the game were nearly the same as they are now. One bad feature of the old game, I am glad to say, is not now permitted. The catchers, both the one behind the batter and those on the field, could throw the ball and hit the runner between the bases with all the swiftness he could put into it —'burn him,' it was called." It will be noticed that this "baseball" which Caughey played was similar to rounders and town ball, in that a baserunner could be put out by "soaking" him with the ball as he ran.

Much of this testimony is that of old men, who, in recalling their boyhood days, cannot be depended upon for complete accuracy. But, although in their recollections they undoubtedly mingled such games as one old cat, barn ball, round ball and town ball, they are supported by an occasional contemporary reference to "baseball." These games all have their place in the evolution of baseball, but only as second cousins. Rounders is in direct line, and must head the list as having, by far, the greatest importance.

Second only in importance to the game of rounders in the ancestry of baseball was the older game, already known as "baseball," similar to rounders. This game was so familiar to the young men of the 1830's, that when rules began to crystallize in print, the name "baseball" was the one chosen for the new game.

*(Continued on page 63)*

# After You've Seen the Fair

HELEN F. BROWN

## I. NORTH OF NEW YORK

Like a gigantic magnet, the Trylon and Perisphere will draw to New York this summer visitors from all parts of the country. While they are in the East, many of them will want to explore points of interest outside the metropolitan area; for their guidance there is here presented a brief review of the highlights, North and South, of the Eastern Seaboard's vacationland.

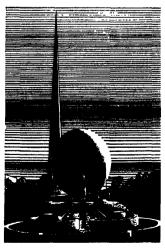
The effort has been to include those places which are most interesting to the average person unacquainted with the East, whether he is looking for vacation resorts, historic sites, or scenic beauty, and to suggest trips which would be neither unduly lengthy nor unduly expensive.

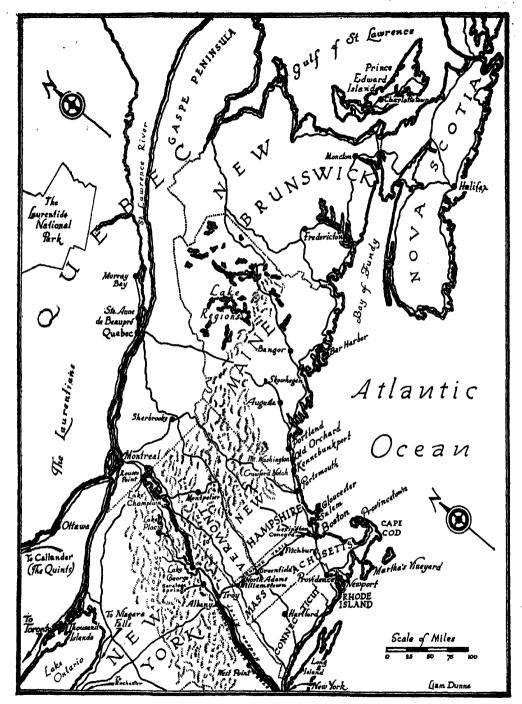
Cost, of course, is largely governed by personal choice in the matter of transportation and stopping places, while the time consumed also depends on personal preference, but it is hoped that readers will find this material useful in planning their individual vacations, whatever the limits of their time and pocketbooks. CURRENT HISTORY'S Travel Bureau will be glad to supply further details on any spots which take the reader's fancy, since many interesting places must necessarily be skipped or passed over rapidly in a general discussion of touring in the East.

First of all, it should be noted that New York is *the* starting point for an ocean voyage. Besides the regular transatlantic, coastwise, and South American services, many of the steamship companies run short cruises during the summer. These cruises vary in length from a few days to two weeks or more, and feature calls at ports from Nova Scotia through Cuba and the West Indies to Central America. Passengers live on the ships (some of the de luxe ocean liners are used for these cruises) and go ashore to sightsee at the various ports.

For an independent short sea trip, Bermuda is an ideal choice, since it is less than forty-eight hours away by the regular twice-weekly service of the Furness-Bermuda Line. The trade winds keep this "Pleasure Island" cool all summer, and its airy, informal atmosphere and automobile-less coral roads provide an idyllic contrast to the rush and clatter of New York.

If you just want to stretch out on a beach and rest your feet, you will find a wide selection, North and South of New York. A day at Jones Beach (twenty-seven miles from the Fair grounds) should really be included in a World's Fair visit in any case, for this three-mile state-owned beach is a triumph of intelligent planning. Farther out on Long Island are numerous summer resorts of all types, from the Fire Island, Hither Hills, and Wildwood state parks, with their camping facilities, to exclusive summer colonies such as Southampton.

Farther afield are the seashore resorts of New England to the north and Virginia to the south, but within a few hours of New York you may also enjoy the excellent surf-bathing and deep-sea fishing of the New Jersey Coast. Here Asbury Park and Atlantic City offer all types of accommodations and recreations. These cities are noted for their Boardwalks, which parallel the ocean front, with the large hotels on one side and the beach on the other. In a stroll along the Boardwalk at Atlantic City you will pass everything from highly expensive shops to penny arcades, while jutting out into the ocean are the famous Steel Pier and the other piers, amusement centers filled with games and sideshows. At smaller Jersey Coast resorts such as Point Pleasant and Cape May, the emphasis is on bathing and fishing. When the bluefish are running, better sport than can be enjoyed here is pretty hard to find.

The tourist who starts north from New York may choose to remain in York State, crossing the George Washington Bridge at the upper end of Manhattan, following the scenic Storm King Highway up the west side of the Hudson past Bear Mountain (where there are hotels and camping facilities), and stopping at West Point (forty-five miles from New York) to inspect the United States Military Academy. Continuing up the Hudson to Kingston, he will find himself on the edge of the Catskill Mountains, where vacation resorts are numerous.

Still farther north, above Albany, is Saratoga Springs (182 miles from New York), favorite watering spot of gay nineteenth-century society. The curative baths and mineral springs for which Saratoga is noted are operated by New York State, which has recently constructed a

NORTH OF NEW YORK

*If the artist had attempted to list every interesting spot in New England and the Canadian provinces, our map would be illegible. Let it serve as your reminder list, showing the highlights that should not be missed on your swing to the north. On Page 58 is a similar guide, should you choose to take the southern circuit.*

splendid hotel and provides facilities for all sorts of sports. For the historically minded, there are many interesting Revolutionary relics at the nearby Saratoga Battlefield Reservation. The Saratoga season is at its height during August, when the horse races are on at the track.

North of Saratoga lie the Adirondacks, dotted with lakes and mountain resorts, among them Lake George, Schroon Lake, Lake Placid (noted for winter sports, but equally enjoyable in summer), Saranac Lake (where the famous tuberculosis sanatoriums are located), and Tupper Lake. You may choose to explore the Adirondacks, or you may continue north along the shores of Lake George (past Fort Ticonderoga, of Revolutionary memory) and Lake Champlain to visit Montreal (381 miles from New York), and then turn westward through Canada. You may either strike directly west to Ottawa, the Canadian capital, and thence along the Ottawa River to Callander for a look at the "Quints," or follow the St. Lawrence southwest to the vacation regions of the Thousand Islands and thence travel along the American shore of Lake Ontario to Niagara Falls, which is, of course, one of the most noted sights of our hemisphere. You will doubtless want to ride under the falls on the famous *Maid of the Mist*. And be sure to stay until after dark to see the lighting effects.

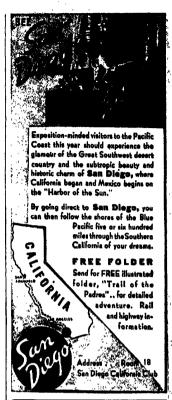
If you do not wish to go farther north than Saratoga, you may turn west through the heart of York State to Buffalo and again, Niagara Falls. For beauty and interest, take the road which runs through the historic and lovely Mohawk Valley, along the route of the old Erie Canal. Or you may return to Troy from Saratoga and turn east to explore New England, following the Mohawk Trail (which was torn up by last fall's hurricane, but is expected to be open again in June) through the Berkshires to North Adams and Greenfield, Massachusetts. The wooded Berkshire scenery along this route is lovely; and the towns are typically and charmingly New England, with elm-shaded main streets and white church steeples.

From Greenfield you may wish to continue east to Boston and Cape Cod, or you may turn north to the mountain resorts of Vermont and New Hampshire.

You may, of course, reach Boston directly from New York by following first the famous new Merritt Parkway to Bridgeport and then the Boston Post Road (U. S. 1), which runs along the Connecticut shores of Long Island Sound into Rhode Island and through Providence to Boston. En route to Boston, or as an objective in itself, a visit to Cape Cod offers much of interest. A ferry from Saunderstown, Rhode Island, on Route 1 about twenty-five miles south of Providence, will take you across Narragansett Bay to Newport, playground of the millionaires. (This ferry also was put out of commission by the hurricane, but service is expected to be resumed by July 1.) Be sure to drive along the waterfront at Newport to see the magnificent estates of the leaders of this society colony. From Newport you may proceed to Cape Cod by way of New Bedford, long the home of the whaling industry.

Cape Cod is famous as a vacationland not only because of its breezy climate and beautiful beaches, but because of its salty heritage from the Yankee sea captains who sailed their clipper ships out of its ports to round the Horn and bring back tall stories of the Far East. The quaint towns of the Cape well deserve exploration. Here are the original Cape Cod cottages, so widely copied for small homes throughout the country. The railed balconies atop the larger houses are known as Widow's Walks; from them captains' wives strained their eyes, hoping to see a familiar mast appear over the horizon. The antique-lover will revel in the shops which dot Cape Cod roadsides. If he is both knowing and lucky, he may acquire an example of the rare early American glass formerly manufactured at Sandwich on the Cape's northern shore.

At the very tip of the Cape is Provincetown, adopted by painters and writers because of its picturesque qualities, and now doubly interesting to the tourist because of the artists' colony. Also of interest are those strongholds of Yankee self-sufficiency, the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, which may be reached by boat from Wood's Hole, at the inner end of the Cape.

From Cape Cod, Boston can be reached by way of Plymouth. You will want to see—everyone wants to see—Plymouth Rock.

In and around Boston, of course, the spots of historic and literary interest are numerous indeed. In the city, there are, among other things, the Bunker Hill Monument, Faneuil Hall, the old North and South Churches, of Revolutionary memory, and, across the Charles River from Boston, Harvard University, America's oldest institution of higher learning, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, center of scientific research. You may wish to follow Paul Revere's route and to visit Lexington and Concord, covering the ground fought over by the Minute Men. Near Boston also are the homes of such literary figures as Hawthorne and Louisa May Alcott. If you are interested in exploring Boston properly, we suggest that you consult *And This Is Boston*, by Eleanor Early (Houghton-Mifflin Company), an entertaining as well as accurate guide to the city and its environs. There is also a handy guidebook on Boston published by Rand McNally.

North of Boston, New England offers an endless range of vacation possibilities. You may follow the coast up through Salem, with its relics of witch trials, and Gloucester, once the center of Yankee sea supremacy and still of interest because of the fishing fleets, to the famous seashore resorts of Maine—Kennebunkport, Old Orchard, Rockport, and Bar Harbor (492 miles from

New York). Or you may strike inland from Boston, where there are the Green Mountains of Vermont, the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and the Maine lakes to choose from.

You may have your vacation sophisticated, rustic, or completely primitive; you may climb mountains, fish in noted streams, and swim in crystal spring water; at the larger resorts you may enjoy the more usual sports such as tennis and golf; or you may simply tour through some of the loveliest scenery the East has to offer. Mt. Washington (6,288 feet) in the White Mountains is the highest point in the Northeastern United States.

The American Guide Series, compiled by the W.P.A., includes books on each of the New England states, published by Houghton-Mifflin Company, which will give you complete information on the various things to see and do in New England. Other recent books full of New England flavor and helpful information, are *This Is Vermont*, by Walter and Margaret Hard (Stephen Daye Press), and *Trending Into Maine*, by Kenneth Roberts (Little, Brown and Company).

While you are touring New England, by the way, you may be interested in stopping at some of the "summer theatres," where plays are tried out and stars developed for Broadway. Famous ones are located at Ogunquit (south of Kennebunkport) and Skowhegan in Maine; at Westport in Connecticut; at Dennis and Provincetown on Cape Cod.

If you have the leisure and the inclination for a lengthy trip, you may cross from Maine into a particularly interesting section of Canada. In the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are many quaint fishing villages; and farther north, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, lies the Gaspé Peninsula, rapidly becoming a favorite spot for tourists because of its magnificently wild scenery. Following the St. Lawrence up from Gaspé, you may well believe you are on another continent, so completely and charmingly French are the scenes and inhabitants of Quebec Province. You may wish to cross the river (ferry at Riviere du Loup) for a stop at the famous resort of Murray Bay, and then proceed to historic Quebec City by way of the shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, hung with the discarded crutches of the cured.

## II. AND TO THE SOUTH

Although a desire to escape from summer's heat may lead you to the mountains and beaches of New York and New England and up into Canada, there is much of interest to be seen south of New York, and the tourist will not find the heat too oppressive even if he goes as far south as Virginia.

Starting south from New York, again there is a choice of routes. You may select the most direct way to Washington, U. S. 1. This will take you through Trenton to Philadelphia, where you will surely want to visit Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was signed and the Liberty Bell hangs. A short side trip from Philadelphia (about 15 miles) will take you to Valley Forge, where the Continental forces spent the discouraging winter of 1777–78.

From Philadelphia Route 1 runs to Baltimore (shades of Wallis Windsor!), whose lovely brick Georgian houses lend the city so much charm. Johns Hopkins University, most famous of American medical centers, is located in Baltimore, and Fort McHenry in this city was the ramparts over which Francis Scott Key watched for the Star-Spangled Banner during the siege of 1814.

Rather than going directly to Washington from Baltimore, you might well go by way of Annapolis. That adds only twenty miles to the distance and enables you to visit the United States Naval Academy.

Several days can easily be devoted to seeing Washington properly. The Capitol, the White House, the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial—all these are of interest to any American. So are the Smithsonian Institute, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (and graves of many other prominent Americans) in Arlington National Cemetery, and the drives and parks which contribute so much to the beauty of the city. Here again we suggest that you refer to guidebooks for fuller information. The most complete one is *Washington: City and Capital*, one of the American Guide Series, published by the Works Progress Administration. For the public buildings, Parton's *Your Washington* (Longmans, Green) is excellent; Eleanor Early, author of *And This Is Boston*, also has a book *And This Is Washington;* and there is a pocket

guide to Washington in the Rand McNally series.

Be sure to visit Mt. Vernon, George Washington's home, either while you are in Washington or en route to Richmond. In the quiet gardens and cool rooms of this lovely mansion you will almost feel the presence of the Father of His Country, here no longer a harassed general and statesman, but a dignified country gentleman of the finest Virginia tradition. It takes little imagination to see him welcoming the guests whose carriages sweep up the driveway, leading them through the house for a cooling drink on the verandah overlooking the Potomac, and later, presiding at the long dining table.

There are homely touches, too—the little staircase where that lofty brow must often have come in contact with the low ceiling, and the offices where he kept his accounts and conducted the business of the farm.

Along the route from Washington south to Richmond are many of the beautiful old homes for which Virginia is famous. "Wakefield," Washington's birthplace; "Stratford," birthplace of Robert E. Lee; and "Kenmore," the home of Washington's sister Betty, are among the better-known.

Richmond is full of memories of the days of the Confederacy—Jefferson Davis' "White House," for instance. But even more interesting is the restored Colonial Capital of Williamsburg, 52 miles southeast of Richmond. Here you may actually visualize pre-Revolutionary life, for the whole town has been reconstructed by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to appear as it did in the days when Patrick Henry was electrifying the House of Burgesses with his firebrand speeches.

The Duke of Gloucester Street, Williamsburg's main street, now looks much as it did when carriages rolled along it. At one end is William and Mary College, second in age only to Harvard among American colleges, and boasting a building designed by the great seventeenth-century English architect, Sir Christopher Wren. At the other end of Duke of Gloucester Street stands the reconstructed Capitol Building, where the sharp division of the House of Burgesses from the Governor's offices hints at the beginnings of the rift with England.

You may also visit the Raleigh Tavern, a typical Colonial hostelry, with taproom, ballroom, and banqueting rooms, in one of which Phi Beta Kappa was founded; the Ludwell-Paradise House, a fine example of the private town house of the period; the Public Gaol; the old Courthouse; the Powder Magazine; Bruton Parish Church; and, most impressive of all, the Governor's Palace, a reproduction of the Georgian structure completed by Lord Spotswood in 1720 and occupied by the succeeding Royal Governors and by the first two Governors of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson. The Palace is magnificently furnished in the style of the period, and is surrounded by some of the most beautiful formal gardens in America, complete with canal, wrought-iron gates, and boxwood hedges, all reconstructed as nearly as possible according to records of the original gardens. The kitchen, guardhouse, and other outbuildings of the Palace are scarcely less interesting than the main building.

All in all, Williamsburg, for its sheer charm as well as its historical interest, well deserves the place it has come to hold as a mecca for tourists from all over the country.

Your visit to Williamsburg would not be complete unless you included nearby Jamestown Island, site of the first permanent English settlement in America, and, in the other direction, Yorktown, where the final blow to England's power over the Colonies was struck. At Yorktown you may visit Cornwallis' headquarters, and the Moore House where the terms of the surrender were drawn up. On the battlefield itself, the National Park Commission has restored and marked trenches, batteries, and redoubts, so that a drive over the field permits you to visualize the events of the siege.

From Yorktown a short drive, through Newport News, in whose roadstead the *Monitor* won her victory over the *Merrimac*, will take you to Old Point Comfort, the famous summer resort. Ferries run from here to Norfolk, and twenty miles from Norfolk is Virginia Beach, Virginia's outstanding seashore resort, with all types of accommodations and amusements and an excellent beach.

Although North Carolina and the other Southern states have much to offer the vacationing tourist, and their mountain regions, particularly, are not uncomfortably warm, Norfolk (369 miles from New York) is probably as far south as most summer travelers will want to venture. There is, however, an inland route to Norfolk of great scenic beauty which also passes through many points of historic interest.

This alternate route starts west from New York through New Jersey, turning slightly north along the Delaware and passing through the famous Delaware Water Gap, the rocky gorge where the river cuts through between the Kittatinny Mountains of New Jersey and the Blue Mountain of Pennsylvania. About sixteen miles north of the Water Gap, in Pennsylvania, lie the Pocono Mountains, a smaller range where many noted vacation resorts are located.

From the Delaware Water Gap, the route runs down through the beautiful Blue Mountain section of Pennsylvania to Harrisburg, the state capital (186 miles from New York). Thirty-six miles south of Harrisburg, through the spic-and-span Dutch farming country, lies Gettysburg, where you will surely want to inspect the fields on which the greatest battle of the Civil War took place in July of 1863, as well as the monument and the cemetery dedicated by Abraham Lincoln in his familiar Gettysburg Address.

Below Gettysburg you cross the Mason and Dixon's line into Maryland. The next point of interest is Frederick, where you may see the house of the courageous Barbara Frietchie. From Frederick the route runs through Harper's Ferry, where John Brown's Fort stands, cuts across a corner of West Virginia, and, about seventy miles from Gettysburg, joins the Skyline Drive, which follows the Blue Ridge Mountains for some sixty miles, running through the Shenandoah National Park. This is deservedly one of the most famous drives in the East, offering a new and seemingly more beautiful panorama at every turn. Citizens of the Rocky Mountain States may laugh at eastern "mountains," and it is true that Hawksbill, the highest point of the Blue Ridge, is only 4,049 feet, but the coloring and vistas of this range give it a beauty scarcely less thrilling than that of the western mountains.

You may wish to leave the Skyline Drive for a short side trip to the Luray Caverns (nine miles) and perhaps the Shenandoah Caverns or the Endless Caverns (about thirty miles). These limestone caves, with their endlessly varied formations of stalactites and stalagmites, are well worth seeing.

You might well return to the Skyline Drive and follow it south to the junction with the road to Charlottesville. There is, by the way, an excellent camping ground at Big Meadows, on the Drive, in case you should wish to stop for a few days to enjoy this lovely region further.

At Charlottesville, thirty miles from the Shenandoah National Park, is located the University of Virginia, founded and designed by the versatile Thomas Jefferson. Just outside Charlottesville are "Monticello," Jefferson's home, and "Ashlawn," the home of James Monroe. From Charlottesville it is seventy-one miles to Richmond, whence you may continue to Williamsburg and Norfolk.

If, rather than thus proceeding to the coast, you turn west off the Skyline Drive, the most interesting route is down through Staunton to Lexington, Virginia, site of two famous Southern institutions, Washington and Lee University and Virginia Military Institute, the latter often called "the West Point of the South," whose cadets distinguished themselves in the Civil War and whose traditions have recently become familiar to many through the movie "Brother Rat." The tomb of Robert E. Lee, which the cadets must salute as they pass, is also situated in Lexington, and fourteen miles to the south is the Natural Bridge, a strange rock formation carved out by a branch of the James River.

From Lexington west to White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, is a distance of seventy-two miles, and after a stop at this famous Southern watering place you may continue westward through Kentucky or Ohio.

As the trips outlined above indicate, traveling in the East, both North and South, has one great advantage: the points of interest are comparatively close together. From New York to the Canadian border at the northernmost tip of Maine is only 660 miles, and all of New England lies between! This means a saving both of time and money, and, for those who go by automobile, an elimination of tedious hours of uninteresting driving.

The roads are excellent and well posted, and the various state authorities are making special efforts this summer to assist the out-of-state tourist in finding his way and enjoying his trip. The variety of places to stop for meals is seemingly limitless, ranging from humble hot-dog stands to inns whose food has earned them widespread reputations. (If you're from inland, be sure to include a "Shore Dinner" among the experiences of your trip!)

For overnight stops, you will find many state and private camping places for which little or no fee is charged; there are special trailer camps at many points; you may prefer "Rooms for Tourists" in a white New England farmhouse or an old Southern home; or if a regular hotel is your choice, there are all types, from simple country inns to magnificence and elegance. For the tourist who follows U. S. Route 1, by the way, the W.P.A. has compiled a useful and interesting guidebook, *U. S. One*, which is published by Modern Age Books.

Although the tours we have outlined may most readily be made by car, transportation facilities are such that practically all the points suggested may be visited by other means also. The railroads offer special excursion rates, and in many cases special trains, from New York to the leading summer resorts, as well as special combination tickets which enable the World's Fair visitor to see different sections of the country coming and going. New York and New England are honeycombed with bus lines, and bus service in the South is also good. There are regular "guided tours" to outstanding spots, as for instance from Richmond to Williamsburg. Inexpensive boat services also are available between various points. There are both day and night boats up the Hudson from New York to Albany; you may go from New York to Boston by boat overnight, and, if you wish, continue to Nova Scotia; while the New York-to-Norfolk boat trip—you can take your car along—is a very pleasant way of reaching Virginia.

All in all, the traveler in the East "pays his money and takes his choice." And the best part of it is that he can also take his choice of how much money to pay!

# Radio: Here's Looking At It

*(Continued from page 26)*

the popularity of the photographic tabloids and force standard-sized sheets to use more illustrations. Also, newspapers such as the *New York Times*, in covering stories already heard and seen in millions of homes, will perhaps give less space to factual details and more to background material.

Popular magazines, especially weeklies, will probably be hardest hit of all the publications. Feature television programs, offering face-to-face interviews with celebrities, popular science, travel, human interest material and light fiction of the action and romantic school, will in themselves be magazines of the air. What the newsstand customer now gets through reading, he will receive through the mere turning of a dial.

On the other hand, the so-called "highbrow" publications, with their serious articles and literary stories, will most likely escape unscathed. These may, in fact, actually win new readers from those who would find the lighter magazines duplicating material of television studios.

Whether this new wonder will menace advertising revenues of the press is a question that only time can answer. Some publishers argue that air exploitation has already reached its limits in luring away the space buyers. They hold that the factors enabling the dailies to survive editorially will also assure their continued pre-eminence as advertising mediums. Others, however, are frankly afraid of picturized sales talks in every home. They foresee drastic cuts in appropriations, which must result either in the mergers or the passing of the weaker journals.

Whichever of these groups contains the true prophets, it is certain that within this generation their papers will be read by a new type of American family. One so versed in current events that the talking image of a King or President in the living room will seem but a casual incident. A family that will seldom read popular fiction, one that will attend the neighborhood movie house less frequently, a group that will be subjected, in the form of visual-vocal advertising, to the most terrific sales appeal bombardment of history.

# America CAN Stay Out of War

*(Continued from page 16)*

vent the transference to the New World of the perennial conflicts of the Old.

So armed and so secure, we shall have a far better opportunity of influencing, in behalf of permanent peace, the settlement which must follow any European war, than we shall have as a belligerent. We must, indeed, accept our responsibilities; and if we have any to the rest of the world, surely the first of them is to be able to use our influence in behalf of a just and lasting settlement of the world's affairs. Such a settlement we may never see in our time; but we may advance toward it, and American influence to that end will be far more potent if America remains strong and secure, the mistress of the seas, rather than weakening herself and draining her resources by participating in other peoples' wars.

America CAN stay *out* of war. America SHOULD stay *out* of war.

We have our responsibilities, yes; but the first and greatest of these is to our own country, and to our children who shall inherit it after us. What answer shall we make to them if they inherit a land in which, by our own folly, we have permitted to be extinguished those lights of liberty, of tolerance, of democracy which, one by one, are going out in the war-torn darkness of other lands?

## Bargains by Barter

*(Continued from page 21)*

the Mexicans. American manufacturers, too, are complaining that they are unjustly losing a Mexican market.

Germany is even trying to make a large barter deal with us. The Nazis need American lard, of which they used to import about 300,000,000 pounds a year. But American boycotts have seriously affected German exports to the United States, and lacking the cash to pay for a big consignment of our lard, the Nazis have been proposing to American packers that they accept German barbed wire in payment. Barbed wire is, of course, military equipment, made in Germany primarily for war purposes.

If the United States, however, is going to engage in barter, it seems likely to consummate these barter deals where they will do *us* the most good. We are not in pressing need of barbed wire, but we have no assured supply of rubber and tin that might not be cut off in time of war. If, for example, a major conflict involving Japan and the Western democracies broke out, our supply of rubber and tin from the East Indies might well be cut over night. To prevent our being caught short, some of our military and naval officials have been urging that we lay in at least a year's reserve of these essential materials. This precaution, we are told, would be just as important as any other form of national defense activity.

A few weeks ago, Secretary Hull disclosed that instructions sent Ambassador Kennedy in London mentioned eleven million bales of cotton and eighty million bushels of wheat as the basis of a barter deal with the British Empire. Prime Minister Chamberlain speaks of this proposed transaction as an "exchange of certain raw materials required as strategic reserves in both countries." Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, the author of the barter proposal, believes it may have far-reaching effects not only upon our national defense, but also upon the future of world trade. Limited though it is, this prospective deal is another step away from the path of normal international commerce. Call the deal by any other name, it is still barter, a sign of the vexed times in which we live.

## Sports

*(Continued from page 54)*

What then is Doubleday's contribution to baseball? Practically nothing, according to "the best evidence obtainable to date." He did not invent the name: it existed long before his time, and was in popular use in many parts of the United States before 1830.

Doubleday did not devise the "diamond": the diamond-shaped field is indicated in the 1829 *Boy's Own Book*, and the word was first used in print, in connection with baseball, in the 1839 *Boy's Book of Sports*.

He did not originate the team system, as opposed to the rotation of players at the bat, as the earlier rules show.

It is claimed for Doubleday that he limited teams to eleven on a side. If he did, the practice did not extend beyond Cooperstown.

It is further claimed that Doubleday instituted the present method of touching a base-runner with the ball, in order to put him out, instead of the "rounders" method of hitting him with a thrown ball. Graves' testimony (for what it is worth), belies this: "Anyone getting the ball," he says, "was entitled to throw it at a runner between bases, and put him out by hitting him with it."

One more claim on behalf of Doubleday has been made: that he was the first to allot definite fielding positions. If this could be proved, it would indicate a contribution to the development of baseball, but it would not be sufficient to credit him with the invention of the game.

To Alexander J. Cartwright, D. F. Curry, E. R. Dupignac, Jr., W. H. Tucker and W. R. Wheaton, and the other men who organized the Knickerbocker Club of New York in the year 1845, should go much credit, and we suggest that an American centennial celebration should commemorate this Knickerbocker group as the originators of the *modern* American game, rather than Abner Doubleday, whose contribution to baseball is so slight and so uncertain.

But in any case, it seems to be clearly established that the game of baseball as played in America today is the descendant, remotely, of the older English game of "baseball," and, directly, of the English game of rounders.

## The World Today in Books

*(Continued from page 5)*

in which to go through them. Each of these two sections is more than average book length.

Should World's Fair officials decide to unearth the Time Capsule for the purpose of adding vital new material, their attention is directed to this department's Number 1 nomination: *The World Over: 1938.*

NEW volumes stemming out of the subject of Napoleon and his era, like death and taxes, are inevitable. The publishing season that does not have at least half a dozen books on this or related themes may be considered unusual. Is such a continued supply warranted by public demand? Apparently so. As business people, publishers try to make a point of feeding the market what its appetite demands.

Here are two new additions to our Napoleana: *The Bonapartes in America*, by C. E. Macartney and Gordon Dorrance, and *Napoleon in Review*, by George Gordon Andrews. It is curiously interesting, though entirely understandable, that the foreword of each book begins in identical manner: "Of the making of books on Napoleon there is no end." Messrs. Dorrance and Macartney proceed in their foreword to justify their book on the grounds that the complete account of the Bonapartes in this country has never been told. Mr. Andrews has no particular justification. With disarming frankness, he says that almost everybody seems to have tried a hand at Napoleon; he sees no reason why he, too, should not indulge in the pastime.

In considering any work dealing with the members of the Bonaparte family who have come to America, it is interesting to note that Napoleon himself, as authors of both books point out, seriously considered at one time coming to these shores for the purpose of scientific study. It is further interesting to learn that those of the Bonaparte clan who came here —or even those who remained in Europe—were not bequeathed with Napoleonic good will. "Fortune is not attached to the name of Bonaparte but to that of Napoleon," said the one-time corporal who sought to combine the roles of Charlemagne and Alexander the Great.

But with or without Napoleon blessings, many of his near and di tant relatives came to this countı about the time that the French Er pire began to fall apart.

Some of them, like his young brother Jerome, came here whe Napoleon was still reaching for tl mastery of the world. Jerome, inc dentally, married a pretty Baltimoı miss before reaching his nineteent birthday.

In all, the Bonapartes have nun bered several dozen members in th country. With remarkable tenaci and deftness, the authors of *Tl Bonapartes in America* cling to the trail—from the earliest members u to Louis Napoleon—twenty-five yea old present claimant to the Bonapar throne. It is a unique and fascinatin story, for the American locale bring Napoleon and his various kinsme close to home.

Mr. Andrews' *Napoleon in Revie* consists of a series of essays on ceı tain aspects of Napoleon's life. Chaı ters are devoted to the early nin teenth-century history-maker's peı sonal and physical qualities, his plar and ambitions, his dealings with meı his writings and letters, and his plac in history. Of particular interest a this time—now that other Europea dictators with grandiose schemes c Empire have come upon the scene– is the account of Napoleon's projecte but unsuccessful plans for worl domination. The main advantage i this book is that it boils down t essentials, without sacrificing neces sary generalizations, the story c Napoleon as a man and as a ruler.

IN *The Changing World in Play and Theatre* Anita Block discusse and explains the way in which im portant playwrights—from Ibsen t Odets—have used the theater as vehicle for airing vital social, psy chological and economic questions o their times. Miss Block, who con tends that the play should be thought-evoking criticism of life examines the foreign theater, includ ing that of Soviet Russia, and Amer ica's Federal Theatre Project. Th potential influence of the theater o the affairs of a constantly changin world is illustrated with clarity an competence.